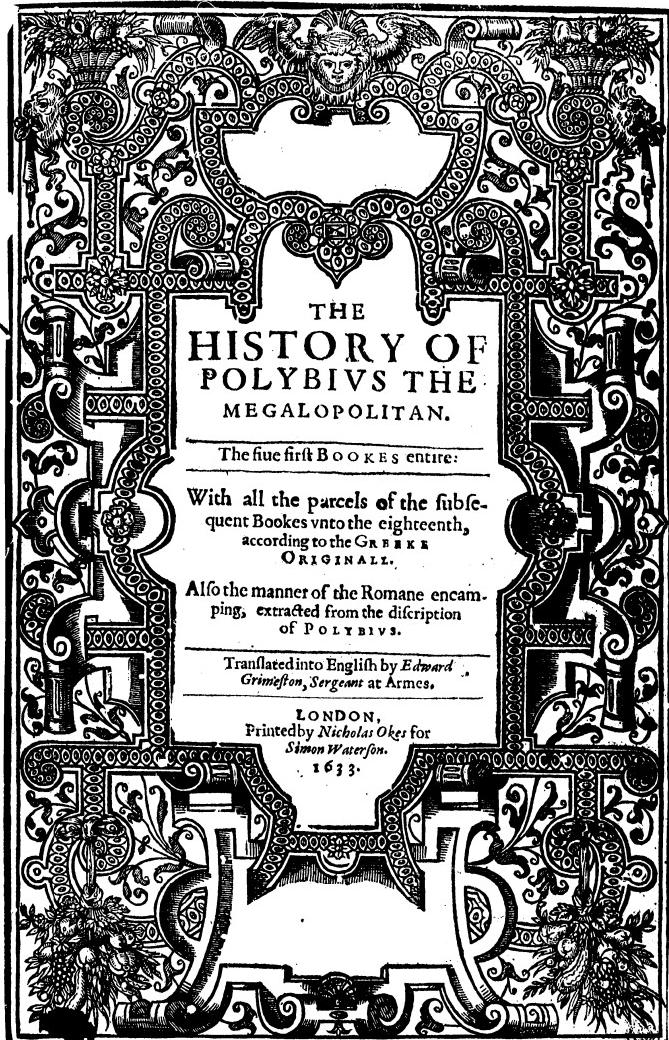


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TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE
WILLIAM LORD CRAVINC,
BARON OF HAMSTEED-
MARSHALL, &c.

MOST WORTHY LORD,



B Ardon I beseech you, if (being a stanger and vnowne vnto you) I haue presumed to inscribe your title on the Frontespiece of this Booke, and publish it in the world, vnder your Lo. favourable protection, I confesse my disability might well haue deterred me : But the reason which induced me to this presumption, was your noble and generous inclination to Armes (being the subiect of this History) wherein you haue carried your selfe so worthily in many great and dangerous exploits; in foraine parts, vnder two of the greatest Commanders of Christendome, as you haue done great honour to your Country, and won vnto your selfe perpetuall fame and reputation. This Consideration hath made me confident, that during your vacancy from Military actions, your Lordship will vouchsafe to

C cast your eye vpon this History written by *Polybius*, who (in the opinion of most men of Judgement) hath beeene held to be very sincere, and free from malice, affection or passion. And to iustifie the truth thereof, he protesteth that he was present at many of the actions, and received the rest from confiden: persons who were eye-witneses. It is a generall History of his time, of all the warres which past

D

The Epistle Dedicatory.

in *Asia*, *Greece*, and the *Romane State*, against the *Gaules*, and *Carthaginians*, which two Citties contended for the Emprise of the world: which warre was of longer continuance, and had more cruell and variable encounters and battailes than any that hath beeene written of: For the first Punique warre (where they fought for the Conquest of *Sicily*) lasted foure and twenty yeeres; and the seconde in *Italy* vnder *Hannibal*, Generall for the *Carthaginians*, continued seuentene yeeres, to the subuersion (in a manner) of the *Romane State*, had not *Scipio* forced *Hannibal* to retorne home to defend his owne *Carthage*, where in Battell he lost the glory of all his former Victories, and brought his Countrey into the subiectiōn of the *Romanes*. This worke I present vnto your Lordships fauourable Censure, humbly praying that you will be pleased to beare with my harsh and vnpolished stile, and to pardon the errors committed at the presse during my absence: for which fauour I shall hold my selfe much bound vnto your Lordship, and will alwaies remaine

*Your Lordps. most humbly devoted
to doe you seruice,*

EDW. GRIMESTON.

Lewves Maigret a Lionnois
to the FRENCH Nobility.

A Ensignemen, wee are all borne by nature to so much po-
uertry, and inuolu'd in somany miseries, as there is
no worke of Man, how small soever, whiche giuing
order to his meanest actions, doth not minister occa-
sion of some Esteeme. So as whereas his diligence
guided by reason, shall finde it selfe crost, I know not by what power,
which conuincing fortune vsurpes ouer the iudgement and considera-
tion of Man, we may (as we thinke) iustly blame it, in excusing
with compassion the workeman and his misfortune. And if on the
other side, to shew her great magnificence and bountie, she imparts
her fauour, and graces to such, as in their my-
sterie or faire course, seekes to bring some Enterprize to an end, so as
that notwithstanding his over-wearied and folly shee makes it per-
fect: Then we hold her prodigall, detesting her unreasonable and
inconsiderate bountie, grieuing at her benefits so ill imployed.
B Bebold how, (I know not by what law received among men) wee
commend or blame every one in his profession and worke, so farre
forth as they see his industry and diligence, imployed or defective.
If wee haue reason then in so great Esteeme, as wee seeke it in all
our actions, and in matters of the smalles consequence, blaming
him that neglects it: How infamous wee hold the carelessness and
neglect of a man in the order and conduct of affaires, wherin not
only the ruine of his estate, life and honour, but also that of his
Country, Parents, and Friends, and finally of his Prince and
Souveraigne, is many times brought into great danger? But if there
be no Enterprize among those which Men pursue, wherin such things
ought to bee drawne into Consideration, as proper and ordinary vna-
nim, and without the danger wheresof bee can reap no benefit, I
am of opinion that that of warre ought in reason to bee preferred be-
fore

The Epistle to the Reader.

fore all others: Although there bee many, which cannot alwaies be brought to a good end, without the hazard and danger of those which pursue them. In truth it is a profession, which experience bath taught in all Nations, to bee so rough and fierce, and finally so difficult to manage, as never man could carry himselfe so discreetly, nor with so great fortune, nor recovered such rich/piles, nor obtained such Triumphant victories, but they have purchased him new causes of Care and feare, not onely of A great Enuie, and of new Enemies, but also losse and ruine. I will not speake of the irreparable defete of the brauest Men in an Armie, which a Victory worthy of renowne requires, as it were by advance, when as the Enemies perorme the Duties of good/souldiers. The Carthaginians thrusting an Army into Sicily, at their first entry obtained some Conquests, so soone after they pronoked hatred of the Romanes: which was but the beginning and presage of a future ruine. But when as the fortune of the warres beganne to smile vpon Hanibal, and to give him a full Gale, so as his exploits were so great in Spaine, afterwards bee presumed to force Nations, Mountaines, and riuers, and in the ena to fight with the extremity of the weather for the Conquest of Italy: Then, as it were, fearing her owne power, to bee in a manner vanquished, shee beganne to practise and forge meane, not onely to ruine her so much fauoured Hanibal, but the whole Carthaginian Empire. And therefore it is credible, C that (I know not by what inconstancy, or rather extravagancie and fauage Nature) she makes friends of Enemies, and enemies of her owne friends; so much (hee feares) (as I imagine) the easie and rest of those whom shee fauours. It is true that trafique by Sea is not without great terror, amazement and hazard, for the danger of the waues, Tempests and stormes, with a thousand other accidents. But if warre once set vp her sailes, being accompanied with rage, fury, and many other disaster, which D the malice of men haue invented to make vs of, beeleeue mee that these other furies, which the wind procure at Sea and in the Aire, which many times are more fearefull than mortall, will not seeme in regard of thoyse of warre, but a light amazement, and, as it were, a false allarum. What torment at ea, or violence of the winds bath euer beeene so ioddaine, which the

long

The Epistle to the Reader.

long experiance of a wise Pilot, could not by a thousand signes and tokenes foresee, deuising sufficient remedies to avoid it? But when a warre is managed by Judgement and discretion, as it is requisite, the shewes are commonly contrarie, to that which they pursue. Wherefore the more an Enterprise is dissembled and kept secret, the more easie it is to put in execution. Finally, if wee will confess the truth, it is a profession which among all others, requires the greatest vigilancie; a continuall Care, with an incredible diligence: whereof a good Judgement must haue the conduit, that by conjecture drawn from things formerly practiced, or from a probability of that which bee sees, bee may soone after judge of the Enemies resolution, and finally attempe and hope for a victory:

B And although it hath beeene alwaies held, that Money is the sinewes of Warre; yet I hold its force without Conduct; like unto that of a strong, able Man, opprest with a deepe sleepe, whose sensies haue made their retreat for his rest. So there is nothing so strong, nor so quicke in this world as the sense of man: Nor any thing so powerfull and terrible, which the understanding doth not master and subdue. And therefore we say commonly in France, that wit is better than force. Yet I know that Courage is a great advantage, C and necessary for a soldier, but especially for a Generall: But I feare that for want of Judgement and a good consideration, it makes them not sometimes over-wieching and carelesse of danger. So as many times it gives occasion to a weake and cowardlie Enemie, to undertake a Victory, and to performe the act of a valiant man. Wherefore courage without conduct, and vigilancie, is alwayes subject to Ambushes and shamefull flightes: which are inconveniences, D whereof a Coward is alwaies warie, for that feare makes a Man vigilant and carefull. But was there euer Nation more hardie, nor more warre-like, nor that more carefully obserued the ordinances of warre than the Romanes? How then did Hannibal deface them so often, not onely in Encounters, but in pische Battailles, and in the open field,

The Epistle to the Reader.

field, by his great Judgement, and his subtle policies ? In what scarre, and with what admiration hath the fury of the Gaules, beeene held in old time by all Nations, who parting from their owne Countrey and Townes, to seekke new habitations, haue conquered land in diuers Countries by Armes, building Townes not onely in Italy their Neighbour, but also in Germany, and in the end in Grecce, and Asia ? Who haue defeated and quite ruined them in a shorte time, but A their owne Consideration, and an ouer-meaneing confidence in their force and courage ? I hold for certaine, which you know well, that it is not sufficient for a Prince or Generall to haue his Arme compleat with footmen and borfemen; how resolute sooner, and with all necessary prouisions for a warre : No more than for a Souldier to haue youth, strong and active Members, a daring courage, and compleat furniture. Hee must haue to vanquish (the which many times the vanquishted improperly call misfortune) that piece of harneſſe so well steeled, which we call Judgement, or a good condicte. Believe mee that like unto a horse, when hee hath taken the bit betwixt his teeth, forcing his Master, flies without scarre thowre Woods, Rockes, and Precipices, with the danger of his life, bee he never so nimble and courageous ; so a hardie and resolute souldier deeth easly his owne ruine, if hee wants conduct and Judgement. You must understand that as the body requires Exercise to preſerve in health, and to make it active, and hardened to endure labour and paine ; so the understanding in like manner desires to bee exercized and employed, either by the conſideration of things past, or by those which are visible.

It is true, that those which are ſcene by the eye, haue a greater vivacitie, and a stronger imprefſion, than thoſe which are past : For that living things are of greater force than dead. Yet, if we ſhall duly conſider the length of time, which the expeſience of a thouſand kind of policies, which warre requires before that a wiſe Man will dare to aduenture himſelfe in a bold and hardie Enterprize, wee ſhall finde that the knowledge of the antient warres, which haue beeene left

The Epifle to the Reader.

left vs in writing, will bee of no ſmall conſequence vnto him. For besides the affurance of danger, hee may in a ſhort time ſee by Hisforiographers, the great and wonderfull exploits of the Antient in a manner ſince the Creation of the world, to pleaſure and contentment from them, with ſome Encouragement to doe afwell or better hereafter. You know well that the warre which is ſcene by the eye, is not alwayes made beſtweene warre-like people, nor vnder reſolute Commanders, that are ſkilfull in their profession : ſo as it is a difficulte thing vnder ſuch to ſee any valiant exploits, nor Enterprizes attempted with good intention, nor well executed. Wee ſay commonly in France, that the Combate is dangerous, when as courage fights againſt courage. So is it credible, that when an Army conſifting of warre-like men, is vnto the leading of a wiſe and reſolute Commander, baning in fronte an Enemy equall vnto him in all degrees, there muſt neceſſarily bee valiant exploits performed, with hardy Enterprizes wiſely manegaged.

If eboſt haue beeene any warres, attempted by fierce and warlike Nations, and governed by wiſe and famouſe Capitaines, believe me this preſent Hisforiographer hath vſed great diligence to ſet them downe in writing : Labouring onely to mention the deeds and valour that was moſt worthy of Relation, that with the pleasure and contentment which they may reape in reading them, they may draw ſome iñſtructions and meaneſs, not to fall into the inconueniences of warre, into the danger whereof many times both Capitaines and ſoldiers may bee ingaged, through want of expeſience, good aduice and counſell. So as among others, you ſhall ſee Enterprizes of the Romanes againſt the Carthaginians for the conqueſt of Sicily. During the which there were many Encounters and cruell battoles, as well by ſea as land. You ſhall likewiſe reade the furious Combat of the Gaules againſt the Romanes : And moreouer the warre betwixt Cleomenes and Antigonus, for Morea, the which Philip the Sonne of Demetrius tooke afterwards. And beſides many other notable exploits, (which at this preſent I will forbear)

The Epistle to the Reader.

you shall see the Conquests which Hannibal made in Spaine, with his incredible voiage into Italie, performed in his younger yeeres, and his victories gotten of the Romanes with such politie and wisedome, as it is a difficult thing (if wee shall consider the people and number of his Armie, having regard to courage and power of those with whom hee had to deale) to judge truely; whether there were ever Captaine in the memory of man, that may with reason bee compared vnto him. Finally my Masters, I doe not promise you in this History, those miraculous Battailles, which exceed the apprehension of man, performed in the Kingdome of Logres, nor I know not what Quest of that barking Beast. Make your acceptans that you shall not finde any Tract or marke of a Beast, nor finally any thing that holds of it. Beleue mee in times past, Men did not feede their understandings with dreames, nor fables invented in barbers-shops, without any colour of Truth. It is impossible an ignorant Master shoulde make a learned disciple. Finally they are discourses fit for old womens songes to entertaine little children, whilst that for weakenesse of their Age, their understanding hath no apprehencion, nor sufficiente judgement of reason. Wherefore wee may with reason say, that such as consume their yeeres, and grow old in such dreames, haue a will to continue still children. And although they commonly C
faie, that warre is managed by the eye: So as it seemes they will thereby inferre, that wee must not think of it, but when necessity doth force vs: And that peace shoulde procure no benefit to a Souldier, but idlenesse; yet he must fore-see long before, part of that which afterwards he must gouerne by the eye. And as a horse which is pampered and not ridden, growes restle; and proves unprofitable to his Master for traualle: so the vnderstanding of a souldier, idle during peace, or fed with dreames and foolish inventions, will faile him at neede; and in the end purchase him dishonour and shame; Yet do not imagine my Masters, that I haue wied this speech as blazoning you, and holding you for men of so poore an Enterprise, whose principall study

The Epistle to the Reader.

study and affections is the reading of such Bookes, rather then in some worthy recreation and exercise. My meaneing was only to aduertise you, that Histories, from whence with pleasure you may draw great profit, as these are which this Historiographer imparts vnto you ought to bee in greater recommendation then those Fabler, which haue no graces, but when they are most without reason or any shew of truth.

A Finally, I hope you shall finde such sufficiencie in our Polybius, as you will make no question to preferre him as the paragon before all others, as well Greekes as Latines, which are come to the knowledge of men. Of whom I haue professed to translate in the best sorte I could, those five first Bookes, which of Fourty which bee bath written, haue beeene preserved halfe ruined by the negligence of time: B Hoping you will receive them as willingly, as I offer them with a good heart.

When as after the Printing of these five first Bookes, I had recovered some Latine Translations, of three parcels of the sixt, whereof the first and the third had not any GREEKE Copie, And likewise afterwards another of the sixteenth, both in Latine and Greeke, I employed my selfe to put them into French, adding thereto C unto the forme of the Romanes Campe, as I could conjecture it, by the description which Polybius maker, in the parcell of the sixt Booke. And when as the Printers successor had a desire afterwards to print the whole, and intreated mee to spend some time in the Remainder of that which was newly published of Polybius his workes, which are certaine parcels, and as it were Reliques (besides the aboue named) of the seuenth and eighth, and of all the subsequent Bookes vnto the seuenteenth inclusive, it was not in my power to deliuere him any other but those of the seuenth and eighth, being afflictid with a quartane Ague, besides his obstinacy in vsing a small Charakter, for the sparing of paper distasted mee: Expecting that which afterwards followed, that few men would be satisfied, for that all things D

The Epistle to the Reader.

how good and excellent souer, are thereby found without grace, dull and unpleasing. For this cause desiring that so excellent a writer, should not remaine disdained and without grace for want of an honourable Impression, and that the studious of Histories should bee the more incouraged, I resoluued to adde the remainder of that, which at this day is come to our knowledge, assuring my selfe that the Printer for his part will have a care that for the sauing of his money bee will not doe wrong to his honour, nor loose his charges instead of gaine.

To G O D alone be all honour and glory.



The Printer to the R E A D E R.

Courteous Reader, I desire your charitable censure in that there bee some litterall faults escaped, to the grise of the Author being not able to attēnd the Preſſe, and likewife being abſent at that time from London, and having but a yong Corrector which took too much upon him.

Ecrata.

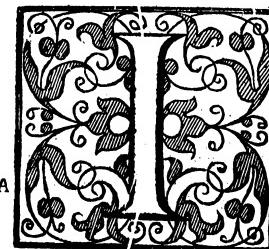
Page 21. for report read ſupport, p.27.l.9. for wylde r. vigg ; p.33.l.28. for ready the t. ready for the, p.34.l.27. for not bee r. nor to bee, p.35.l.39. for them then, p.40.l.19. or yet began, yet it began, p.45.l.39. for had been r. had not been, p.51.l.44. for Hanniball t. amicar, p.62.l.17. for Arrianus, Arrianus, p.68.l.16. for lifter, lifter, p.79.l.37. Rhine r. Rhoine, p.10.l.30. r. time to paſſe, p.133.l.7. for and paſſe r. be paſſe, p.131.l.4. r. flift their platt, p.133.l.38.r. flift he dead or burſt, p.135.l.47.r. Romanes, Romanes, p.138.l.18.r. vnt the Arrianus, p.177.l.30.r. to all wildeur, p.180.l.43. vnt common armes, p.185.l.5.r. dances, p.189.l.12.r. rafetib his Campe, p.193.l.44.r. did not open, p.194.l.17. r. creat a Kynge, p.198.l.9. r. with great frib, p.200.l.24.r. to bring him, p.210.l.40. r. not executed, p.212.l.26. r. agayn, p.240.l.1. r. noway, p.244.l.10.r. which the Geffet, p.249.l.35. borneway by thorow, ibid. l.38. r. was, p.254.l.44.r. parted from Lydie, p.264.l.3.r. r. oup, p.266.l.46.r. carried, p.267.l.33.r. which Ptolomy was, p.274.l.34.r. of the Phoenitens, p.287.l.6.r. greater daunger, p.279.l.43.r. for all them which,





I

THE
FIRST BOOKE
of the History of
POLYBIUS.



A
B the Commendation of the excellency of Histories had bee omitted by such as before vs haue written the Worth and Prowesse of Men, happily it shoulde be necessary to vse some Arguments to make it to be generally Accepted and Received: For that there is no way more easie to reforme and better Men, then the Knowledge of things past. But seeing that not only some, but in a manner all, begin thereby and finisht it amply, so they are of Opinion that the Knowledge of Histories is a true Discipline and Exercise for the Conduct and managinge of the Affaires of a Common-wealth, and that the onely is the Misstris, and meane to heare the Variety and inconstancy of Fortune patiently, by reason of the example of another mans aduersities, it is apparent that no man will hold it necessary to renew the Discourse of things, which haue formerly beeeno so well deliuered by others: Especially by me to whom the newnesse of Actions, whereof wee intend to Write, is much more then sufficient to perswade and draw the hearts of men, aswell both Young and Old, to read our History. For where is any man so depraved or silly, which desirous not to understand the

the meanes and manner of Gouernment, by the which the *Romans* haue subdued and brought vnder their Obedience in a manner, all the Nations of the World, within the space of fifty and three years: the which in former times was never heard of. Or what is he so much gauen and desiring to know other things worthy of admiration and other Disciplines, but will conceiue that there is not any thing in this world worthy to be preferred to this knowledge? I hope they will see how great and excellent our Worke is, if wee make comparison of other Principalities with the excellency of the *Romane Empire*, and namely of those which haue beeene in great honour and glory, whereof A Historiographers haue written much. Behold those which are most worthy to be compared.

The *Persians*.

The Empire and power of the *Persians* for a time hath beeene great, but whenoer they did aduenture to passe the bounds and limits of *Asia*, they were in danger to lose not onely their Empire, but their liues. The *Lacedemonians* made a long warre for the Empire and command of *Greece*, but they could hardly keepe it twelue yeeres quiet after their Conquest.

The *Indians*.

It is true, the *Macedonians* haue domineer'd and rul'd in *Europe*, from *Adria* to the *Danow*, which is but a small portion thereof. And B since they haue held the Empire of *Asia*, after they had tuiued the Monarchy of the *Persians*. And although that these haue in shew beeene great Lords, and enjoyed large and spacious Countries, yet they neither toucht the greatest part of the World. As for *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Affricke*, they never made shew to challenge any thing. In regard of other Nations, the most Martiall of *Europe*, and the most Westerne, they hardly in my opinion did ever know them: But the *Romans* haue not only conquered a part of the World, but in a manner all. They may also know by our sequell, how great the profit will be to such as affect the knowledge of History.

The *Romans*.The beginning
of the History.

Finally, the beginning of our Worke shall be according to the time, since the hundred and eight and forty *Olimpidae*: As for the Actions, and first of the *Grecians*, wee will begin with the so calll warre, the which Philip (who was Sonne to *Demeirus*, and Father to *Perseus*) attempted first with the *Aeacians*, against the *Bitolians*, and in regard of those which inhabite *Asia*, the beginning shall be at the Warre which was in the Valley of *Syria*, betwixt *Antiochus*, and *Ptolome, Philopater*. But as for *Italy* and *Affricke*, wee will begin with that betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, which many call the warre of *Hannibal*. The History shall begin at the end of that which *Sicionius* hath left. D Before these times the affaires of the world were without Ciuitiy. Since it hath happened that the History is in a manner drawn all into one, and that the actions of *Italy*, and of *Affricke*, are mingled with those of *Greece* and *Asia*, and that all tended to one and the same end. And therefore wee haue begun our worke in those times, when the *Romans* had vanquished the *Carthaginians* in this war, thinking they had performed their greatest taske, and to be able to affaire the whole world, they presumed presently after to fall vpon the rest,

rest, and to passe into *Greece* and *Asia* with great forces.

But if we had seene and knowne the manner of living, and the Lawes of Common-weales contending for the Monarchy, happily it would not be needfull to make any great search, to what end, nor vpon what power relying, they haue entred into such great actions. But for that the manner of living, the precedent forces, and the actions of the people of *Rome* and *Carthage* are vnowne to the greatest part of the *Grecians*, I haue held it necessary to make these two first Bookes, before I enter into the History, to the end they should haue no occasion A to wonder nor inquire in reading our Worke, what Councell, what Forces, and what Treasure and Wealth the people of *Rome* had to vndertake the warre and conquest of the wholl Earth, and of all our Sea: Considering that they which shall require it, shall see plainly by these first Bookes of our Preparation, that the *Romans* had reasonable cause to undertake the Empire and Soueraignty of all things, and to attaine vnto their ends. Beleeue that the proper obiect of our Worke, and the excellency of the Actions of our time, consis principally in this, that as Fortune hath in a manner reduced all the affaires of the world into one, and hath forced them to draw to one and the same B end: So the force which shee hath vsed for the perfecion of all publicke government, must be reduced and propounded to the Reader in one briefe History.

This hath chieflie incited and vrged mee to the enterprise thereof, especially for that none of our time hath vndertaken to write a generall History: neither would wee haue attempted it: But seeing that many had written some particular Warres, and their priuate Actions, and that no Man (to my knowledge) hath hitherto made an vnuerfall and generall commemoration of things past, neither when nor how they began, nor how they were executed and performed, nor what issue C they had: I conceitid it would be well done, if by our meanes our Countrey-men might read a worke of Fortune excellently good and profitable: For although shee had done excellent things and worthy of admiration among man: yet shee hath not done any thing vnto this day, nor purchased the glory of victory comparable to our times. The which they that haue written the particular Histories cannot make knowne, but that some one who peraduenture for that shee had liued in some renowned Towne, or for that they had seene them in picture, imagine presently they know them: and consequently the scituatioun, the forme, and the order of the World, the which is not probable nor D likely.

They which are of Opinion that a particular History is sufficient for the understanding of the generall, in my Opinion stray no litle from the truth, then if some one considering the parts separated of a living Body, think by this meanes to haue the knowledge of all the perfections and graces of the Creature. There is no doubt; but if any one takes these distinct and separated parts, and doth presently ioyne them together, and make a perfect Creature, giuing it forme and life, and then presents it vnto him, hee will soone confess that hee hath beeene de-

A good Com-
panion.

*Timonius an
Historiogra-
pher.*

ceived, like vnto them that dreame. It is true, we may haue some apprehension o f the whole by the parts : But it is not possible to haue a true and certayne Science and Knowledge. And therefore you must imagine that a particular History is of small vse for the knowledge of the generall : And that by the connexion, comparison and similitude of actions, there will be no Man found, who in reading, will not reap singular profitte and pleasure by History. Wee will therefore make the beginning of this Booke at the first Voyage which the *Romanus* made by Sea, which is subsequent to those things which *Timonius* hath last writen : which was in the hundred and nine and twentie Olimpiade. We A must therefore relate how, and what time they ended their Quarrels in *Italy*, and what meane they had to passe into *Sicily* : For this is the first voyage they euer made out of their Territories, whereof wee must set downe the reason simply and without disfiguring : to the end that by the search from one cause to another, the beginning and confederacion of the whole may not prove doubtful. The beginning also must bee agreeable to the Time and Subjectes, and that it be knowne to all : the which they may consider by themselves, yea, in seeking out those things which were past long before, and in the meane time relate the Actions summarily : For it is certaine that the beginning being vnu- knowne or obscure, its continuance cannot perswade, nor purchase beliefe : But if the Opinion of the beginning be true, then all the subsequent Narration doth easilie content the Auditours eare.

Denuo.

Nineteene yeeres after the battell wone vpon the Riuere *Egos*, and fixtene yeeres before the Warre of *Lendra*, when the *Lacedemonians* treated a peace with *Ariaces* King of *Perse*, when as *Denis* the old held the City of *Rheginum* in *Calabria* besieged, after that hee had defeated the *Grecians* inhabiting vpon the limits of *Italy*, neare vnto the Riuere of *Elleporis*: and that the *Gaules* having wholy ruined *Rome*, held it, except the Capitall : During which time the *Romanus* hauing made C an accord with them, which they found good and profitable, and had recovered their liberty contrary to their hope and expeiance, and had in a manner taken a beginning of their increase, they declared Warre against their Neighbours. As soone as the *Latinis* had bee vanquished, awfull by their proweles as by the fortune of the Warre, they turned their Armes against the *Tuscaens*, then to the *Celtes* which are in *Italy*, and finally vpon the *Sammites* which confine the Region of the *Latinis*, towards the East and North. Sometime after, the *Tarentines* seeing the outrage which they had committed against the Romane Embassadours, not relying much vpon their owne forces : they called in King D *Pyrhus* the yeere before the Descent of the *Gaules* into *Italy*, and before the Retreate of those which were defeated in Battell neare vnto *Delphos*. Then the *Romanus* after they had vanquished the *Tuscaens* and *Sammites*, and beaten the *Celtes* often, began to make warre against the rest of *Italy*, not as contending for another mans Lands, but as for their owne, and formerly belonging vnto them, being now growne warlike by the Warres which they had had against the *Celtes* and *Sammites*.

The

The *Romanus* then after that *Pyrhus* and his forces had beeene chased out of *Italy*, taking this Warre to heart, they pursued such as had followed his party. Being suddenly become Maisters of all according to their desies, and that all *Italy* was wholy subdued, except the *Celtes*, they presently besieged some of theirs which held *Regiam*. One and the like fortune befell two Cities situated vpon the Straight of that Sea, that is, *Messina* and *Rheginum*. Some *Campanis* hauing beeene lately in pay with *Agathocles* in *Sicily*, wondering at the beauty and wealth of *Messina*, they suddenly when they found an opportunity, assailed it, breaking their Faith, they hauing beeene received into it by Friendship : where they expell'd some of the Cittizens, and slew others. After which wicked act they shared their Wives and Children among them, as their fortunes fell out during the Combate : Then they diuided their goods and lands. But after this sudden and easie Conquest of so goodly a Countrey and City, they soone found others that did imitate their villanies.

A They of *Rheginum* amazed with the descent of *Pyrhus* at such time as hee passe into *Italy*, and fearing in like manner the *Carthaginians*, beeing then Maisters of the Sea, they craved a Garrison and men from the *Romanus*.

B Those which they sent vnto them, were to the number of 4000. vnder the command of *Decius the Campanis*, they kept the Towne for a time, and their faith in like manner with the Cittizens, in defending them ; but in the end moued by the example of the *Mamertins*, who sollicited them to comit this base act, they falsified their faith, being awfull incited by the opportunity of the deed, as by the wealth of *Rheginum*, and chased away some Cittizens and slew others, finally, they fled vpon the City as the *Mamertins* had done. And al- though the *Romanus* were discontented at the misfortune of the *Rheginis*, yet they could not relieue them, for that they must settle an order for

C their precedent VVarres. But after they had ended them, they besieged them of *Rheginum*, and afterward they entred it by force, where- as many were slaine : who being certaine of the punishments they were to endure, defended themselves valiantly to death. Above three hun- dred were taken alive, who preuently after their comming to *Rome*, the Commanders of the VWarre commanded them to be brought into the Market-place, where they were whip, and in the end their heads strooke off, after the manner of the Countrey. They did vse this pu- nishment to the end that their Faith (as much as might be possible) might be confirmed towards their confederates. Presently after they

D caused the Towne and Countrey to be delivered to the *Rheginis*.

B But whilste that the *Mamertins* (you must understand that the *Campanis* caused themselves to be so called after the taking of *Messina*) were relied by the *Romanus* which held *Rheginum* by force, they not only enjoyed the Countrey and Towne peaceably, but they committed great ioyles vpon many other Townes their Neighbours, awfull of the *Carthaginians* as of *Saragoſe* (otherwise *Siracusa*) The greatest part of *Sicily* was tributary vnto them. But soone after when they were depriued of those succours, and that they which held *Rheginum* were

Rheginum be-
sieged by the
Romanus.

The taking of
Messina by
some *Cam-*
panis.

The taking of
Rheginum by
some *cam-*
panis in Garrifon.

The taking of
Rheginum by
Romanus.

The punish-
ment of *Troy*.
Troy.

The punish-
ment of *Troy*.

The Campanis
being made
Mamertins.

Hieron chosen
King of the
Saragofins.

were besieged, they were in like manner by them of Saragofse, for the causes which follow: As a little before the men of warre of Saragofse camping neare unto Mergave, being in dissencion with the Gouvernours of the Commonswcale, they chose for their Captaines Artemidore and Hieron, who afterwards was their King, being yet very young: But finally so wellendowed with all the graces of Nature and Minde, as hee wanted no Royall conditions but the Crowne. Haing accepted the Magistracy, and made his entry into the Towne very well accompanied by his Friends, where haing vanquished the Burgesses of the contrary faction, hee vied the Victory with so great clemency and A modesty, as by a common consent of all in general he was chosen their Commander, although they did not allow of the Election made by the Souldiers,

It is true that Hieron made knowne to men of judgement and understanding, that he had conceiued greater desigines in his minde then to be their Leader. First knowing well that the Saragofins were mutinous and desirous of innovation, whensoever they sent their Souldiers and Commanders out of the Countrey, and that Lepine was a man of great reputation, and of more credit then any other of the Citizens, and that he was very pleasing unto the Multitude, he held it fit to make B an alliance with him, to the end he might leave some report in the City for him, whensoever he shoulde goe to the VVarte, and lead an Army out of the Countrey. Haing therefore taken the Daughter of Lepine to VVife, knowing well that the old band of forraigne Souldiers were changeable and subject to mutinies, he led his Army of let purpose against the Barbarians, who held the City of Messina: And haing scatred his Campe neare to Centoripe, and put his men in battell clole vpon the Riuier of Ciamosure, he stayed in a place apart all the Horse and Foote of his owne Nation, as if he meant to charge the E. enemy on the other side: suffering the forraigne Souldiers to be defeated by the Barbarians, and whilst the others fled, he makes his retreat safely with all the Saragofins to the City. When he had by this policy brought his desigine vnto an end, and had freed his Army of all the Mutines, hee makes a great leuy of Souldiers. Soone after when as all things were settled in good order, Hieron seeing that the Barbarians were growne too audacious and proud of their late Victory, he parts from the City with an Army of his Countrey souldiers, well trained and disciplined, and making diligence, he came to Myle, where along the Barker of the Riuier of Longane, he fought with them with all his forces. Haing vanquished them and taken their Captaines, see- D ing their pride much abated by this Victory, he returns to Saragofse with his Army, and was by the generall fauour and consent of all the Cittizens saluted King by the Allies.

An alliance
made by Hieron
with Lepine.

The policy
of Hieron.

The Riuier of
Ciamosure.

C. B. 4.
The Mamertins
deliuer their
Towne and
Fort vnto the
Carthaginians.
Successors re-
quired from

The Mamertins as we haue sayd, being deprived of the succours of the Romane Legion, and haing lost so great a Battell, their hearts being broken, they retire for the most part vnto the Carthaginians, and yeld themselves and their Fort: The rest sent vnto the ROMANS, deliuering their Towne, vnto them, and requiring succours

as

as to those that were of the same Nation. The ROMANS were long in suspence what to doe: For they found it strange, haing lately punished the ROMANS by their CITIZENS so severly, for violating their faith with the RHEGINS, to send succours now vnto the Mamertins, who were guilty of the like crime. They were not ignorant of all these things: Yet considering that the CARthaginians had not onely drawne AFFRICKE vnder their obedience by force of Armes, but also many places in SPAINE, and moreover all the Islands of the Sea of SARDINIA and ITALY; they doubted that their Neighbour-hood would be dangerous, if they made themselves Lords of the rest of SICILY. They likewise understood, that it would be easie to effect, if the Mamertins were not relieved: And there was no doubt, that if Messina had beene deliuered vnto them, they would presently haue recovered Saragofse, for that they held all the rest of SICILY. And as the ROMANS considered these things, they were of opinion that it was necessary not to abandon Messina, nor to suffer the CARthaginians to make vnto themselves as it were a Bridge, to passe into ITALY at their pleasure.

This was long in debate, yet it was not concluded in that assembly: for it seemed vnto them as vnareasonable as profitable to relieve the Mamertins. But as the Commons much weakened with their former Waries, seemed to haue need of rest, so the Captaines shewing the great profit that might ensue, they refuted to succour the Mamertins. This Opinion being confirmed by the Commons, presently they appointed Appius Claudius, one of the Consuls, to passe the Army into SICILY, and to relieve the Mamertins, who had put out of their Towne, aswell by threats as policy the Captaine of the CARthaginians which (as we haue sayd) held the Fort. And they called vnto them Appius Claudius, deliuering the City into his hands. The CARthaginians hung him on a Cross which had had the Guard, supposing that he had yelded it basely for feare and want of Courage. Then suddenly they drew their Sea-army neare vnto PELLORI, and that at land about the Country called SENE, holding by this meanes Messina streghtly besieged.

In the meane time Hieron thinking to haue found a good opportunity to chase the Barbarians which held Messina out of SICILY, followed the CARthaginians party. And going from Saragofse, he takes his way to the Towne, and layes his Siege on the other side neare vnto Mount Calibidique: By this meanes he tooke from the Townsmen ali means to tally forth on that side. But the Consull passing the Sea by night with great danger, in the end he arrived at Messina: where seeing the Enemy round about it, and that this Siege was as dishonourable vnto him as dangerous, for that the Enemies were the stronger both by Land and Sea, he defred first to try by Embassies sent to both Camps, if it might be possible to pacifie things, so as the Mamertins might be freed. But the Enemies not vouchsafing to heare them, he was in the end forced to undergoe the hazard, and refolded first to giue battell to the Saragofins. He therefore caufeth his Army to march, and put it in battell to the which the King likewise came speedily. But after that

Appius

The ROMANS
refuse to succour
the Mamertins by Ap-
pius Claudius

The Mamertins
succour the
Fort from the
Captain of the
CARthaginians.

The Mamertins
succour the
Fort from the
Captain of the
CARthaginians.

Hieron follows
the CARthaginian
party.

The defeat of Appius by Ap. Hieron, had fought long, in the end he prevailed over his Enemies, purposing them into their Fort. The Confull after the spoile of the dead, retires into the City: and Hieron being frustrate of all hope, recovered Saragofse speedily the Night following.

The next day Appius Claudius aduertised of the flight of the *Saragofses*, and having resumed courage and confidence, he had no will to stay, but to go and fight with the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he commanded his men to be ready, and the next day he past early and chargeth his Enemies, whereof some were slaine, and the rest forced to fane themselves in the neighbour-townes. By this meane the Siege A being raised, he rauaged and spoyled the Country of Saragofse and their Allies without danger: And after that he had ruined all, in the end he besieged Saragofse. Behold then (for the causes above mentioned) the first Voyage which the *Roman* Army made out of *Italy*. And for that we haue held it fit for the entrance of our designe, we haue made it our beginning, in looking somewhat backe to the times past, to the end we may not leue any occasion of doubt vpon the causes we shall yeeld. And in truth I haue held it necessary to declare first at what time, and by what meane the *Romans* being in extreme danger to lose their Country, began to growe fortunate: And when likewise after B they had subdued *Italy*, they began to conquer other Countries; to the end that the greatness of their Empire, which was since, may seeme more likely in knowing the beginnings. No man must wonder when as we speake of Townes of Note, if happily wee feele for things farther off, in that which we shall relate hereafter: For we doe it to the end that our beginnings and groundes may be such, as they may plainly vnderstand the meanes and reasons, by the which euery City is come to the estate wherin it now stands, the which we haue done here of the *Romans*.

C It is now time that in leauing this Discourse we returns to our deaigne, in shewing first summarily and briefly the things happened before the times, whereof we meane principally to Write: Among the which the Warre betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* is the first, then followed the *Punique*: In the which the deeds first of *Amilcar*, then of *Ashdruball*, are ioyned with those of the *Carthaginians*: At what time the *Romans* began first to sayle into *Slaunonia*, and other parts of *Europe*. Moreouer their Battels against the *Gaules*, who at that time made a discent into *Italy*: The Warre also which was in *Greece* at the same time, called *Clemenique*, to the which all this relation, and the end of the second Booke tend. Finally, I haue not held it necessary nor D profitable for the Reader, to relate things in particular: Neither is it my intention to Write them, but onely to touch that summarily which may concerne our History. And therefore in relating briefly, we will indeauour by an order of continuation, to ioyne vnto the beginning of our History the end of those *Adiours*, which we shall deliuere by way of preparation. By this meane in continuing the order of the History, they shall see we haue toucht that which others haue left in Writing: and also made an easie and open way for all subsequent things, to those which

which desire to know. It is true that we haue had a speciall desire to write somewhat at large this first Warre of the *Romans in Sicily* aginst the *Carthaginians*, for that they shall hardly finde a longer Warre, nor greater preparations and expence, nor more encounters, nor greater diversity of fortune on eyther side: For these two Nations in those times liued in their lawes with meane wealth and equall forces. Wherefore if we shall consider the Forces and Empire of these two Citties, we cannot so well make a Comparison by the other subsequent Warres as by this. But that which hath most incited me to write this Warre, was A for that *Philinus* and *Fabius*, who are esteemed to haue written well, haue in my Opinion strayed too much from the truth: Yet I would not taxe them to haue done it maliciously, considering their life and intentiōn: But I conceiuē, the affection which they bear vnto their Countrymen, hath deceived them after the manner of Louers. In regard of *Philinus*, for the affection he beares to the *Carthaginians*, hee is of Opinion that they did all things with good Conduct, Prudence and Courage; and the *Romans* the contrary. As for *Fabius* he holds the contrary party. Peraduenture a man would not blame this manner of doing in other courses of life. In truth it is fit and commendable for a good man to loue his Friends and Country, and to be a friend to the friends of his friends, and to hate his Enemies. But he that takes vpon him to Write a History, must vse such things with discretion, sometimes commanding his Enemies, when their actions require it, and blaming his Friends and Neighbours when their faults are blame worthy. Beleue me, as the remayder of the Body of a Beast, which hath the eyes putte out, remaineth unprofitable: So if true be wanting in a History, the Discourse prooues fruitlesse: And therefore when occision is offered, he must not forbear to blame his Friends, nor to command his Enemies, nor to hold it a dishonest thing to praise those whom we haue sometimes blamed. Neither is it likely, that they of whom we write, haue alwaies done well, or err'd continually. We must therefore in leauing the persons, judge and speake of their actions sufficiently in our Commentaries.

To prouy my affterian truthe, we shall easilly see it by that which *Philinus* writes. Who in the beginning of his second Booke saith, the *Carthaginians* and *Saragofses* held *Messina* besieged, and when as the *Roman* Army, after they had past the Sea, was arrived, they made a suddaine fallly vpon the *Saragofses*, where they were vanquished and defeated, and so retired into the Towne: they made a second vpon the *Carthaginians*, where they were not onely defeated, but most part of them taken: E

F Sently after this Speech he saith, that Hieron after this Encounter had so great a feare, that he not onely set fire of his Lodgings and Tents, retiiring by night to Saragofse, but moreover abandoned the strong places, lying betwixt *Messina* and *Saragofse*. He relates also that the *Carthaginians* being in like sorte amazed, dispersed themselves here and there throughout the Townes of *Sicily*, and that they durst never after that keepe the Field, and that moreover, the Captaines seeing their men disengaged, gaue aduise that they shoulde no more runn into the danger of the war, nor hazard any thing. He saith moreover that the *Romans* in the parluit

The blame of
Philinus and *Fabius* in *Historiographis*.

Philinus.

pursuit of the *Carthaginians*, not onely ruined their Province, and that of the *Saragossins*, but also layed siege to *Saragossa*. This Speech is so farre from reason, as it were but lost time to seeke to confute it : For he pretends that they which besieged *Messina*, (to whom he gives the Victory) presently after abandoned their Camps, and that they fled, retting into the City with great feare, and that finally they were besieged. In regard of those he affirmes were besieged by the *Carthaginians*, after the battell lost, he makes them suddainly Victors, and besieging *Saragossa*, having taken their Camps, and made courses into the Enemies Countrey. Doubtlesse these are discourses which cannot well be reconciled; for either that which he saith first, is false, or that which followeth : But it is certaine, and knowne to all men, that the *Carthaginians* and *Saragossins* abandoned their Camps, and raised the siege retiring into their Towne, and that the *Romans* vied great diligence to besiege *Saragossa*: Wherefore the probability is great, that his first Speech is false, and that notwithstanding the *Romans* had gotten the Victory before *Messina*, yet this Historiographer hath supposed that they were defeated by the *Carthaginians*. You shall often see *Philini* in this error: and *Fabius* no lesse, as we haue obserued in many places. Wherfore to returne where we left, we will vs all possible indeavour to make the truth of our History cleere and plaine, for those that desire to understand it.

Marcus Valerius and Octacilius Consuls.

The order of the Romane Armies, and the number of men in a Legion.

After the newes of Sicily were come to Rome of the Victory of Appius and his men, *Marcus Valerius* and *Octacilius* being newly chosen Consuls, they were sent thither with all their *Roman* power. The Romans had four Legions in their Army of their owne Nation, besides the succours which they drew from their Allies. Every Legion consisted of four thousand Foote, and three hundred Horse. By this means at the Consuls comming, many Citties awell of the *Carthaginians*, as of the *Saragossins*, yeldeed to the *Romans*. But when as *Hieron* saw that the *Sicilians* fainted, and that the *Roman* Army was great, and their forces increased, he held it better to follow their party, then that of the *Carthaginians*. He therefore sends an Embassie to the Consuls, to treate of Peace and Friendship.

The *Romans* seeing the *Carthaginians* Maisters of all the Sea, fearing likewise that the passage for their Victuals might be interdicted, for that their Armies which had formerly past, had suffered great wants and necessities, they found the friendship of *Hieron* to be of great consequence for them in this regard. Wherfore they treated a peace with the *Saragossins* under these following Conditions: First, that the King shoulde free the *Roman* Prisoners without Ransome, and moreover D shoulde pay a hundred Tallents of Siluer, and that hereafter the *Saragossins* shoulde terme themselves Allies and Friends to the *Romans*. Afterwards *Hieron*, who of his owne free will put himselfe under their protection, succour them with men and victuals when need required: So as afterwards he past the Remainder of his life with as great happiness and fortune that euer *Grecian* had done. And in my Opinion this was an excellent man amongst others, who had beeene always happy in good Councell, aswell for the affaires of the Common-wealth, as for his

An accord be-
twixt Hieron
and the Rom-
ans and what it
contains.

his owne particular. When as the newes of this Treaty came to *Rome*, and that the people had confirmed it; they did not thinke it necessary heresters to send all their forces out of Italy: Wherefore concluding that two Legions would suffice there with the alliance of King *Hieron*, they made their reckoning, that the Warre would be more easily managed, and that by this meanes the Army would be the better supplied with all things necessary. But when as the *Carthaginians* saw that *Hieron* was become their Enemy, and that the *Romans* held the greatest part of *Sicily*, they knew well that they must haue a greater power to A resist them; Wherefore they made a great leuy of *Cennois* and *Gaules* likewise of *Spaniards* to fortifie them: And after they had caned them to passe into *Sicily*, and seeing the Towne of *Agrigas* very fit for the preparation of this Warre, and that it was a frontier place, and strong towards the Enemy, they put into it all the men they could draw toge-ther with store of Munition, making vs of against the Enemy as of a Fort for the Warre.

After the accord past by the Consuls with *Hieron*, they left the Province; in whose place *Lacinius Posthumus*, and *Quintus Emilius* newly chosen Consuls, came into *Sicily* with an Army: who after they had B carefully considered of the *Carthaginians* Designes, and their preparations for Warre made in the Towne of *Agrigas*, they were of opinion to manage the affaires of *Sicily* with greater courage and resolution then the last Consuls had done: Wherefore they drew together all their Army, and besieged *Agrigas* within eight Furlongs, and to kept in the Enemy. The time of *Haraest* was come, every man made his reckoning that the Siege would be long; wherefore the Souldiers straying from their Camp, aduentured somewhat too furre in the gathering of Corne. When the *Carthaginians* saw their Enemies thus dispersed, running here and there confidently throughout the Province, they conceiued a great hope that they shold one day be able to deafe them; wherupon some of them assaulted the Camp with great fury, and the rest charged those which gathered Corne. But the diversity of the action fau'd the *Romans* for that day, as it had done many times before; they hauing a custome to put those to death, which abandon the place which is appoin- ted them during the fight, or which flye from the Camp upon any occaſion whatsoever. By this meanes although the *Carthaginians* were farre greater in number, yet the *Romans* resisted them valiantly, who with great loss of their men made a greater slaughter of their Enemies. Finally, they not onely repelled them from their Camp, but pursued them, killing part of them, and forcing the rest to retire in a throng into the Towne. Moreouer that day was so dangerous to both Armies, as af- D terwards their feare was great, so as the *Carthaginians* durst no more assault the *Romans* Camp inconsiderately, nor the *Romans* suffer their men to gather Corne rashly. But for that the *Carthaginians* made no more sallies, but did onely fight a faire off with casting of Darts and Stones, the Consuls deuided their Army ia two: whereof the one was planted on the side of *Esculapius* Temple, and the other on that side which doth looke directly into *Heraculum*: And that

Supplies which
the *Carthagi-
nians* put into
Agrigas.

Agrigas besie-
ged by the Ru-
mans.

Security of the
Romans to-
wards their
Souldiers.

which remained betwixt the two Camps of either side of the Towne, was rampred with a double ranke of Piles : Then they made a Trench betwixt them and the Towne, to guard themselves from the Enemies fallies, and another without that Campe, to hinder the succours which the Neighbour townes doe usually send to the besieged. The places which were betwixt the Trenches and the Campo were well guarded: Moreover all the Allies vied great diligence to bring into the Towne of Erbese, victuals, and all things necessary for the Campo; so as the Souldiers lived at more ease, for it was not farre off.

The Romans and the Carthaginians were five Moneths in this estate, A fortyn shewing her selfe no more favorable to the one then to the other: But what happened by their shooting and casting of Darts? But when as hunger began to preesse the Carthaginians, by reason of the great multitude of Men which were coopt vp within the Towne, (they were in truthe about fifty thousand Men) Hannibal who was Generall of the Army, having no more hope, sends speedily to Carthage, to acquaint them with the Rampire and Pallisado made about the Towne, and to demand succours. The Carthaginians moued at this News, raised an Army with a great number of Elephants, and sent them by Sea into Sicily to Hanno, who was another Capitaine Generall for them: who after he had drawne together his whole Army, marcht to the City of Heracleum, and at the first (after he had considered what was to be done) he tooke the Towne of Erbese by Treason, the which vntill that day had beeene a Store-houle to the Romans. By this meanes he deprived them of Victuals and all things necessary for their Campo: wherefore the Romans were no lesse besieged, then they that were besieged. The want of Victuals did often force them in a manner to resolute to raze the Siege: the which vndoubtedly they would haue done, if Hieron King of Saragossa had not vied great diligence to furnish the Army with Victuals and other necessaries.

But when that Hanno (after all these things) saw that the Romans C were much opprest with diseases, and want of all things (without doubt the plague was great in their Campe) and that his Men were fresh, and resolute to fight, he drew together aboue fifty Elephants: And when as all the bands of Souldiers were assembled, he drawes his Army out of Heracleum, and caueth the Numidian Horse-men to march before, giuing them charge to skirmish, and to doe all their indeavours to draw the Romane Horse-men to fight, vpon whose charge they should turne head, and not cease to flye vntill they were returned vnto him. The Numidians failed not to execute the Command of their Capitaine, nor to skirmish with one of the Camps to draw them to fight: Prelyntly the Romane Horse-men charge them, and pursue them indirectly: But the Numidians obseruing the Commandment fye backe to Hanno, and re-charging the Enemy againe, flew many, chasing the rest vnto their Campe.

After these things the Carthaginians marched, and planted themselves vpon Mount Tora, which was not tenne Furlongs from the Enemies Campe. Contyning in this manner for the space of two Moneths,

A skirmish of
the Romans
by the
Numidians.

Moneths, they attempted not any thing, but skirmished daily with their Arrows and Darts. In the meane time Hannibal made fires often in the Night, and sent men to Hanno, to aduertise him that the Army could endure hunger no longer, and that many of his men were retred to the Enemy for want of Victuals: Finally, Hanno moued by these reasons, pur his men in Battell: wherein the Consull vied no lesse diligence in regard of their necessities. Either Army drew forth in Battell into an equall place: Then they came to constate, whereas they charged one another with great fury. The Battell was long and cruel: A Finally, the Romans brake the Vanguard, and forced them to fly among the Elephants: who being terrifid, opened the rankes of the Carthaginians. The Captaines of Hundreds following the Roome of the Elephants, forced the Enemies to turne head. By this meanes the Carthaginians haing lost the Battell, and part of them slaine, the rest retired to Heracleum; and the Romans after the taking of most of the Elephants, and all the baggage of the Carthaginians, retired to their Campe. But for that they were negligent to keepe a good Guard the night following, awfull for the great ioy which men vsually haue for their good fortune, as for the toyse of the Battell past: Hannibal being frustrate of all hope, thought this a fit and convenient time to save himselfe and his Army, for the reasoun aboue mentioned. Wherefore he drew all his forces out of Agragias, and passed thorough the Enemies Trenches, filling them with straw: By this meanes he escaped without any losse, and without their priuiley.

At the breake of day, when as the Romans were aduertised of this Retreat, they followed the Enemy a little; but returning loone to take the Towne, they gaue an assault vnto the Gates, where they found no resistance. The whole Army entred and spoyley: It was a rich Towne, where as the Souldiers tooke many Slaves, and got great Wealth. C Wheras the newes came to Rome of the taking of Agragias, after the defeat of the Carthaginians, the Romans lifted vp their Heads, and beganne to conceiue greater Designes. They did no longer inflist vp on the reasoun for the which they were first moued; neyther were they satisfied, for that they had preferred the Mamertines and Massin, or to haue much weakned the Carthaginians in Sicily: But hoping for greater Matters, they deside to chase them away wholly, which done they had a great Hope and opinion to inlarge their Empire much. They were therefore very attentiu to this busynesse, and had no thoughts but of Sicily: knowing well that they were vndoubtedly the stronger at land.

After the taking then of Agragias, Lucius Valerius, and Titus Ofaelius being chosen Consulls they were sent into Sicily with a great Army. Thus the Warre was in a manner equall, for that the Carthaginians were Maisters of the Sea without contradiction; whereof this is the reasoun, for after the taking of Agragias, most of the Townes which were in the heart of Sicily, yelded to the Romans, fearing their Army at Land: But when as the Carthaginians Army by Sea was arriued, many more Sea-townes yelded for feare to their Obedience. Thus

A battell be-
twixt the Car-
thaginians and
Romans.

The Carthagi-
nians losse the
Battell.

The Retreate
of Hannibal
from Agragias.

Agragias spoile-
d by the Romans.

Thus their forces were equal. Many times also the Sea coasts of Italy were spoyle by the courses of their Army at Sea, the which Africa did not suffer. The Romans considering carefully of these things, resolved to fight with their Enemies by Sea.

This is the thing which hath moued me most to write this present Warre more at large, to the end the Reader may not be ignorant of this beginning, that is to say, in what manner and for what causes, and in what time, the people of Rome were induced to put an Army to Sea, and to fight with their Enemy. Seeing then that there was no probability that the Warre should be otherwise ended, the Romans A specially made fiftie score Vessells for the Sea, whereof a Hundred were Quinqueremes or of five banks, and the rest were Triremes. It is true that the Quinqueremes were more difficult to make, for that they had never vied any such Vessells in Italy vntill that time. Wherein the excellency and great courage of the Romans is worthy of admiration, considering they had neuer beeинclined to actions by Sea, neyther had they euer thought of it vntill that day; yet they aduentured it with such courage and resolution, as they had sooner fought with the Carthaginians, then made triall of the dangers of the Sea. Although the others held at that time, in that circuite of the World the principallity and commandement of the Sea, as formerly gotten by their Predecessours, and left it unto them as an hereditary right: which is a singular testimony of the things which we haue Written, of the Romans boldness and courage. Believe me, when they first aduentured to passe their Army to Messina, they were only a Hundred ships of War, and moreover they had not one Galley nor one Briggandine. It is true when they undertooke the Voyage of Sicily with an Army, they made vs of the Quinqueremes and Triremes, of the Tarrentines, Locreins, and Neapolitans.

Sixte. Note
vechiles for the
Sea made spec-
cially by the Ro-
mans.

At that time many Carthaginian Ships scoured the Seas about Sicily, whereof a Quinquereme straying farre from the rest, was broken by casualty, and afterwards taken by the Romans, which afterwards served them for a patterne to make the like, so as all their ships were made in that manner. Wherefore if this had not hapned, they would haue found themselves much troubled in their enterprise. Whilste these were a making, they did practise a number of men to the Oare after this manner. They did set banks in order vpon the Sand, vpon the which the men that were to Rowe were placed, being attentive to the voice of the Patron or Gouvernor, who was in the middest of them, where as they did leare to stretch forth, and pull backe their armes D altogether, and did draw their Oares in the Sand; finally they beganne and ended altogether according to the Patrons whistle. By this means hauing learned the Arte to Rowe, and their ships finished, they putto Sea, and within few dayes after made a Tryall. And when as the Confull Cornelius, lately appointed Commander of the Sea Army, had giuen charge to the Sea Captaines, to draw vnto the Port assoone as the Vessells should be ready, he went directly to Messina with seuentene ships, and left the rest vpon the Italian shore, whereas ha-

The Romans
intencion to
inveгe their
men to the
Oare.

ting

uing made prouision of things necessary for the equipage of his ships, he sailes vpon necessity directly to Lipara sooner then was needfull. At that time Hannibal Commander of the Carthaginians, kept his Sea Army at Palermo, who being aduertised of the Consuls comming, sent one Boedes a Senator of Carthage, with twenty ships to draw into that Quarter: Who arriuing by night, found the Roman ships, and besieged them in the Port, to as at the breake of day, the multitude got to Land,

But Gneius Cornelius thus vnsurprised, could finde no other meanes but to yeild himselfe vnto the Enemy. The Carthaginians after this prise returned to Hannibal; soone after this apparent and new deafeate of Cornelius, Hannibal (to whom Fortune was at that time gracious) received as great losse. He had intelligence that the Romanes Army at Sea, which coasted about Italy, was not farre from Sicily. Wherefore desiring wonderfully to see their number, and their order, and the manner of the trimming of their ships, he takes fifty Vessells and sailes into Italy. But for that he had a contrary VWind, the which was fauourable to the Romanes by the reasoun of the Coast of Italy, he fell vnuersally into their Army, which was in order and in Battell, B where he was suddenly charged, so as he lost in a manner all his ships, and sau'd himselfe with very few contrary to his Hope, and the opinion of the VWind.

The Romanes after this deafeate, approached neerer vnto Sicily, and being aduertised by the Pilofers of the Consuls ouer-thrown, they sent spedily to Caius Duellius Confull, hauing at that time the charge of the Army by Land; Where hauing attended some space, and received newes that the Enemies Army at Sea was not farre off, they all prepared to battell. They planted vpon every one of their ships, (for that they were ill built and heauy,) a kind of Engine, which was afterward called a Rauen; behold the fashion of this Engine. They did

C set a Pillar or Mast of four fathome long, and nine inches thicke vpon the Prowe, the which had also a pulley on the top, and one the side was made an affernt of boards all along, the which was four foot broade and four fathome long; the passage was turning about the pillar, in the two first fathomes of the affernt: About the which were barres of eyther side to the height of a mans knee, and they had set at the end of it an Iron like vnto a pestell, which went vp strelight, the which had on the top of it a King, so as altogether seemed as an Engine wherewith they pound things. To this King was fastned a cord, by meanes whereof at the encounter of the ships, they fastned the Raunes by the pulley, and let them fall vpon their Enemies ships. Sometimes at the Prowe, sometimes on the side in turning, when as they could not assaile them by the flanke; and after that the Raunes were fastned within the bands of the ships, and that the Vessells were grappled and fast, if they found themselves vpon the side, they entred by the bridge two and two to the Combate, whereof the first couered their bodies with their Targets, and they which followed defended the flanks, and

Certaine of the
Roman ships
with their com-
mander Sure-
prised by a car-
thaginian Con-
full.

A deafeate of
Hannibals ships,
for want of a
Good Wind.

An Engine in-
vented by the
Romans called
a Rauen.

and held their Targets even with the bars: When as this Equipage at Sea was ready, they attended a convenient time for the battell. When as *Caius Duilius* had beeorne sudainly aduertised, of the misfortune of the Commander at Sea, he left that at Land to the Tribunes of the men of Warre, and makes hast to that at Sea. And being aduertised that the *Carthaginians* spoyld the Country of *Myles*, hee drew thither with his whole Army: But when the Enemy was certayne of his comming, they were in great hope, thinking the *Romanes* understood not any thing in Sea-fights. Wherefore they drew out to Sea, with an Equipage of sixe score and ten Vessells, thinking this War not A worthy of any order of battell, as if they had gone to a certaine booty. Wherof this *Haniball* who (as we sayd) retyred his Army by night, and past ouer the Enemies Trenches, was Commander: He had a Vessell of seauen banks which did sometimes belong to *Pyrhus* King of the *Epirots*.

When as the two Armies beganne to approach, and that their Engines called Rauens were discouered, the *Carthaginians* were a time in suspence for the novelty. Finally whatsoeuer it were, without any further reckoning they charge with great fury. The ships ioynd and graped, so as the *Romanes* fouldiers by meanes of their Engines called Rauens, entred their enimies ships, where there was a great slaughter made of the *Carthaginians*. The rest being amazed at this kind of Engines, yeilded: you would haue sayd it had beeorne a battell at Land, where the danger is not like. The thirty Vessells of the *Carthaginians*, which gaue the first Charge were taken, among the which was that of the Captain, which we haue sayd had belonged vnto King *Pyrhus*. *Haniball* whose Fortune was otherwile then he expected, saued himselfe in a little Skiffe: The rest of the *Carthaginian* Army came with great fury agaynst their Enemies, as the former had done; but when they were aduertised that their first ships had beeene taken by the meanes of the Engines, they did not charge in Front, thinking to auoyde them, but came vpon their flanke, trusting to the lighnesse of their Vessells, thinking by this meanes to auoyde the violence of their Engines; but they were made in such sort as of what side soever the Enemy approached, they could easilie grapple with them. Wherefore the *Carthaginians* amazed with the strangenesse of these Engines, in the end fled, after the losse of fifty of their ships.

The *Romanes* being now become masters of the Sea, contrary vnto their Hope, sayd about the Sea towards *Segestane*, and rayled the siege whiche lay before the Towne. Then parting from thence, they D tooke the Towne of *Maccelle* by assault. After this battell at Sea, when as *Amilcar* (being then Captpayne Generall in *Sicily* of the Army by Land) was aduertised, remayning at *Panorme*, that there was a great quarrell betwixt the *Romanes* and their Allies, touching the prouesse and glory of the Combate, and that the Allies after they had beeorne beaten, were retired apart betwixt *Prope* and *Termine*, hee marcht with all speed to the Allies Campe, and flew four thousand by surprize. *Haniball* after all these Fortunes, retyred to *Carthage*, with

A battell at Sea
betwixt the
Carthaginians
and *Romanes*.

The flight of
the *Carthaginians*.

Maccelle taken
by assault.

A defeat of
four thousand
men, allied to
the *Romanes* by
Amilcar.

with those few ships which he had remaining at the battell. Within few dayes after he was dispachett to goe with an Army into *Sardinia*, with some excellent Sea Captaines, but he was soone incloſd in a Port by the *Romanes*, and in a manner lost his whole Army: And as he had escaped the Enemy, he was sudainly taken by the *Carthaginians* which had sau'd themselues, and was crucified. Moreouer the *Romanes* employed all their care to seize vpon *Sardinia*, being now Ma-^{Haniball cruci-} fers of the Sea.

The year following there was not any thing done worthy of Memory in *Sicily* by the *Roman Army*. *Caius Sulpitius*, and *Aulus Ru-*

tillus were afterwards made Consuls, and sent to *Palermo*, for that the *Carthaginians* forces wintered there. And after the *Romanes* had past,

they put themselves in battell before the Towne: But the *Carthaginians* being within it, presented not themselves to battell. The which *Hippone* and the *Romanes* seeing, they left *Palermo*, and went to *Hippone*, the *Mytilene* and

other Townes. *Mytilene* was likewise taken which soone after they tooke by assault: The Towne of *Mysistrat* with many o-

ther Townes. The year following the *Romanes* besieged the City of the *Camerians*, which had lately abandoned the *Romanes*, it was ta-

ken by force by the meanes of their Batteries and breaches: After-wards *Aeta* was carried by assault with many other Townes of the *Car-*

*thagini*ns; *Lippare* was also besieged. The year following, the Sea-

army of the *Romanes* lay in the Haven of the *Tindaretins* under the charge of *Aulus Rustillus*, who seeing the *Carthaginian* Army neare the shore, he sent word vnto his ships to make haste to follow him. In the meane

time he put to Sea before the rest, only with ten Vessells: But when as the *Carthaginians* saw that some did not haue arque, others began to let

siale, and the first were farre from their Fleet, and neare vnto them, they turned with incredible swiftnesse, and compass them in, so as most part

C of them were funke, and the Consuls ship had like to haue fallen into the *Carthaginians* hands, with all that were within it: He hardly clea-

ped by the force of his Oars and lighnesse.

In the meantyme the rest of the *Romanes* Army, which had gotten into the open sea, encountered the Enemy, whereof ten ships were taken, and eight sunke, and the rest recovered the Islands called *Liparae*.

But howsoeuer either of them parted from this Combate with an Opinion to haue gotten the Victory: Wherefore they were more eager to continue the War by Sea, and were more attente to Marrine affaires.

As for their Armies at Land, during this time, they did no-

D thing worthy of Note, busying themselfes about small things, and of little esteemme.

But the Summer following hauing gien order for their affaires, (as we haue said) they prepared to Waire. In regard

of this *Romanes*, they made their assembly at *Melina*, to the number of three hundred and thirty Vessells armed; and rayling from thence The *Romanes* Army by Sea,

leaving *Sicily* on the right hand, and passing the Promontory of *Pach-*

china, they sayled to *Echinom*, whereas the Army by Land at *The Carthagi-*

tended them. The *Carthaginians* in like manner put to Sea, with *The Romanes* Army of three hundred and fifty Sayle armed, and stayed at *Lilybeum*, and three hundred

from

Lilybeum.

D

from thence went to *Heracleum*, and so to *Minoe*. The Romans intention was to passe into *Affricke*, and there to make their chiefe War, to the end the *Carthaginians* shoud not only run the hazard of the War of *Sicily*, but also have it at their owne Housers. On the other side the *Carthaginians* considering how easilie their descent would be into *Lybia*, and what little defence the Countrey-men wold make when they should be once entred, they desir'd to fight presently with the Romans, and by that meanes to hinder the descent into *Affricke*. Wherefore the one being resolu'd to defend themselves, and the other to assaile them, considering the obstinacy of either party, there was likely-hood of an vndoubted battell. When as the Romans had given order for all things necessary for the equipage of their Sea-army, and to make their descent into *Affricke*, they made choice of the ablest men in all their Army at Land, and imbarke'd them, and then divide d their Army into fourre, whereof either had two Names. The first was called the first Battalion, and the first Army: So were the rest according to their order, but the fourth and the third were called *Triarij*, as in an Army at Land. Al this Army at Sea amounted to aboue 140000. men. Every Vessell had three hundred Rowers, and five score Legionaries.

An Army of
140000. Ro-
mans and more
carthaginians.

In regard of the *Carthaginians*, they were furnished only with men accustomed with Sea-fights, being in number aboue 150000. men, according to the order of their Vessells. Wherefore they that were present and saw the great danger, and power of the two Armies, the great charges, the multitude of combatants, and of ships, they did not only wonder, but they also who heard speake of it. The Romans considering that vp-on necessity they must go vpon the side, and that their Enemies say'd more lightly, they employed all their Art to make their battell strong and invincible. For the effecting whereof they set two Vessells in front of sixe Banks in equall distane, in the which were *Marcus Attilius*, and *Lucius Manlius*. After which march'd the first and second Battalion of either side, their ships following one another, so as the distance of the two Battalions did still enlarge themselves. The stems of their ships looked outward. By this meanes the Battalions drawne thus in length, made the two parts of a Triangle, to the which they added the third Battalion in the same fashion, as a foundation, so as the three Battalions made a perfect figure of a Triangle. After the third Battalion the ships which carried the Horses, were ordered one after another, seruing as a Rampier to the third Battalion:

The *Triarij* followed after in their order, making the fourth Battalion, every Vessell being ordered in such sort, as they past the precedent on either side. All the Romans Army was thus ordered, whereof the first part, that is to say, the two sides of the point of the Triangle, were empty in the midis: but the sides following after the foundation were better supplied. By this meanes their Army was firme and hard to breake. In the meantime the Commanders of the *Carthaginians* drew their Souldiers together, and put courage into them, letting them understand, that if they wone the battell, there would be no more War but in *Sicily*: But if the Romans had the Victory, they must expect no better fight

A Roman-
iance made
by the Carth-
aginian Cap-
taines to the
Souldiers of
their Army,

fight for *Sicily*, but for their owne Country, their Housers and their Children.

After this exhortation, they make them imbarque; the which they did resolute, and prepared to fight, thinking of the time to come, according to the discouer of their Captaines: Who seeing the order of the Roman Army, deuided theirs likewise into fourre; whereof three gayning the Sea, making the Right-wing longer, stayed as if they would environ their Enemies, against whom they turne their beake-heads; and they make the Fort to looke towards the Land, by a circuite of the Left wing of the whole Army. *Hanno* and *Amilcar* were Commandours of the *Carthaginians*. *Hanno* (who was defeated at the battell of *Agrigatis*) had the leading of the Right-wing, with the lightest Vessells, and *Amilcar* of the Left. This is he who as we have sayd, fought at *Sea neare unto Tyndaris*, who hazarding then the middest of his Army, vied this kind of Strategem of War for the Combate.

The Romans seeing at the first charge, that the Battalion of the *Carthaginians* was weake, forc'd resolute thorogh them: But the *Carthaginians* obseruing the Commandement of *Amilcar*, left the place preffently, making shew to flye, to the end the Roman Army should feare it selfe, whom the Romans followed with too great heate: And therefore the first and second Battalion sayl'd with too great Courage after the Enemy, but the third and fourth were stayed, drawing after them the Ships that were laden with Horses; with whom the *Triarij* remained for their Guard. When as the two first seemed to be farre from the others, the *Carthaginians* alwaies signe given them by *Amilcar*, as he had instructed them, turning the Prow suddenly, they all affalte the Roman Vessells which followed them.

The Combat was cruell; It is true, the *Carthaginians* had a great aduantage by their lightnesse, and their policy inturning: But when as they came to fight, and that the Armies affronted one another, the Romans had no lesse hope then the *Carthaginians*, for the Force and Prowesse of their men, and bythe stayng of their Ships, and cutting of their Engines, and finally by the Combate of the two Commanders, and the hazard they were in their fight.

This was the estate of the Battell: Presently after *Hanno*, who as we have sayd had the charge of the Right-wing, and did not budge before the first charge was gien, seeing the Battell begin with the Romans, went to *Sea* and charged the *Triarij*, where ther was a great fight, the which was long in suspenſion. In the meane time the fourth Battalion of the *Carthaginians*, which continued neare the shore, turning the Prow vpon the Enemy, assaulted the Battalion in front, by the which the ships which carried the Horses were rowed, who sudainly slipp the Ropes and fought with great fury.

There they saw three parts of the Battell, and three Combats at *Sea* at one instant, in three diuers places, and farre remore. The Combate was equal, for that the Ships of either side were of the like number. Without doubt every man performed his Duty in fighting, so as all was indiferent and equal. Finally,

Amilcar

A Battell at
Sea betwix
the Romans
and *Carthagi-*
nians.

Amilcar vane quished.

Amilcar was defeated, and forced to fly with his Squadron. And Lucius Manlius towed away the ships that were taken. In the meane time Attilius seeing the Combate of the Triary, and of the ships wherein the Horles were, came presently to succour them with the Vessels of the seconde Battalion, which were yet whole and entire : But when as the Triary who had beeene long and violently charged by Hannos, so they were in great danger, saw the Confult come, they resummed courage, and recharged him resoluteley : And then the Carthaginians being much discontented to haue an Enemy in front and behinde, and to be infested by succours contrary to their expectation, gained A the open Sea, relying upon the lightness of their Vessels, and saued themselves by flight. And Lucius Manlius in the meane time seeing the third Battalion prest neare the shore by the left wing of the Carthaginians, and Marcus Attilius in like manner, leauing the ships with the Horles and the Triary in safety, resolued both together to succour those that were in danger : For they were in a manner besieged, and almost at the last gaspe, and had beeene defeated, if the Carthaginians had not feared to toyne with them by reason of their Engines or Rauens. Neither did they preffe vpon them, but onely to chale them to the shore. Finally, the Carthaginians were suddenly compact in by the B Consuls, whereof fifty of their ships were taken with the men. Some being driven vnto the shore, saued themselves. Behold the three- C several Combats which the Romans and Carthaginians had in one day : Yet the Romans in the end had the Victory of the whole Battell. In the which 24 of their ships were broken, and about thirty of the Carthaginians. There was not one Roman Vessell taken whole by the Carthaginians with the men. But the Romans tooke three score and fourre of the Carthaginians with all the men. Soone after this battell, the Romans par- ticed with an intent to sayle directly into Lybia, after they had made pro- vision of Victuals, and all other munition, ioyning to their Army the C ships taken, being well repaired.

The Cape of Mercurie.

Afpiis taken by the Romans.

There is a place in Africke which they call the Caps of Mercurie, running faire into the Sea, and is directly against Sicly, where the Romans arriuing and recceuing their Vessells, repairet all : Then passing this strond, they sayled vnto the City of Afpiis, where they put their Army in Battell neare vnto the Towne, and retired their ships, ram- peting them with Ditches and Palliades, resoluing to besiegeit, for that they which held it would not yeeld to the Romans. It is true that the Carthaginians who a little before had escaped from the Battell at sea, and recceuert Carthage by flight, furnished the most necessary places be- longing to their City, with Horse and Foot, and with necessary ship- ping, supposing that the Roman Army after the Victory would come di- rectly vnto them. But when they were aduertised of their descent, and of the siege of Afpiis, they leaued men, and regarding no more the landing of the Romans, but hauing an eye aswell to forsigne affaires as to their owne Countrey, they omitted nothing of that which was necessary for the Guard of the City and Prouince. In the meane time the Consuls after they had taken Afpiis by assault, and

put

put a Garrison into it, and in the Country, and had sent vnto Rome to aduertise the Senate of their successe, to the end they might consider what was afterwards to be done, they drew the whole Army into the Carthaginians Country, where they found no Resistance, spoyleing Courses made by the Romans in the Carthaginians Country, and setting fire on their goodly and glorious buildings, so as they carried away a booty of all sorts of Beasts, with aboue twenty thousand Prisoners, which were Embarked.

In the meane time they received newes from Rome, by the which the Senate sent them word, that one of the Consuls should remayne A in Africke, with sufficient forces, and that the other should Retorne with the ships. The pleasure of the Senate being knowne, Marcus Attilius Regulus stayed in Africke with forty ships, fifteene thousand foote, and five hundred Horse, and Marcus Manlius set sayle with the rest of the ships and Army, hauing the Prisoners with him; and arrived first in Sicly, and then at Rome without any mishance. But the Carthaginians fore-feeling that the Romans War would be long, they first made two General Captaynes in their Army, which were Afruball the lorne of Hanno, and Bostar : Moreover they sent for Amilcar, who was in Heraclum, who Embarking presently with fift thousand foote, and fift hundred Horse, came to Carthage, and was constitu- ted the third Captayne of the Army, taking the Conduct of the War with Afruball and Bostar.

When as these Capaynes had held a Councell concerning the Affayres of the War, they were of opinion that it was necessary to re- lieue the Prouince, and not to indeu to greate a pillage and spoyle of the Country, Marcus Attilius some few days before marching into the Country, razed the weakest Castles, and besieged the stronger. But when he was come to the City of Afpiis which was worthy of a siege, he planted himself before it, and indeuours to force it. The Carthaginians aduertised hereof made haste to succour it, desirous to raise the siege. And therefore they march with all their power against the Romans, Recovering a little Hill to the preuidice of their Enemies, and very conmodious for themselves : Whereon planting their Camp, they hoped for an absolute Victory, by the meanes of their Horse and Elephants. Leauing therefore the playne, they draw into high and vnauen places, as if they would aduertise the Enemy what they had to doe, the which vndoubtedly they effected. For when the Romans had confidered the little vle of Elephants, for they were in a Mountainous and Hilly Country, in the which the Enemies had settled their D chiefe hope, as of great effect and terrible, they aduertised not to attend their Defent into the playne : Wherefore vying the opportunity of the time, they shut them vp at the breake of day in the Mountayne of Afpiis.

By this meanes their Cavalltry and their Elephants were altogether unprofitable : Their aduenturers onely did their dutys in fighting on the top, and had already forced the Roman Legiaries to gibe backe a little, when as sudainly the rest which had gayned the top of the Mountayne showed themselves. The Carthaginians seeing themselves inclosed

D 3

all

all sides abandoned their Fort, and fled into the deserts of the Mountains. The Elephants and Horses recovered the Playne, and safed themselves without danger. The Romans made some little purfuite after the foote-men, then they spoyled the Campe, and ouer-ran the whole Country, walsing all, and ruining the Towne.

Tunes taken by the Romans by assault.

The Numidians great robbers.

Some few days after they besieged *Tunes*, which they tooke by af-fault, where they planted their Campe, for that the place seemed conuenient unto them to mannage the Warre, being a frontier to *Carthage* and to the whole Province. The *Carthaginians* having a little before beene defeated at Sea, and now by Land, not by the cowardize of their Soul-diers, but by the basenesse of the Commanders, they fell into a mi-
serable and desperate estate: For after their last defeatte and flight by the *Romans*, a great Troope of *Numidians*, gaping after spoyle, fell vpon them, doing them in a manner as great harme as the *Romans*. It is a wandering and vagabone Nation and great theeuers, carrying away all they finde.

The *Carthaginians* terrified by the *Numidians* abandoned the Country, and retired to *Carthage*, where they suffered much, awfull by famine, as for their owne cowardize, and moreouer the multitude being great they feared a long siege: And although that *Marcus Attilius* was perswaded that the *Carthaginians* were wonderfully weakened, awfull by Land as Sea, being in hope that the City would be in short time deliuered unto him: yet fearing that the new Consull, whom they expected soone in *Affrike*, would reape the honour of his proweesse and valour, he began to treat of a peace with them, wheretothey willingly gaue consent. Wherefore they sent the chiefe of their City in Embassie to the Consull, to make this treaty. But when as they were arriued, they were so farre from agreeing, as they could hardly without choller heate the vncasional things that were enyon'd them. Make your account that *Marcus Attilius* did hope that his offer would bee accepted as a thing of grace, for that he had preuyailed in all his affaires: The *Carthaginians* on the other side, thought that when as fortune shold reduce them to extremity, the Consull could not make them a more bitter answere.

Embaſſadors ſent by the Carthaginians to Marcus Attilius.

Xantippus a Lacedemonian.

Their Embassadors therefore returned, not only without any agreement, but deſcending wonderfully the Consuls anſwere, as to hard and proud. The which being heard by the Senate of the *Carthaginians*, they entered into ſo great an indignation vpon the Consuls deſtaund, and refumed ſuch courage, that although formerly they were out of hope, yet then they refolute to ſtand all extremities, and rather to trye their D fortune, and to attend the time, then to ſuffer ſo ignominious a thing and unworthy of their valour. It happened at the ſame time, that ſome one of thofe which had bee[n] ſent into *Greece*, in the beginning of the warre to Leuic Men, returned and brought with them a good number of Soul-diers, among the which there was one *Xantippus a Lacedemonian*, a man of judgement, and practised in the Warre: who after that hee had heard a relation of the defeat of the *Carthaginians*, and the manner, the place, and that what time it happened: having alſo conſidered the equipage of the

the *Carthaginians*, with the number of their Horse and Elephants, he returned ſuddenly to his Companions, ſaying, that the ignorance of the Capitaines, not the *Romans*, had defeated the *Carthaginians*. This ſpeech ran preſently throughout the whole City, and came vnto the Princes.

The *Carthaginians* cauſed him to be called, and resolved to vſe his Councell, who in their preſence deliuered plainly the Reasons of his ſpeech, and the caufe of their Defeate; and if they would follow his Councell, and hereafter keepe the Plaines, leauing the hilly Countrey, and there plant their battell, hee would teach them how their Army ſhould be out of danger, and their Enemies Vanquished. The Capitaines mooued with the words of *Xantippus*, preſently Resigned vnto him the Conduet of all this Warre, and now there ranne a bruite throughout the whole Campe of *Xantippus* ſpeech, with great Hope of the *Carthaginians* Army. *The Leading and Ioy*. But after that all the Companies of the Army were drawne into the field, and that hee had put them in order, there was ſo great a diſference betwixt his and that of the other Capitaines, who vnderſtood not the Art of Warre, that preſently the common cry demanede nothing but to fight, ſo much they were auſſured vnder the leading of *Xantippus*.

This done, the *Carthaginian* Capitaines ſeeing the couraſe of their Men, exhorted them a little according to the opportunity of the time, and within few daies after they marchēd to find out the Enemy. There were in the *Carthaginians* Army aboue twelve thouſand foote, four thouſand Horſe, and neare a hundred Elephants. When as *Marcus Attilius* heard of the coming of the Enemy, and that the *Carthaginians* kept their Horſes vpon an even Country, camping contrary vnto their cuſtome on the plaines, hee wondred as at a new accident: Yet hee marchēd directly to them deſirous battell, and fodeg within twelues hundred paces of their Campe. Three daies after the *Carthaginian* Capitaines held a Councell what was to be done: But the multitude deſiring the combate, turned towards *Xantippus*, calling him by his name, with a countenance ſeeming to be willing and ready to vſidergo all dangers, and intreated him to lead them ſpeedily vnto the battell. When as the *Carthaginian* Capitaines ſaw their Men thus reſolute, and deſirous to fight, and that *Xantippus* ſaid the time was fitting and conuenient, they ſuffered them to prepare to battell, and gaue him leaſe to do all at his pleaſure: Who after he had taken charge of the Capitaines, hee orders the battell, before the whole Army hee ſets the Elephants one after another. After which hee cauſeth a Legion of *Carthaginians* to march, with ſome diſtance, and placeth the ſtrangers D vpon the Wings. Then he ordereth the braueſt among his foote, to fight of eyther ſide betwixt the Wings of the Horſe men.

The *Romans* ſeeing the *Carthaginians* in battell, ſlayed not to doe the like; yet fearing the violence of the Elephants, they ſet in Front the moſt active of their men, re-inforcing their Reare with many Ensignes, and diuiding their Horſe men vpon the Wings. Their Ordonnance was leſſe then formerly, but more cloſe, for feare leaſt the Elephants

The Leading and Ioy
The order of
the battell by
Xantippus.

lephants should open them. But as the *Romans* had set a good order against the Elephants, so they had neglected to keepe themclues from inclosing. For as the *Carthaginians* had a greater number of Horse, so the close Ordonance, gave them an easie meanes to breakē and seprate them.

Battell gien
by the *Romans*
to the *Cartha-*
ginians.

The two Armies being in battell, either attending who should first Charge; fuddainly *Xanippus* causeth the Elephants to beginne the Charge, and breake the Enemies rankes, and that the Horse-men of both Wings should withall charge furiously. The *Romans* cause their Trumpets to sound after the manner of the Country, and charge where A the Enemies forces were greatest. It is true that the *Roman* Horse-men terrifid with the multitude of their Enemies, abandoned the two Wings: And the Foote-men of the left Wing waing from the Fury of the Elephants, and making no account of the foreigne Souldiers, charged the right Wing of the *Carthaginians* with great fury, and put it to flight, pursuing them vnto their Fort. On the other side, they which indured the charge of the Elephants, were broken and trodden vnder their feete by heapes. It is true that the whole Ordnance continued for a time in battell, for that their supplies beeing in the Reare were very close. But after that the *Romane* Legions, set in the Rearward, and compassed in of all sides by the *Carthaginian* Horse-men, were forced to make resistance there, and that they (who as wee haue sayd) were appointed to make head against the Elephants, were by them repulst into the thickest of the enemies Battalion, where they were defeated and slaine, then the *Romans* beeing assaulted on all sides, some were beaten downe and slaine by the intollerable fury of the Elephants, and others by the Horse-men, in the same place where they had their first posture gien them, some few of them seeing no more hope, sought their safety by flight, of which (considering that the Country was very plaine) some were defeated by the Elephants, and the rest by the Horse-men: And sommyng with *Marcus Attilius*, were taken to the number of five hundred. B

Marcus Attilius
taken with
500 *Romans*.

The *Carthaginians* looke that day but fiftie hundred Adventurers stran-
gers, whom the left Wing of the *Romane* had defeatid: But of all the
Romane Army there escaped but two thousand with their Ensignes, who
(as we haue sayd) pursued a troupe of enemies into their Fort. All the
rest were cut in pieces, except *Marcus Attilius* and a few Men which
fled with him, in regard of these Ensignes which beyond all hope es-
capid, they came vnto *Affis*. Finally the *Carthaginians* after the
spoile of the Dead retiued to *Carthage*, with the Consull and other D
Prisoners, making great ioy and triumph.

If we shall duly consider this, we shall finde many things profitable
for the conduct of Man: First, *Marcus Attilius* serues for a faire exam-
ple to all the World, that it is a great folly and indiscretion, to put
his Hope in Fortune, vnder the colour of good successse and enterprises
brought to an end according to our desire: Who of late after so many
tryumphant Victories, had not any compassion of the *Carthaginians*,
being reduced to extremity, refusing to grant them peace, which they
craved

craved with so much humility, hath beece presently after reduced to
that constraint, as to make the like request.

Moreover that which *Euripides* hath formerly spoken so well, that
the good Councell of one man alone doth vanquish a great Army, hath
beene this day verified by that which hath happened. In truth one
man alone, and the Councell of one man, hath vanquished and defeated
an Army, formerly invincible; raising and restoring a Towne lost, and
the hearts of so many desolate men. Beleue mee; I haue thought good
to relate these actions for the benefit and instruction of the Readers of
A these Commentaries.

For as there are two meanes easily to correct and amend our
erours, wherof the one is his owne Misfortune, and the other the ex-
ample of another mans Milices; there is no doubt but the first hath
greater efficacie, but it is not without the losse and prejudice of him to
whom it happens: And although the second be not of so great force,
yet it is the better for that they are out of danger, and therefore no
man imbraceth the first meanes willingly, for that they cannot helpe
without their owne trouble and losse. As for the second, every man fol-
lowes it willingly; For wee may see by him (without any hazard
B or losse) what wee ought to follow for the best.

Wherefore if wee consider it well, we shall finde that experience
(by the remembrance of another mans faults) seemes to be a very good
doctrine of a true life: Without doubt it is that alone which makes
the good Judges of reason without any losse: But wee haue discour-
sed sufficiently of this Subject.

The *Carthaginians* haing ended their affaires happily, and to their
content, they rejoyced in many sorte, both in giuing thankes vnto
God; and sacrificing after their manner, or in vsing amongst them-
selves a mutuall benevolence and courtesie.

Soone after that *Xanippus* had raised the hearts of the *Carthaginians*, *Xanippus* too
hee returned into his Country, as a man well aduisid: For the Prowesse, turns into his
estate and Valour of men, and their Vertues, are many times the cause of
great enuy and detractions. Against the which Citizens that are well
allied, and haue many Friends, make easie resistance: But strangers
which haue not that supportt, are easily ruined and defeated. They
say lie went away for some other reason, which wee will deliuer when
it shall be fitting.

After that beyond all hope the *Romans* had received Newes of
the defeate of their Army in *Affrike*, and the taking of the Con-
D full: And that the remainder of their men was besieged in *Affis*, by the *Cartha-*
gineans, consulting presently of the safety of those which were remaining in
Affrike, they appointed an Army to bee raised to goe thither with
all speede.

In the meane tyme the *Carthaginians* besieged *Affis*, striuing to
force it, with hope soone to haue this remainder of the Battell: But
the Virtue and Courage of the *Romans* which defended it, was so
great, as all the Enemies attempts could not preuale. Wherefore
being out of hope to enter it, they raiſd the Siege. Soone after

E
Newes

Affis besieged
by the *Cartha-*
ginians.

Newes came that the *Romans* prepared an Army at Sea to send into *Affricke*: For the which the *Carthaginians* being moued, they vsed all diligence to repaire their old Vessels and to make new. Presently after they laboured to stand vpon their guard, and to hinder the descent of the *Romans* into *Affricke*, with two hundred Vessels armed and well furnished: But when as the preparation of three hundred and fifty Roman Vessels was ready, they sent *Marcus Emilius* and *Seruus Fulvius* with the whole Army into *Affricke* in the beginning of the Spring. Whenas the Consuls had fayle, to draw fift into *Sicily*, and from thence into *Affricke*, they were not farre from the Cape of *Mercure*. A but they pretytly discouered the *Carthaginian* Army: the whiche (as we have said) watched their comming at the passage, and charged them suddenly with great fury, taking a hundred and fourteene Vessels armed: fayling from thence to *Afri*, they retired their Men, and after they had stayed some time in *Affricke*, they returned into *Sicily*.

But when they had past the Sea betwixt *Affricke* and *Sicily* with a prosperous Winde, and had anchored neere vnto the *Camarins* Towne, it is not possible to deliuer the greatnesse of the torment and misery that bellfed them. Hardly could they preferre fourte score Vessels whole of foure hundred three score and foure which were in their Army. All the rest (either funke in the Sea, or split against the Rocks) fill'd all the shore with wrecks, or dead Bodies.

C It is not in the memory of man of any such shipwracke by a tempest. This miserable misfortune happened not casuallly by chance, but by the ouerweyng of the Consuls, confidering that the Marriners had let them understand, that they must avoid the Coasts aboue *Sicily*, for that it was not to be appreached, being bad and difficult to fayle in, especially at that seaon, for they fayled betwixt the Starres of *Orion* and the *Dog starre*. Whatsoeuer it were the Consuls disdaininge the admonition of the Marriners, made hast with a glorious confidence of their late Victory, to surprize some Townes a long that shone: where as they fell into extreme calamity vnder the shadow of a phare hope. Then they knew their folly, carrying the repentance of their presumption. Defacing by this wracke the things which formerly they had done well.

D And although that in all things the *Romans* relye vpon their forces, and thinke whatsoeuer they resolute, must be put in execution, holding nothing impossible when they haue once undertaken it, and that this obstinacy doth many times turne to good. Yet sometimes they fall into great and apparent errours, especially in Sea-matters. It is true that in Battels at Land fighting with men, it is not so strange if they vanquish: For the Combate is equall, altho they bee sometimes vanquisht: But as for the Sea, for that they thrust themselves into hazard, and without consideration, they fall many times into great inconueniences.

This happened at this time, and hath done formerly, and will befall them many times hereafter, vntill they haue supprest and reformed

A great number of the Roman ships perished by a Tempest.

reformed this ouer-weyng, thinking they are able to goe to Sea at all seaons. The *Carthaginians* being aduertised of the shipwracke of the *Roman* Army, they had the greater desire to raise an Army both by Land and Sea: For that their force seemed as great at Land, as that of the *Romans*, by reason of the defaute of *Mareus Atilius*: The like they conceaved of the Sea, after the great losse the *Romans* had indured. Wherefore they presently sent *Ashdruball* into *Sicily* with the old Bands, and a new leue of the Men of *Heraculum*, with an hundred and fifty Elephants. They wrigged out a Fleete of two hundred Vessels, and other *Ashdruball* sent into *Sicily* by the *Carthaginians*.

A Equipages necessary for Navigation. When as *Ashdruball* landed at *Lilybeum* with his whole Army, he trayned his Men, and exercised his Elephants, making roads into those Countries which were allied vnto the *Romans*. Finally, he was very watchfull and diligent. And although the *Romans* losse had much abated their courage, yet they vsed all possible diligence to rayse a Fleete of two hundred and twenty Vessels with a Palliado: the whiche they effected within three Moneths, and put it to Sea, the which is difficult to beleeme, to the end the World shold not think they would strike fayle vnto the *Carthaginians*. *Lucius Aquilinus*, and *Caius Cornelius* Consuls, were appointed to lead this Army, to fight with the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, who passing the Sea presently, arrived at *Messina*, where they received the Remainder of the ships, which had beene preferued in the storme. By this meanes their Army consisted of three hundred Vessels.

B From thence they tooke their Course to *Palermo*, the chiefe Towne of the *Carthaginians*, the whiche they assaied vigourously, erecting *Palermo* besieged by the *Romans*, and taken by assault. two sorts of Engines, and other preparations to that effect, so as they easily overthrew a Tower seated vpon the Sea, by the whiche the Souldiers entring by force, tooke that part of the Towne which was called *Naples*. After this the Burgeses dying for feare, yelded vnto the Consuls the other part which they called the old Towne.

C After the taking of *Palermo*, the Consuls put in a good Garrison, and then returned to *Rome*. The yeare following, *Gneus Sempronius*, and *Caius Serranus* were Consuls, who in like manner past into *Sicily* with an Army, to goe from thence into *Affricke*: where being arrived, they dispersed their Men into diuers places, and committed great spoiles, yet they did not any thing worthy of Memory. Finally, they arriuied at the Island of *Lophages*, which they call *Mirmyx*, which is neere vnto a little Shelle or Barre of *Barbary*, where not knowing the passages, they were in a great streight, and D were stayed by reason of the ebbing of the Sea: They were for a time in suspence what to doe. Finally, the Flood coming sudainly vpon them, they were almost driven to dispaire: Yet they could not save themselves vntill they had lightned their ships, and cast out their baggage to save themselves.

E After that Day the *Romans* were so amazed with so many dangers, as they failed continually as if they had fled. Soone after they returned into *Sicily*, and leauing *Lilybeum*, they tooke Port at *Palermo*. But soone after that they were gone from thence to fale into *Italy*, there

role

One hundred
and
fifty
of the Roman
Vessels lost.

rose so great a storne as aboue a hundred and fifty of their ships were driven vp and downe, and in the end perished. And although the Romans after so many losses, were of aduice to preface the honor and Maiestie of the Empire before all other things, yet they were so broken with so great miseries, as they refolued to abandon the Sea. And therefore they only leuied an Army by Land, wherein they thought they should be more confident and of better hope, the which they sent into Sicily with the two Consuls, *Lucius Cecilius*, and *Caius Curius*: To whom they deliuere only three score Vessells for their Victuals. By this meane the *Carthaginians*, became againe Masters of the Sea with A out contradiction, seeing the Romans had no more any Fleet at Sea. Moreouer they had great confidence in their Army at Land, and not without cause. For after that the report of the battell gien in *Affricke*, came to *Rome*, and that they understood that the deafeate of their men hapned by the force and fury of the Elephants, for that they had broken the Ranks and opened the battalions, and that they had made a wonderfull slaughter of them.

Their feare of the Elephants from that day, was so great, as for two years after they never durst charge the *Carthaginians*, althoough they made many encounters in *Affricke*, and in the Country of *Seliniatia*, nor Campe in the Plaines within five or sixe furlongs of them, keepeing awlays the Mountaynes and hilly Countries, to laue themselfes from the Elephants, so as they only forced *Therince* and *Lipara*. Wherefore the Romanes knowing the feare their Army had, refolued againe to put a Fleet to Sea.

At that tyme the Romane people being assembled, they chose vnto the Consulship *Caius Attilius*, and *Lucius Manlius*: They also made fiftie new shippes, and Rigg'd out the olde, the which they furnished with Souldiers proportionably. Wheas *Afdruball* Generall of the *Carthaginians*, knowing well the feare of the Romans, had beeene aduertified by the Fugitives, that one of the Consuls was returned unto *Rome* with halfe the Army, and *Cecilius* remayned alone at *Palermo* with the other, he parts from *Lylleum* (when as Haruest approached) with his Army to spoile, and falls vpon the Territory of *Palermo*, plannig his Campe vpon the Mountaines. *Cecilius* hauing newes of their comming, and knowing that *Afdruball* desired nothing but a battell, kept his Army within the Towne.

By this meane *Afdruball* growing very confident, conceyuing that *Cecilius* kept himselfe cloe for feare, he caufeth his Army to March to *Palermo*, hauing ruined and burnt all the Champion Countries. The D Consull was alwaies of opinion not to go to field, vntill that his enemy was drawne to passe the Riuere, which runnes neere unto the Towne Walls. But when he saw that the Campe and the Elephants approached, he caufed a fallie to be made by the nimblest and most active men of his Army, commanding them to skirmish with the enemy, vntill their whole Campes should be forced to come to the combats. And afterwards confidering that matters had succeeded as he desired, he ordaines the lightest and most active, to plant themselves beyond the Towne

Therince and
Lipara.

A new Army at
Sea, prepared
by the Romans.

The policy of
Cecilius to de-
feat the Ele-
phants.

Towne ditch, giuing them charge to cast Pertuilians, Darts, and Spis, a farte off at the Elephants: And if they came running vpon them with fury and violence, they shold flis into the Ditch, and from thence cast their Darts at them. He also comandmed the Archers of the Market place, to go out of the Towne, and to fight at the foote of the wall. In the meane time, he issed forth with all the Ensignes, by another side of the Towne right against the enemies left Wing, and sent many to those which fought with Darts.

Presently after the skirmish begame, the Maister of the Elephants, who with a desire of glory would haue the honour of the Victory, incensed them against the enemies, not attending *Afdrubals* pleasure. The Romans obseruing the Consuls commandment, turned head presently, and when as the Elephants pursued them with fury, they flis into the Ditch, the Elephants being vpon the side of it, they were sudainly charged with Darts and Pertuilians, awlly by the Townsmen which were vpon the Walls, as from the Souldiers which lay in the Ditch. And when as they could passe no further; they turned head, being necessarily forced to fall vpon their owne battalions with great slaughter.

B In the meane time *Cecilius* goes sudainly to field, hauing his whole Army entir and in good order, by another gate, and chargeth his enemies furiously, who being already broken by the Elephants, and charged againe by the Consuls Troupes, were easilie defeated. A part of them were flise, the rest laued themselfes by flight: There were ten Elephants taken with their Indian Maisters; the rest were taken after the battell, their Gouvernours being cast downe. This Victory purchased great honour to *Cecilius*, as the Man who by the report of all the whole World, had beeene the cause that the Romans after that tyme renfurning courage camped in the Plaines. When the Romans had newes of this Victory, it is not credible the ioy which they conceaved, not so much for the taking of the Elephants, whereby the *Carthaginians* power was much decaefed, as for that their men seemed to be growne more hardy in the Warre, for that they had conquered them. Wherefore they Prepared an Army at Sea, as they had formerly refolued, and sent the Consuls into Sicily with two hundred Vessells, desirous to make an end of that Warre: Whither they past hauing made prouision of Victuals, and other things necessary. This was the fourteenthe year since the beginning of the Warre.

The Consuls being arrived, and receyving the Bands of Souldiers that were there, they go and lay sieges to *Lylleum*, hoping after the taking thereof, they might easily transpor the Warre into *Affricke*: But the *Carthaginians* mooved with the like considerations, refolued by all meanes to keepe it, knowing well that after the losse of *Lylleum*, they had nothing else remaining in Sicily. The Romans in truth held in a manner the whole Iland, except *Trapanum*. But to the end that what wee speake of Sicily, may not seeme obscure to some one, by reaon of the ignorance of places, we will deliuer the Scituacion in few words.

*A defaute of the
Carthaginians,
by the Romans.*

*An Armie at
Sea prepared
by the Romans.*

The Scituation
on the Island
of Sicily.

All Sicily hath its Scituation in regard of *Italy* and the limites thereof, like vnto *Morea* in respect of *Greece*, and its bounds. It is true, there is some difference, for that there is a little Sea betwixt this and *Italy*. Whereas *Morea* is ioyned vnto *Greece*, by a little slip of Land, for they may goe on dry foote from *Morea* vnto *Greece*, and not from *Sicily* into *Italy* without shipping. *Sicily* is of a Triangular forme, and so many Angles as it hath, so many Capes or Promontories there are vpon the Sea shore. Among the which, that whereon the *Sicilian* Sea doth beat is called *Pachinus*, and lookest towards the South: that which tends towards the North, where the Sea doth end, and is nor above a mile and a halfe from *Italy*, is called *Pelorus*. The third whiche hath his Aspect towards *Affricke*, and towards the Winterly West; and which is right against *Carthage*, from the which vnto the *Affricke* shore, there is not aboue one hundred twenty and seven miles, is called *Lylbeum*, diuiding the Sea of *Sardinia* and *Sicily*. There is a Towne on this Cape, which carries the same name, the which the *Romans* besieged at that time: The which is strong with Walls and Ditches, and moreouer with Marshes and Pooles, by the which lyeth the passage for ships into the Port; but the entry is difficult, and not accedible but by expert Mariniers.

Many Towers
ruined by their
Engines.

The *Romans* then to besiege it throughly, made round about it Trenches, Rampiers, and Battlions, one neere vnto another. Finally, they set vp their Engines of Warre; neyther did they omit any thing that was necessary to force a Towne. At their first beginning they battered a Tower, which was feare vpon the Sea shore, looking towards *Affricke*, adding daily new Engines and planting them in order. Finally, they ouerthrew at the same time sixe other Towers neare vnto it, by the shaking of great Beames, armed with iron at the end, like vnto a Rams-head. Wherefore as this siege was troublesome and dangerous, and that some Towers were much indammaged, and others overthrowne by the Violence of the Engincs, and the Towne continually battered, the besieged beganne to faint, and to grow fearefull and amazed. They were ten thousand Souldiers besides the inhabitants of the Towne. Yet *Imilcon*, who had the guard thereof, maintayned this siege against the *Romans* by his Couancell and great courage: Wherefore the *Romans* made any breach in the Walls, he repayed it within; and if the enemy did Mine, he preuented them by countermines. By this meanes he still defeated their interpryses. Sometimes hee also made fallies, hindring them much in all their attempts, and trying if hee could to fire their Engines of battery. Many times hee gaue Alarums, both by day and night, so as there was a greater slaughter and losse of men by this kinde of encounters; then many times in their first Battells.

A Conspiracy
by mercenary
Souldiers ser-
ving under the
Carthaginians,
Alexon.

At that time some Commanduers of mercenary Souldiers, conspired to yeild the Towne vnto the *Romans*; who being confident of the content of their Companions slipt downe the Wall in the night, and goes vnto the Campe, discouering their charge vnto the Confull: At what time there was likewise a *Grecian* in *Lylbeum* called *Alexon*, who had

had sometimes saued the Towne of *Agragias* from Trealon, when as the *Saragofins* held it.

This man after that he had vnderstood the enterprize of the treason, revealed it vnto *Imilcon*: who caused all the Capitaines to bee presently called, except such as had slipt downe the Wall, and declared vnto them what he had vnderstood of the treason, intreating them they would not so ignominiously deliver him and the Towne vnto their Enemies. Moreouer he made them great promises, if they would keepe their faith: And when they had all consented to that which hee propounded, he presently sent *Haniball* with them to pacifie a Troope of *Gaules*. This was the Sonne of that other *Haniball*, who (as we haue said) was hang'd vpon a Croffe in *Sardinia*, after he had made that losse of the Army at *Sea*. He hoped well that he would be pleasing vnto them, for that had beeene at the Warre with them vnder his Fathers commandant. Hee likewise sent *Alexon* to other bands of strangers, for that they had great confidence in him. Presently after hee had assembled the Companions, he prevailed so by prayers and promises, as all generally kept their Faith and Friendship with the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore affoone as the Chiefe of the treason were returned, and ready to speake vnto them, and to relate what they had treated with the *Romans*, they not only denied to confess vnto them, but they disdained to heare them, drivning them from the Wallies with Darts and Stones.

Thus the *Carthaginians* being in a great and manifest danger of treason, had like to haue fallen into their Enemies hands. But *Alexon* (who formerly for to keepe his Faith with them of *Agragias*, had not onely preferred the Towne, but the Countrey likewise, their Lawes, and liberty) was the cause at this time (in the opinion of all the world) that the *Carthaginians* were not defeated. And although they of *Carthage* of the *Carthaginians*.

C could not be aduertised of the affaires of *Lylbeum*, yet doubting the necessities which they might fall into during a long Siege, they armed fifty shippes with ten thousand men: whereof *Haniball* the Sonne of *Amilcar*, *Car*, who formerly was Capitaine of the *Tarrennes*, and a great friend to *Arabe*, had the leading: to whom they gaue charge in few words to doe what possible he might, to enter into *Lylbeum*, and to succour the besieged. *Haniball* then with these ten thousand Souldiers, arriuers first at the Islands of *Egufe*, which are mid-way betwixt *Carthage* and *Lylbeum*, and there attends the Winde: After which setting sayle, he bent his course directly to the Hauch of *Lylbeum*, hauing his men all in batell and ready to fight.

D The Consuls amazed at this suddaine approach of the Enemy, daubed that if they attempted to fight with them, the violence of the windes would likewise drise them into the Port. Wherefore they refolued not to stop their entry. It is true that they prepared themselves vpon the shore, and fought to terrifie them at their entry: In the meane time all the troops within the Citty, seeing succours come, returned courage, leaping for hope and ioy, and giuing courage by signes and shouts to their Succours. *Haniball* with incredible courage, layes wonderfull

The foresight
of the *Carthagi-*
nians.

Haniball sonne
of *Amilcar*,
Capitaine of 50
shippes with
10000. men.

derfull swiftly and enters the Port, the which no man would have imagined, and puts his Army safe into *Lylbum*. It is incredible the ioy which they within the Towge conceied, after their succours were entred, not so much for the refreshing of men, but for that the *Romanes* durst not binder the entry of the ships.

But *Imilcon* Commander of the *Carthaginians*, seeing that the Souldiers demanded nothing but to fight, alwell the old Garrison, in regard of their supplies, but the new succours, for that they had not felt the former miseries; he would not loose this opportunity, resoluteing to set fire on the *Romanes* Engines by what meane souer. Where A fore when hee had drawne them altogether, hee made a speech vnto them, promising good rewards to such as shold shew themselues braue Men: And assur'd them that the *Carthaginians* would acknowledge it. The Souldiers moued with these speeches, told them that they were ready to do their dutys. Moreouer they cryed out with a loud voyce, intreating him that without any further stay he would lead them to fight. *Imilcon* commanding their courage, sent them to refresh themselues, and gave them charge to be ready, and to performe that which their Capitaines should commaund them: Whom preffently after hee drawes a part, and acquaints them with his interprise; then hee appoints vnto every one his Quarter and place, commaunding them that every one should retire speedily in the beginning of the night, the which they performed.

At the breake of day *Imilcon* made his sallies in many places, and fell vpon the Engines. The *Romanes* who doubted the eamcies designe, were not negligent, but were all in Armes keeping a good Guard. Wherefore as soone as the *Carthaginians* beganne their sally, they marcht against them, so as the Allarum was great neere vnto the walls. The *Carthaginians* were about twenty thousand men, and the *Romanes* many more. And for that the combate was without any order of battell, the danger was the greater: For in so great a multitude of Souldiers, they did fight Man to Man, as if it had beeene a single combate. It is true, that the heate of the fight, and the greatest Allarum was neere vnto the Engines. Beleue that they which were appointed, as wel by the *Carthaginians* to assaile, as by the *Romanes* for defence, cam to so great and cruell a combate, as they dyed with incredible Resolutions, never abandoning the place which they had beeene ordain'd them. But they which were mingled in fighting, cast themselves vpon the *Romanes* with such great courage, assailing the Engines with fires, Darts, and such like Armes, as the *Romanes* that day, seeing themselves not able to resist the enemies interprise, thought in a manner all to bee vtterly lost.

When as the combate had continued long, *Imilcon* seeing the great losse of his men, and that he could not preuyale, he caused a Retreate to be sounded. And although the *Romanes* were that day in great danger to loose all their equipage for battery, yet in the end they defended their Engines, and all their furniture, resisting the enemies with increible valour.

After

After these actions, Hannibal parting in the Night from *Lylbum*, vnukenne to the Enemy, with all the shippes which hee had brought with him, hee sayled to *Tripanum* to *Adherball*, who was Generall of the *Carthaginians*, for that they had always a great care to keepe it, in regard of the opportunity of the place, and the beauty of the Port: It is but fiftene miles from *Lylbum*. And although that in the meane time the *Carthaginians* were very desirous to haire newes of the affaires of *Lylbum*, yet it was not possible, for that the Towne after Hannibals departure was kept so short, as no man could enter or come forth.

A At that time a *Rhodian* named *Hannibal*, an able Man, seeing the great desire of the *Carthaginians*, promuted them to enter into *Lylbum*, maugre all the World, and to bring them certaine newes of their estate. But altho the *Carthaginians* were glad to heare him, yet they held it impossible, for that the *Romanes* Army at Sea was in a manner within the Port. Yet the *Rhodian* assur'd them, and parts with his ship: And being arrived at an Island neere vnto *Lylbum*, three dayes after hauing the Winde in Poole, hee sayled directly thither at noone-day, and in the sight of the Enemy, (trouing by all ^{The greatest} ^{resolution of the Rhodian,} means to hinder him) hee entred, performing that which hee had vndertaken.

B One of the Consuls wondering much at the great courage of this man, drew by night to the entry of the Port ten of their best Saylers to surprize him in his retурne: with the which hee himselfe kept watch vpon the departure of the *Rhodian*, and gaue charge to the whole Army my doe the like.

C The shippes which were at the entry of the Port of either side the Marishes, attended with their Oares ready the retурne of the *Rhodian* in shippes, thinking that hee could not avoid it, but woul'd bee inuested: But the *Rhodian* relying much vpon his courage, and the swiftnesse of his Vessell, past thorough the Enemies shippes being thus prepared, not in the night, nor by health: But in the open day: and not contyning himselfe to bee thus escaped saftey with his Men, seeing himselfe a little out of the presse, hee turned the Prow of his Vessell, calling them to fight, yet no man durst assaile him, in regard of the swiftnesse of his V. scell.

D Finally, hee returned to *Carthage*, hausing triumphed over the Engimes with one Vessell, and relate d' all the newes vnto the Senate. The which he hath performed since many times, doing great seruice by this meanes to the *Carthaginians*, in aduertis'g them of what was necessary, and bringing hope and comfort to the besieged, with an amazement to the *Romanes* of so great boldnesse, wherein hee was animatid, for that a little before the route that was made vnto him by diligent experience: But suddenly when hee was discovered, hee turned his Prowe directly to the Tower, which stands vpon the Sea towards Italy, so as they which looke to *Lylbum* were in sight to all Men: which was the onely meanes whereby Saylers might with a good wind recouer the Port. Many moued with the vndeauited boldnesse of this

F

this Rhodian, and knowing the places presumed to doe the like.

The Romans discontented with this great affront and scorne, vsed all diligence to fill vp the entry of the Port, for the effecting whereof they filled many Merchants ships with sand, and sunke them: Then they cast great store of earth vpon them, yet they lost their labour and time, for the great depth swallowed all; and the ebbing and flowing of the Sea dispersed whatsoeuer they cast in. Finally, there was some part, which by chance had made a Barre or Banke, where sudainly a Carthaginian Quadrireme sent in the Night was stayed: After the taking whereof, being well armed and furnished in the Port, the Romans attended the comming of others, especially of the Rhodian Vessell. By chance hee arrived with the accustomed celerity: But at his retorne, the Quadrireme pursuing him, began to preste him neare. The Rhodian at the first sight wonderd at the lightnesse of the Vessell: But hauing well viewed it, hee knew that the Carthaginian Quadrireme had bee taken by the Romans. Wherefore hauing no more hope in flight, hee resolved to fight.

But when they came to ioyne, the Romans had the aduantage, awell by reason of the multitude of their shippes, as the bountie of their men. Wherefore the ship was easily taken with the Rhodian. After which prize the Romans ioynd it to the Quadrireme, and kept them continually armed and ready in the Port: By which means they tooke from them all easie entrance into Lylibeum. In the meane time they battered the Towne violently, and the Wallies were overthrowne in divers places with their Engines. But Iwileon built a new Wall where as the old had beene overthrowne, hauing no more hope in his Salies, nor be able to set fire on the Engines. And as they had continued sometime in this manner, there did sudainly rise so great a storme, as all the Engines and Instruments were shakē by the veleny of the Winde: so as the upper story of some Towers were overthrowne to the ground.

A Sally of the Carthaginians upon the Roman Engines of Batterie.

C Some Grecian Souldiers among the besieged, holding this very commodious for the burning of the Engines, discouer their Opinion to the Gouvernor, who finds this conceit good, and after that hee had made prouision of things necessary, hee sudainly makes a Sally, and casts fire in three places vpon the Engines. The which when the Souldiers had done sudainly, the fire by reason of the violence of the Windeooke easily, and consumed them speedily, for that they were dry, and had become long burne in the Sunne: Neither was it possible to prevent it by the hand of Man, for the violence of the Winde. In truthe they were so amazed at this new accident, as they had not judgement to see and consider what they had to doe, so as striving to succour their Engines, some fell, being overthrowne with great Firebrands falling from above, or blinded with smoake. And the more the Romans found themselves crostred and troubled for the reasons aboue mentioned, the more beneficiall and fortuate it was for the Carthaginians: For they mighte easily discouer the Enemies and all the Engines, and if they cast any thing against the Romans or their

The Rhodian taken with his ship.

C

their Engines, the Winde draue it with great violence, and made the blow more forcible. Finally, the fire was so great, as the foundation whereon the Towers were set, were burnt, and the Heads of the Rammes consumed.

The Consuls after this had no more care to repaire their Enginges, resoluing to carry the Towne by a long siege, in causing a great Trench with a Rampier to be cast vp round about it, and there Campe, with a resolution not to raise the Siege before they had taken it. When as they of Lylibeum had rampired all places necessary, they indured the Siege with great courage. But after the Romans had received newes of this Difater, the Senate caused ten thousand men to bee raised, which they sent into Sicily to refresh their Army, for that many had died at this siege, and their Army at Sea was bare of Men: These sailed first vnto the Port, then they marcht by Land vnto the Campe before Lylibeum.

An enterprise of the Romans vpon Tripannum
Aprius Claudio being now Consul, and chiefe of the Army, and the other Consuls vpon their returne to Rome, seeing the Succours also arriued, assymbled the Captaines, and let them know that in his Opinion it was time to sayle to Tripannum with all their forces by Sea, to surprize Adherball, the Generall of the Carthaginians, nothing doubting of the Succours which were newly arriued into Sicily, and would never conceiu that the Romane Army would pur to Sea after so great a losse of men, during the siege of Lylibeum. When as this aduise was approued by the Captaines, hee made choice of some out of the old and new Bands, and furnished all his ships with the ablest men in the whole Army, who imbarke most willingly, for that the Voyage was short, and the promises great. Being then ready, they parted at mid-night vntowars to the Enemy, and sayled directly vnto Tripannum.

C But at the breake of day, being neare the Towne, and they discouering that they were Romane shippes, Adherball recovered his spirits, and assured himselfe, although that at the first hee was amazed at their sudaine armall, resoluing to try the fortune of the fight, and to undergo the hazard rather then to be besieged shamefully in the Port. Wherefore he presently caused their Oars to imbarke, and caused the Trumpet to sound, to draw the Souldiers together, shewing them in few words, according to the necessity of the time, that if they did their dutys, there was hope of Victory: But if they refused to fight, he layed them before the miseries of men besieged. And when as the Souldiers made shew of resolution, crying out that hee shold make no stay to march against the Enemy, then Adherball commanding their forwardnesse, callēth them all to imbarke, giving them charge to haue an eye vnto his shipp, and that they shold follow with courage. Preferenly after hee parts first out of the Port, as he had said, on the contrary side to the Romans.

X But the Confull seeing the Enemies contrary to his hope, not to abandon the place, nor ready to fye, but seeking the Combat with great heatte, hee called backe his shippes, wherof some were already

already in the Port, others at the entry, following them neare. And when as the first turned head, according to the Consulls command, and that the rest which followed faire off made hast to enter into the Port, they fell foule one vpon another at the entry, and at the comming foorth, so as the *Romans* were in danger to haue lost all. Finally after the Vessells had recovered the open Sea, the Capitaines Ranked themselues along the shone one after another, turning their Prowe to the enemy. But the Consull who from the beginning had alwayes followed the Army, made the left Wing, casting himselfe into the open Sea.

In the meane time, *Adherbal* having gotten aboue the left Wing of the *Romans* with five Vessells, and turning the Prowe to the enemy, he forisched himselfe by the Sea, commandinge other foure which followed him to do the like. When they were thus in Front against the enemy, he giveth them a signe to charge the *Romans*, whose ships (as we haue sayd) were Rank'd along the shone. It is true they had done it, to the end that the enemis Vessells which shold part out of the Port, might be incountred with more ease. The battell was long and furious, so as the danger seemed equal; without doubt they were the choyce men of both the Armies at Land. Yet the *Carthaginians* had always the better, for that their Vessells were lighter, their men more expert in Rowing, and moreouer they were in the open Sea, where they might turne vp and downe at their pleasure. If any one were neare prest by the Enemy, he knew how to save himselfe suddenly, by the lightnesse of his ship. And if the Enemies pursued him, many others turning plesantly together, compassed and hemm'd them in by their lightnesse.

By this meanes they spoiled them much, and sometimes funke them. And if any one of their companions were in danger, they reliued him easily without perill, sailing in the open Sea. Contrariwise the shone neare vnto the *Romans* did annoy them much; for being forced in a straignt, they could not Retyre in necessity, nor defend themselves, not succour them that were prest, nor passe beyond the Enemies to charge them again. Which is a most requisite thing in fighting at Sea. For that they were closed vp in a straignt, and their Vessells were heavy, and their Mariners unskillfull in Sea causes; nor well practised to Rowe. The Consull seeing that all went from bad to worse, some of his ships being broken vpon the shone, others sinkt, and finally being vidoie of all hope, he flies away first. There were about thirty Vessells remayning of the whole Army, which by chance were neare him, and followed him, all the rest to the number of fourtye and thirtene were taken by the *Carthaginians*. Moreover all the bands of men were taken, except those which perished by the Wrecke.

Adherbal was in wonderfull great esteeme among the *Carthaginians* for this Victory, haung well managed the Affaires by his onely Wildome and great Courage. Wheateas on the other side, *Appius Claudius* was infamous, and indured a thousand injuries by the *Romane* people, for that he had carried himselfe so indifferetly, and had drawne

A Combate
at Sea bewixt
the *Romans* and
the *Carthaginians*.

A Victory at
Sea by *Adherbal*
against the *Romans*.

drawne the *Romane* Common wealth into so great danger. Finally, being Deposid from the Consulship, he dyed by the hand of Justice with great ignomy and shame.

And although the *Romans* were very sensible of this great Defeate; yet like Men of great Courage and Resolution, they suddenly prepare a Fleete at Sea with a new Levy of Men, and send *Lucius Junius* the Consull into *Sicily*; to whom they give charge to Relieue the Camp before *Lilybicum*, and to carry them Victuals and other necessary Munitiions. He laide directly to *Messina* with threescore Gallies, and there drawes together all the Vessells with Beake-heads in *Sicily* out of *Lilybicum*, and makes a Fleete of sixyscore Men of Warre, besides the Merchants, and those which he had to carry the Victuals, to the number of eight hundred, of which he gau in a manner the one halfe to the Queftor, with some that had Beake-heads, to conduct the Victuals vnto the Campe. In the meane time he stayed at *Saragossa*, expecting the rest of the ships which came after him from *Messina*, and the Corne which the Allies of the inland Country did furnish. At the same time *Adherbal* sent the Prisoners and ships which he had taken at the battell to *Carthage*. Then he dispatch'd Captaine *Carthalo* with thirty Vessells, to go and find the enemy, whom he followed neare with threescore and ten others.

Moreover he gaue charge to *Carthalo*, to take what ships he could whole from the Enemy, and to burne the rest. When as *Carthalo* (vsing diligence to saile all night) had surprized the *Romane* Fleete suddenly, which was retorne into the Port of *Lilybicum*, and had burne some, and taken others, he drew the *Romans* into great danger; for when as they which kept a Guard about the ships made great cryes, and gaue an Alarum, *Imilcon* hearing the noyse, and seeing theirs comming at the breake of day, he presently made a sally vpon the Enemy. C By this meanes the *Romane* Army being inuironed on all sides, was in great danger.

After that *Carthalo* had taken and burnt some *Romane* ships, he wenc to *Heracleum*, to cut off the Victuals which came from thence to the Campe. And as he made the Voyage, some Discouerters bring him newes that they had seene a great multitude of ships. After which newes, *Carthalo* without making any shew, (for that he did not much esteeme the *Romane* in regard of the former Victories) makes hast to meett them. The *Romane* were likewise aduertised that the *Carthaginian* Army approached. But for that they did not hold themselves able to encounter them at Sea, they cast them selues by Fortune vnto the reffshore, where there were some retreats and runnings. Ouer the which did hang some Rockes, whether the *Romane* retirring, they repulld the *Carthaginians* ships with stones and slinges: And although at the first the *Carthaginians* were resolute to keep them besieged vntill they had taken them. Yet seeing that the place by Nature defended them, and that *Romans*, resistance was greater then they expected, they saile in the end (after they had taken some Merchants vessels) to a River which lay neare vnto them, to obserue the parting of the *Romans*. In the meane time

Appius Claudius
was deposid
from the Con-
sulship, and
condemned to
die.
Lucius Junius.

The *Romane*
surprized
by
carthalo.

time the Consull having dispatch'd the Affaires for which he staid at *Saragofse*, he past the Cape of *Pachinus* to come vnto *Lylbeum*, having no aduertisement of that which had hapned vnto his men some dayes before.

The *Carthaginian* Captayne having newes by his Scouts of the Consulls comming, vied all diligence to encounter him farre from the other ships. But when as *Lucius Junius* saw the enemies Army a far off, he was amazed at the great number, so as he durst not fight; neyther could he well flye being so neare vnto them. Wherefore Retryng by dangerous and difficult places, he stayed in the first Port, resoluing rather to indure all extremities, then to suffer the *Roman* Army to fall into the enemies hands. The which *Carthalo* Commanduer of the *Carthaginians* perceiving, he made no more pursuise, but retyred into a Port betwixt the two *Roman* Armies, hoping by this meanes to keepe both Armies from parting. Some few dayes after there rose a great storme; the which the *Carthaginians* perceiving, as Men which had great experiance in Sea matters, and knowledge of the places where they were, informed *Carthalo* that in passing speedily beyond the Cape of *Pachinus*, he shold ayoyde the violence of the storme: whereby they preferred all his Fleet. But the *Romans* were so beaten with the storme, for that the places where they were had no Ports, that their ships were broken in such sorte, that there remayned not any thing, wherof they could afterwards make vse. By the meanes of their misfortunes at Sea, the *Carthaginians* were afterwards the stronger.

The *Romans* having lately made so great a losse at *Tripunum*, and now agayne having losse all their Equipage abandoned the Sea, relying only vpon the Land. The *Carthaginians* on the other side were Masters without contradiction: neyther were they without hope at Land. And therefore the Lords of the Senare, and they which were at the siege at *Lylbeum*, were of aduice to continue the siege, although they had bin afflicted with the former misfortunes. By this meanes the *Romans* sent to the Camp at *Lylbeum* whatsoeuer they thought necessary, and they of the Camp vied all possible meanes to continue the siege. *Lucius Junius* after this great shipwracke attir'd at *Lylbeum* much disconected, studding continually how he might performe some Act, whereby he might in some sorte Repaire his disgrace for the last losse. Wherefore soone after he tooke by Treason, without any great occation Mount *Erix*, the Temple of *Venus* and the Towne. *Erix* is a Mountayne of *Sicily*, whiche hath his Aspe vpon the Sea towards *Italy*, betwixt *Trypanum* and *Palermo*, but nearest to *Palermo*. It is the greatest in all *Sicily*, but *Etna*. It hath a playne vpon the top, where stande the Temple of *Venus Ercina*, the which (by the Report of all the World) is the richest and most beautifull of all *Sicily*. A little vnder the top of the Hill, there is a Towne of the same name, which is very long, and hath the accesses very vngly and difficult on all sides:

The Consull set a Garrilon vpon the top of the Mountayne, and at the foot vpon the approaches from *Trypanum*, thinking by this meanes that

*The Romane
Fleete Broken
at Sea by the
Violence of a
Storme.*

Mount Erix.

Mount Etna.

that he should be able to keep the Towne and all the Mountayne safelie. After the taking of *Erix*, the *Carthaginians* made *Amilcar*, surname of *Barca* Capitaine Generall of their Army at Sea. This man falling vpon *Italy* with his Army spoyle all the coast (it was then the eighteenth yea since the beginning of the War) and from thence (after that he made great spoiles in the Countries of the *Locrines*, and *Calabria*) he returned into the Territory of *Palermo* with his whole Army, where he planted himself in a Place betwixt *Rhegium* and *Palermo*, the which lay high aboue the Sea, and was fortified by nature, and safe for his Camp.

It is a Mountayne inturritured with caues and holes, vpon the which there is a playne not lesse then twelve miles in compasse, the which is commodious and fit for labour. It hath moreover all the Sea Winds, and is not infected with any venomous Beast: Moreover it is inturritured both by Sea and Land with inaccessible Rockes; in regard of the places which are betwixt both there is no great need of buildings. It hath on the top a little Hill which serues for a Watch and Fortresse, it hath likewise a very pleasant and commodious Port, for such as passe from *Trypanum* or *Lylbeum* into *Italy*; and it hath store of Water. There are B but three wayes to go vnto this Mount, which are difficult and vneasy, two vpon the firme Land, and the third towards the Sea. *Amilcar* Planted his Camp there, where there was no convenient Towne, but was lodged among his enemies, whom he did not suffer to live in rest: For many times he went to Sea, and spoyl'd the coast of *Italy* vnto *Cumes*, and then he led his Army by Land vnto *Palermo*, and besieged it within eight hundred Furlongs of the *Romane* Campe: where he staid neare three years, performing many braue Acts which were difficult to relate in particular. For even as when excellent Combattants re-doubling their blowes with dexterity and force, the prize of the C Victory being propounded, it is neyther possible for them, nor for the standers by, to yeild a reason of every charge and blow, taking in generall a sufficient knowledge of their Valour, aswell by the Prowesse of the Men, as by their mutuall indeauours, and by their Experience and Virtue; we must conceiuie the like of the Commanduers of whom we now speake.

For if any one will Write the causes, or manner how they lay Ambushes, and interrayne skirmishes and encounters, he shold not be able to number them, and would cause a great trouble without any profit to the Reader; where we may better attayne to the knowledge of things past, by a generall narration and by the end of the War. They likewise cannot perceive in this present War, any thing by the History of the great policies, nor by the time, nor by the feeling of the present case by things done, which haue bin decided with an ouer-wearing and violent boldnesse. There are many causes, for the which they could not discerne betwixt the two Campes; for the Armies were equal and their Forts not easie to be approached vnto; for that the space betwixt both was very strong and little; so as therre daily hapned particuler combates. Finally they performed nothing which concerned the end

*Amilcar spoiles
the Coasts of
Italy.*

Amilcar.

end of the Warre : For many times in encounters some were slaine, and others turning away, and escaping the danger assured themselves, and fought againe, where Fortune remayning like a good Distributer, changing them from Front to Front, hath inclosed them in a narrower compass, and a more dangerous fight in regard of the place and precedent Combat.

Whilst the *Romans* (as we haue sayd) kept the top and foote of the Mountayne of *Erix*, *Amilcar* surprized the Towne, which was betwixt the top of the Hill, and the foote of it, where the *Roman* garrison lay. By this meane the *Romans* which held the top, were besieged by the *Carthaginians*, with great danger : The *Carthaginians* likewise were no lesse in the Towne, seeing they were besieged from the top of the Mountayne, and from the foote, and hauing but one way, they could hardly draw into them that which was necessary. Thus either Party perswaded one against another with extreame obstinacy : Suffering great extremities and running into great dangers. Finally, they purchased a sacred Crowne, not as *Fabius* sayth, as Men weake and tyred, but constant and not vanquished : For before that one party ouercame the other, although the Warre continued two yeares, yet beganne to haue an end by another meane. Finally the Affaires of *Erix*, B

The Towne of
Erix taken
from the Ro-
mans by A-
milcar.

A good Com-
parison.

You may imagine that these two Common-Weales, did like unto Rauening Birds fighting among themselves vnto the last gaspe : For altho that sometimes their flight sayled them for want of breath, yet they repulse the assaults with great courage, vntill that hidng themselves willingly, they fled away easily ; this done some take their flight before the rest. In like manner the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* tyred with toyle, grew cold in their continual combats, abating their forces for the ordinary charges. And although the *Romans* had abandoned the combats at Sea, almost for fifteeen yeares, aswell for their mis fortunes, as for that they did hope to make an end of this Warre by the Army at Land ; yet seeing their designe not successfull, considering likewise the courage of *Amilcar*, they conceiued a third hope in their Forces at Sea. They aduised well, that if their designe were successfull, it would be a meane to make an end of their Affaires, the which in the end they effected.

First, they left the Sea yielding vnto their mis fortunes : And for the second time, for that they had bin vanquished neare vnto *Trypanum*, and finally at the third time, they were of another humour, by the which being Victors, they cut off the Victuals from *Erix*, and made an end of the Warre. This attempt for the most part was like a Combate of great courage, for the publicke Treasure vnable to furnish this charge : But the Citizens contributing every Man vnto his powers, many together built a Quinquereme, supplying the necessary expences ; so much the peoples hearts were influed to Armes, and to augment the *Roman* Empire. By this meane they made a preparation of two hundred Quinqueremes, after the patterne of the *Rhodian*, the which as we haue sayd had bene taken before *Lylbeum* : Wherefore they

D

they afterwards gaue the command vnto *Lucius Lucretius Consull*, and sent him in the Spring against the *Carthaginians*, who being sud dainly arrived in *Sicily* with his Army, tooke the Port of *Trepanum* at The port of
Trepanum ta-
ken by Lu-
cretius Con-
sull, deo o the Ro-
mans.

In the meane time all the *Carthaginians* ships retired to their Cap taine. Afterwards hee indeauoured to take *Trepanum* with his Engins, and other things necessary to force a Towne : But for that the *Carthagi-*

nian Army at Sea was not farre off, they had a remembrance of things past, and of what importance the knowledge of the Sea was, he was not idle nor negligent, causing his Rowers and Marriners to bee continually

kept in practice, not suffering any one to be idle. By this meane the Soul diers in a short time were inured to the Sea. The *Carthaginians* contrary to their hope, hauing newes of the *Roman* Army at Sea, presently prepared their ships, and fraughted hem with Corne & other Muniton, to the end the besieged within the Towne of *Erix* should not haue any want of things necessary. *Hanno* had the charge of this Army, who put first to the Island of *Hieronefus*, and from thence he made hast to lye about the Enemy to *Amilcars* Campe, to discharge his ships, and to viettall it.

Hanno,
But *Lucretius* being aduertised of their comming, and doubting of their enterprise, for it was not hard to conjecture made choice of the ablest men of the Army at Land, and failed directly to the Island of *Egypt*, which is not farre from *Lylbeum*. Then hauing giuen courage to the Soul diers, he makes a Proclamation that every man shalbe ready the next day to fight.

Three daies after the Consull seeing at the break of day that the wind was good and prosperous for the Enemy, and contrary to his Army, and that the Sea was much troubled with a storme, he was long in suspence what he shoulde doe : but suddenly he resolute, that if his men came to fight during the storme, he shoulde haue nothing to doe but with *Hanno* and his Army at Sea, and with ships that were laden and incumbered : But if he shoulde delay the fight vntill the Sea were calme, he shoulde haue to deale with ships that were light and very swift, and with the choice of the Land soul diers : and moreouer with the courage of *Amilcar*, who was then held to be very terrible. Finally, he resolute to fight with the Enemy notwithstanding the storme and the contrary Winde.

C The *Carthaginians* comming with full stile, he put himselfe before them with his Army ready, and in battell. When the *Carthaginians* saw their course to bee hindered by the Enemy, and their ships in Battell, they strooke saile, and prepared to fight, where they charged of either side with great courage : But for that things were managed in another manner, than when they were defeated at the battell of *Trepanum*, it was no wonder if that their Affaires had another successe.

In regard of the *Romans*, their ships were very light, and free from all incombrace, but of that which was necessary for the Warre. Their Rowers had bee long practised, and were therefore eager and ready to fight. They had also made choice of the best men in their Army at Land : the which fell out contrary with the *Carthaginians*.

G

A fight at Sea
between the Ro-
mans and Car-
thaginians.

Ans.

ans. Their ships were laden, and therefore unfit to fight: Their Rowers and Marriners were men gathered together by chance, and not accustomed to the War: their Souldiers were also new, and had not scene any thing: for they had no more care for the affaires at Sea, imagining that the Romans would not attempt any thing more at Sea. And therefore as soone as the Battell began, the Romans had the Victory; whereas fifty of the Carthaginians ships were broken or funke, and three score and ten others that were laden, taken. The rest set fayle and got the Winde, and recovered Hieronē with incredible swiftnesse, by a sudden change of the Winde. After the Battell the Consull retired to A Lytibum with his whole Army, whereas the booty and Prisoners were deuided amongst the Souldiers: For besides the dead, there were above ten thousand men taken.

The Carthaginians amazed at this heauy and great deafeate, found themselves troubled for many reasons, although their minds were alwayes inclin'd to Warres. First they had no meanes to vifuall those that were in Sicily, after the deafeate of their Army at Sea: Considering that their Enemies were Maisters of all the Sea. Moreover they imagined that it would be a Traiterous act to luffer their Generall and the Souldiers which had serued their Common-wealthe to be lost. In regard of continuing the War, they had neither Men nor Capitaines to maninge it: wherefore they sent a Man to Amilcar, and gaue him full power and Authority to doe what he shoulde thinke fitt for the good of the Common-weale. Amilcar performed the duty of a good and wise Capitaine: For whilst there was any hope in the Carthaginians affaires, he never complained of his paines, nor avoided perill, but being a man of great industrie and courage, he thrust himselfe continually into all dangers, to vanquish aswell as any of the other Capitaines. But when as he saw there was no more hope in the Carthaginians affaires, hee sent Embassadors to the Consull, to treatte vpon an accord, yeelding wifely and discreetly vnto the time: For we must know that the duty of a good Capitaine consisteth aswell in considering of the time, not onely to vanquish, but also to strike fayle. Whereunto Lucretius did willingly give ear, knowing well the necessities which the people of Rome endur'd by this tedious War. Finally, a peace was thus concluded: that the Romans and Carthaginians shoulde live in amity and friendship, if the people of Rome would consent vnto it: And that the Carthaginians shoulde leave all Sicily: Neither shoulde they hereafter make War against Hieron, nor against the Saragossis, or their Allies, and that they shoulde restore all the Prisoners without ransom: And moreover they shoulde pay thirtene hundred and twenty thousand Crownes within twenty yeares.

These Articles were sent to Rome, which the people notwithstanding would not yeeld unto: but committed ten men with power from them who were sent into Sicily: Being arriued, they altered nothing of the treaty of peace, but the time of payment, which they shortned, augmenting the summe with 60000. Crownes more. Moreover they did articulate, that they shoulde not onely dislodge out of Sicily, but also

A Victory
of the Romans
against the Car-
thaginians.

also out of all the Islands which are betwixt it and Italy.

Bethold the end of the first Warre betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians for Sicily. It continued foure and twenty whole yeres, and hath beeene the longest and the greatest that was ever heard spoken of. During the which (I omit other things worthy of memory) they haue fought at one instant with about five hundred Quinqueremes on both sides: Afterwards with not much lesse then seauen hundred. The Romans haue lost seauen hundred Quinqueremes, besides those which five hundred. Wherefore they which formerly haue admited Armies aswell by Land as Sea, and the Combats at Sea of Antigonus, Ptolomey, and Demetrios, haue reason to cease, considering the great deeds of the Romans and Carthaginians. But if they will consider how great a difference there is betwixt the Quinqueremes and Triremes, whereof the Persians made vs against the Grecians, and which the Athenians and Lacedemonians vied in their Warre, they shall vndoubtedly see, that there was never scene such great forces fight at Sea, wherefore that appereas plainly which we haue propounded in the beginning, that the Romans haue not only indeauerored to conquer the vniuersall Empire by valour, but they haue also accomplished their desire, not by good Fortune as some Grecians suppose, nor by chance, but by a wonderfull experiance and practice in such great affaires.

Although that some may demand how it happeneth that the Romans, who are at this day farre greater Lords both at Land and Sea, considering that they held in a manner the Empire of the whole world, cannot draw together so many Vessels, nor rayse so great an Army at Sea at one instant. The reasoun will be easie, when they shall let them understand what the Romane Common-wealthe was, what their Lawes and their manner of living, although it will not be profitable neither for vs nor for the Readers of our Workes, to make mention of things which concerne not our purpose. Without doubt the Reasons are great: the which notwithstanding in my Opinione no man hath knowne vnto this day by the error of Historiographers: Whereof some knew not what they wrote, and if others understood them, they haue made them obscure and vnprofitable. If they would duly consider this War, they shall finde that the courage and power of these two great Citties were equal. First their desire was alike, they had the same courage, and the like desire of glory. It is true, the Romans had the better Souldiers: But Amilcar Generall of the Carthaginians, surnamed Barca, Father to Hannibal, who afterwards made Warre against the Romans, had not his equal in prudence and valour. When as the peace had beeene concluded, either of them fell in a manner into the like inconveniences: for Ciuiti war followed after. The Romans had presently War against the Inhabitants of Mount Eacum: the which was looing de- cided and their Towne taken.

But the Carthaginians being assailed at the same time by Strangers, Numidians, and other people of Africke, who revolted with them, were in manner quite ruined. Finally, they were forced to fight not only

Amilcar Father
to Hannibal.

for the Province, but for themselves, for their liberty, for their Children, and for their owne Country.

This is a warre which we will relate summarily and briefly, for it is worthy, as we have promised in the beginning. So they shall easily see by the deeds of these times what this warre was, and of what fury, which they call inconciliable: And they may likewise obserue to what things the Commander of an Army ought to haue care, and to be wary how he imployes Mercenary men. And moreover what difference there is betwixt the confuted manner of living of Barbarians, and those that are bred vp vnder Discipline, Lawes, and Policy: And wchall they may easily see by the knowledge of this warre, the causes for the whiche Hanniball made warre against the Romans, which is principally poynct, whereof in opening the truth, we haue not done little for those which desire to see our worke. For that they haue not only beeene doubtfull and obscure to those which haue written, but also to such as haue beeene present. After that Amilcar had treated the peace with the Romans, he led his Army from the Towne of Erix to Lylbeum, and resigned his charge, giving the conduct thereof into Africke to Captaine Gelson, who was at Lylbeum: who fearing that so great a multitude of men, should passe together into Africke, there would grow some mutiny and contention for that there was much due vnto them for their pay, the which they could not satisfie for want of treasure: Wherefore he prouided long before, that the troupes should not passe altogether, but at diuers times, leauing some respite of purpose: to the end that they might with more easie prouide, in sending them backe by troupes, and that the first might be retiued to their houses, before the seconde arriued. The Carthaginians had consumed their treasure, in their former charges, and did not send them backe to their houses, but commanded them to attend within the City vntill the retурne of their Companions, to the end they might make some accord with them altogether concerning their Paye. But whenas the Souldiers committed many Insolencies within the City, and that the insolencies of such a troupe were intollerable, the Carthaginians called the Captaines, and inreathed them to leade all this multitude assembled in their City to the Towne of Sicca, vntill they had given order for their Provinces. Moreover they caused some money to be deliuere to every one of them, to the end they might tolerate their expectancie the more easily. The Captaines obeying the will of the Carthaginians, drew forth their Men.

But for that every man desired to leaue his baggage within the City, as they had done, hoping to make a short retурne for their paye: the Carthaginians doubted that if they shold allow that, some would not budge for the loue of their children, others for their wifes, and by this meanes they shold bee nothing bettered within the City. Wherefore in the end they forced them to depart with their baggage. Being within the Towne of Sicca, they liued at pleasure in idlenes and basely, which is a pernicious thing for an Army, and in a manner the onely fountaine and beginning of Mutinies. Some began to demand their pay more audaciously,

Gelson.

Insolency of
the Souldiers
within Car.
tho.

tionaly then they had beeene accustomed, and much more, reducing to memory the promise of Presents, which the Captaines had made vnto them at need, when as they inreathed them to fight valiantly. More ouer they expected much more then their Pay announced vnto them. But they were frustrated of their hope: For assoone as they were all assembled in Sicca, Hanno, Pritor of the Carthaginians was sent vnto them. Who bringing no presents vnto them, inreathed them moreover for some abatement of their Pay, shewing them the pouerty of the Treasury. They generally mutining at this speech, began to rife ^{Mutiny of the} Souldiers, so as there was a great tumult and sedition in the Army, contynning the great diversity of their manner of living, and languages. It is true the Carthaginians had some reason to raise their Army out of divers Nations: For by this meanes so diuers an assembly could not easilie make a Conspiracy. Moreover the Captaines better obeyed. And likewise if there did rise any mutiny or sedition in the Army, they should not finde meanes to pacifie them, for ignorant men are mooved with fury. Beleuse we when they are once in choller, they increase it more and more, like braute Beasts with an unrestraine cruelty. The which happened at that time in the Carthaginians Campe: For some were Spaniards, others Gauls, some Genoens, and others of the Islands of Aetorigua, and Minorgua.

There was also a good Troope of Grecians; most of which were fugitives and flauies, and the greatest number were Africke. Wherefore it was not possible to draw them altogether at that time, although they could not haue taken a better course. Moreover Hanno could not understand all their languages: and it seemed in a maner more impossible to employ many Interpreters at one time to draw the Army together, and withal to vse the same speech vnto them fourre or five times. The last remedy was to maninge this by the Captaines; the whiche Hanno attempting preuailed nothing: For some understood not what their Captaines sayd vnto them, others related it otherwise then they had spoken, although they had consented vnto this chiefe, some did it of ignorance, but the greatest part through malice. Wherefore all was full of perplexity, inhumanity and distrust.

Among other things they complained, that the Carthaginians of the complaint made War in Sicily, and who had made them so many promises; but one who had beeene in those actions. Finally, they raigne to Armes being all in a mutiny, making no accompt of Hanno, nor of the other Captaines, and marcht directly to Carthage, planting their Campe neare vnto the Towue of Tunis, which is fifteene miles from Carthage, being about twenty thousand Men. Then the Carthaginians began to looke one upon another, and to acknowledge their great erroure, when there was no redresse in their affaires. In truthe it was a great fault in them to haue drawne together so great a multitude into one place after the War was ended. They committed another which was no lesse, when as they did not retaine their Wifes Children and baggage, whereof they might haue made use in necessity asof Hostages. Being in no small feare

of so great a multitude of Men, they omitted nothing which they thought behouefull to pacifie their Rage, causing Corne to be carried into them, and all other things necessary, and to be deliuered over to them at their owne prize.

Moreover the Senate sent Embassies often vnto them, promising to do according to their command, so as it were in their power: But the Souldiers who are now growne more insolent, did forge daily new Quarrels, perceiving the feare of the *Carthaginians*, especially for that they had bin tray'd vp in the War of *Sicily*, and that the *Carthaginians* for any other durst looke vpon them in order of battell. Wherefore A where as formerly they had made their quarrell, but for the pay that was due, they now demanded Recompence for their Horses that were layne, and not content with that, they pretended there was Corne due vnto them for many yeeres, for the which they demanded payment at a piske, whereof vntill that day they had never heard them speake. Finally they daily pretended new quarrels to enter into War, for the most Wicked and Mutinous had the greatest credite in the Army.

And when as the *Carthaginian* had made promise vnto them, to do all things possible, in the end they agreed, that for any thing that should be doubtfull, they should Referr themselves to that which the Generall should decree, vnder whom they had made War in *Sicily*. They did not much affect *Amilcar Barca*, vnder whose charge they had bin, for that he came not to see them during this dissencion, and that he had formerly Relinquished his command ouer them of his owne motion: Contrariwise they all in general loued *Gescon*, who had bin their Captainne in *Sicily*, and who had intreated them courteously awfull in all other things, as in their passage to *Affricke*; wherefore he had the charge by a common consent. Presently being imbarkeed with Money, and arriuing at *Tunes*, he called the Capitaines: then he caused C euery nation to Assemble, and blamed them for their faults past, and amonishing them for the present, and giuing them aduise by a long speech for the time to come, to continue good friends to the *Carthaginians*, who had intartayned them so long. Finally he perswades them to Rest satisfied with their pay, the which he desired to divide among the Nations.

There was by chance a *Campanois* in the Army called *Spendius*, who being lately a slau to the *Romanes*, had fled into *Sicily*: This was a bold and hardy Man, and a good Souldier: Who fearing that if they agreed with the *Carthaginians*, he shold be Reforred to his Maister, and then put to Death according to the *Roman Lawes* vsed Audacious speeches, and laboured by all meane to mouine them all, desiring troubles rather then any accord, and Wars then Peace. Moreover an *Africaine* called *Masbo*, a free Man who had bene in the Wars of *Sicily*, for the *Carthaginians*, feared to be punished, for that he had much incensed the *Muiscus*, during the Disencion. This *Masbo* ioyning with *Spendius*, drawes together all the *Africaines*, and Aduises them to consider well what they had to doe in this Action, and that they

O: Geron.

Gescon makes remonstrances to the Souldiers

S. Gallo. M. L. S. Gallo. M. L.

Spendius.

Masbo.

they should rest assured, that presently after the Retreate of the other Souldiers, having received their pay, the *Carthaginians* would be reuenged wholly vpon them, (labouring by this meane to terrifie all the *Africaines* with punishment) and for this reason they should looke well to themselves.

The whole Troupe being much mooued with this speech, and likewise for that *Gescon* had onely spoken of their bare pay, without any mention of Recompence for Horses dead, nor of Corne for so many yeeres, they drew presently all together to consult of their Affaires. A And when as *Spendius* and *Masbo* vsed very bad speeches against *Gescon* and the *Carthaginians*, they easly gaue ear into them. And if any one sought to shew the contrary, they had not the Patience to heare them, if it were contrary to the opinion of *Spendius*, but beat them downe presently with stones. By this meane the Murther was great, not onely of Captaynes but of simple Souldiers, so as there was nothing heard in the Army during this Mutiny, but all cryed out together, Charge, charge. And although they did this continually, yet their fury was greater, when they parted drunke from the Table. By this meane as soone as any one cryed Charge, the stones flew about, so asthere was no meanes of Retreat. Wherefore when no Man durst speake any thing in the Assembly, they made choise by a generall consent of *Masbo* and *Spendius* for their Capitaines. And although that *Gescon* saw this great trouble and mutiny in the Camp, yet he desired to prefer the Publicke Utillity before all other things. Wherefore seeing that by the mutiny of the Souldiers increasing daily more and more, the *Carthaginians* were in great danger, he resolued to pacifie it, and to trye all meanes with the hazard of his life.

One day he called the Heads of the Conspiracy, another day some Nation apart, labouring to pacifie their fury by players and prouosts. B But for almuch as they had not yet received the Corne, which they sayd was due vnto them, and that they quarrelled continually, *Gescon* desirous to restraine their contempt, commannded them to set downe their demands to their Capitaine *Masbo*. At which words the Commons increased gree to insolent, as they presently leized vpon all the Siluer which was brought thither for their pay, laying hold vpon *Gescon* and the *Carthaginians* that were with him. But *Masbo* and *Spendius* Capitaynes of the whole Troupe, thought presently to committ some Act of great Villany, to the end that the War might be the more inflamed. And therefore in commanding the infolency of the Souldiers, they tooke with the Money all the baggage of the *Carthaginians*, and gave order to shut vp *Gescon* with all his company, after they had done them many outrages.

After this, they made open War against the *Carthaginians*, with the most cruel Couspiracy, that euer had bene heard speake of vnto that day. Behold the caues of the beginning of this War, made against the Souldiers, which they call *Affricane*.

After that *Masbo* and *Spendius* had done as wee haue sayd, they sent Embassies to all the people of *Affricke* mouing them to liberty, and

Embassies sent throughout all Africa by *Masbo* and *Spendius*.

and intreating them to give them succours against the cruell and tyrannous Empire of the *Carthaginians*, who in a manner all found the enterprize good, and sent Men and Vichtuals in abundance. And after that the Captaines had diuided their Army in two, one part went to besiege *Bisarthe*, and the other *Hippona*, for that they would not content vnto the Conspiracy. The *Carthaginians* who had beeene accustomed to feed their families only by Tillage, and to draw their publicke Treasure from the Tributes of *Affricke*, and moreouer to mannage their War by Mercenaries, being then not orclly frustrated of all their things, but moreouer seeing they were all turned to their Ruine, found A themselues suddainly in great difficulties, nor knowing which way to turne them. And they found them the more desperate, for that they had hapned contrary to all opinion.

It is true, they were in hope, after they had beeene tyred with the long Wars of *Sicily*, and had in the end made a peace with the *Romans*, that they might rest for a time, and take breath; but it succeeded otherwise. Beleue me, this War suddainly kindled, was more dangerous than the other: For that in the first, they did not fight with the *Romans* but for the Conquest of *Sicily*; but in this they were forced, to undergoe the danger for themselues, for their families and their Country. Moreouer they were vnfurnished of Armes, of a Fleete at Sea, and of Equipeage for shipping, for that they had lost many in their battels at Sea. They had no more hope of Tributes, nor in the succours of their friends and Allies. Finally they saw then what difference there was betwixt a Forraine and Transmarinarie War, and the moutay of a ciuill sedition, of which mischiefe vndoubtedly they themselues were the cause: For in their first War, they did Lord it ouer the people of *Affricke*, with too great Tyranny and conetuoufnesse, for that they were of opinion they had good caule, so as they leuied a full moietie of all their fruites. They also doubled the Tributus, and did not pardon those which had offended through ignorance. They gave Offices not so as were milde and gracious, but to those which augmented the publicke Treasure, although they had tyrannized the people, like unto *Hanno* of whom we have spoken.

By this meanes it hapned that the people of *Affricke* seemed glad to Revolte, not only at the perfawson of many, but at a simple Mesenger. There is nothing moretrue, that euery Women of every Towne conspired, for that in former times they had seene their Husbands and Children led into seruitude, for that they had not payed the Tribute: so as they made no referuarion of their goods which they had rempayning, but moreouer they did contribute their Jewls, (a hard thing to belieue) to supply the payment of the Soulndiers. By this meanes *Matho* and *Spedius* gathered together so great a quantity of siluer, as it was not onely sufficient to satisfie the promises which they had made to the Soulndiers, from the beginning of the Conspiracy; but they had more than was needfull to mannage the War. Wherefore a wise man must not looke vnto the present time, but also vnto the future,

D
And

The cruell and
couteous Emp-
ires of the
Carthaginians.

The Conspir-
acy of the We-
men of *Affricke*.

And although the *Carthaginians* were enironed on all sides with so many miseries, yet they fainted not: but gaue the conduct to *Hanno* (for that formerly they held he had ended the Warre neere vnto *Hecatontophylon*) of those Soulndiers they could leuie in this necessity of time. They also armed the young men of the Towne, and caufed their Horfes to be practised: They repaired the remainder of their ships, and old Triemes, and caufed new to be made.

In the meane time *Matho* and *Spedius*, (to whom three score and ten thousand armed men of *Affricke* had joyned,) after they had diuided their Army in two as wee haue said, held *Bisarthe* and *Hippona* besieg'd, yet not abandoned their Campe neere vnto *Tunes*. By this meanes all *Affricke* was shut vp to the *Carthaginians*. You must understand that *Carthage* is seated vpon a Promontory, which aduanceth into the Sea, and is in forme of an Island, but that it ioynes vnto *Affricke* by a little space of land. In regard of the City, it is enironed of the one side by the Sea, and on the other by Marishes. The breadth of the Countrey whereby it is ioynes to *Affricke*, contains not aboue three miles; whereof the Towne of *Bisarthe* is not far off from that side which looks towards the Sea: And that *Tunes* ioynes vpon the Marishes. The Enemies hauing planted their Campes at *Tunes* and *Bisarthe*, tooke from the *Carthaginians* the rest of *Affricke*: and making courses sometymes from Day, and sometimes by Night vnto the walles of the City, they gaue them great Alarums, and put them in feare.

In the meane time *Hanno* made preparation of all things necessary for the Warre. Hee was a diligent man, and well practised in such things; althoughe that soone after hee had gone to field to finde the Enemy, he committed an act of little judgement, in not discerning the times. You must understand that assoone as he was sent to succour the besieged in *Bisarthe*, he forced the Enemies at the first charge, being C terrifid with the multitude of Elephants: but afterwards his conduct was so bad, as hee drew the besieged (for whose succours hee was come into great danger, and extreame misery) For when he had broughte great prouision of all sorts of Engins for baterie, and had lodg'd his Campe neere vnto the Towne-walles: hee fought with the Enemy, who could not endure the violence of the Elephants: Wherefore they abandoned the Campe, with great losse of their men, and retired to a little Mountaine strong of it selfe, and full of Groues. But *Hanno* who had not beeene accustomed to make Warre but against the *Numidians*, who after they haue once taken a flight, doe seldom stay vntill D the third day, had no care to pursue them, supposing he had gotten an absolute victory; but entred into *Bisarthe*, not thinking of any thing but to make good cheere.

But the Enemies hauing made Warre in *Sicily* vnder *Amilcar*, and beeene accustomed many times to fye before the Enemy, and suddainly to charge againe the same day, hauing newes of *Hanno*'s retreate into *Bisarthe*, and that the Campe as Victors was secure; they safleyd it by surprize, and slew part of them: the rest were forced to recover the Towne, to their great shame and ignominy. All the equipage

Hanno

The Nature of
the *Numidians*.

Surprise of the
Carthaginians
Campe.

E

of Engins was taken without resistance. It is true, that this was not the only misfortune which at that time did prejudice the Carthaginians by the folly of *Hanno*. For some few days after, when as the Enemies camped neere unto *Sorke*, and that an opportunity was offered to defeate him easilie, hauing beene twice in quarell, and twice in battell one against another, as they are accustomed, hee lost these two occasions by his folly and basenesse.

Wherefore the Carthaginians considering that *Hanno* did not manage this War well, they by a generall content made *Amilcar* Capraine againe: to whom they gaue three score and ten Elephants, and all the A Souldiers and Fugitives, with some Horse-men, and the young men of the Towne, so as he had about ten thousand Souldiers. But assoone as he had marcht forth with his Army, he preuently by his admirable vertuo brake the hearts of his Enemies, and ralied the siege of *Bisarbie*; and then he shewed himselfe worthy of the glory which they had gien him for his prowesse in times past; and that hee was worthy of the hope which all men conceiu'd of him. Behold wherein they first discouered his discretion and iudgement.

The Cape whereon *Carthage* stands, is ioyned to *Affricke* like vnto a crooked backe, and is very stony; with Mountaines full of wood, B whereas the wyes are very vneasie and inaccessible, they being most of them made by the hand of man. And therefore *Malo* had seized vpon all the little Hills that were vpon the way, and had planted good Garrisons. Moreover hee passed the Riser which they call *Machera*, the which hath high bankes, and a very swift course, and cannot be past but by a Bridge, vpon the which stands the Towne of *Sephyra*, the which *Malo* did likewise hold. By this meanes the passages of *Affricke* were not only shut vp from the Carthaginian Army, but also from a priuate person. The which *Amilcar* consi- D cerning, and trying all meanes to passe into *Affricke*, in the end hee c vied this iuention. Hee had obserued that sometimes the course of this River was so stopt by the Winde, as the mouth of it overflowed, and made in a manner a great poole, and at that time it had no great fall into the Sea. Wherefore hee was of opinion, that at this seafon they might passe it neere vnto the Sea. Hee kept this secret, and onely made necessary preparation for the Army to march. Hee carefully attended the opportunity of the time, and then appointed his Army to part secretly in the Night, and to passe the Riuere.

But at the breake of day the Enemy and they that were in the Towne, were wonderfully amazed at this passage. In the meane time *Amilcar* march'd with his Army directly to those which held *Sephyra*. When as *Spendifus* had the news that *Amilcar* Campe had past, he presently makes haste with his forces to succour his men. Behold how the two Campes succoured one another. There were 10000. men in *Sephyra*, neere vnto the Bridge: and about 15000. in *Bisarbie*. These thinking they might easily compasse in the Carthaginians, if they all marcht against them at one instant, some in front, and the other at their backs, sudainly they tooke courage, and marcht against *Amilcar*

The Riuere of
Mauchera.

Sephyra.

with all their Troopes who dwayes were in the rearre, leading the Elephants in the foreward; then the horse and the Souldiers that were lightly armed, and yonge: these being the principal. But when he saw the Enemis charge his men contagioudly, he preuently changed the order of his Army, and turned it quite contrary: Soe that which were in the foreward, returned backe, making shew of some flight; and they which were in the Raire, taking another way, Marcht directly to the foreward. The which the *Carthaginians* seeing who assailed the *Carthaginians* on either side, and thinking that the Enemis marcht at this Alarum, did A fist; they began to pursue them without order, and came nothing to fight. But when as they saw the vierte, then approach, and the other Battalions to fall upon them with great fury, armed at this new manner of War, they were soone broken, and in the end flying away home were defeated by the Legionaries, who charged them upon the flanks with great slaughter, others by the Elephants and Horse-men who entred after the Legionaries.

There were sixe thousand men slaine, and about two thousand taken; the rest sau'd themselves by flight, some in the Towne of *Bisarbie*, the rest retired to the Campe before *Bisarbie*. After this good fortune, *Amilcar* pursued those which had gotten into servitude, the which he tooke at his comming, for the Souldiers that were within it, fled directly to *Tunes*, and from thence running vnto the Province, he tooke divers Townes, whereof some were won by breach and assault. By this meanes the *Carthaginians*, who before were dejected and without hope, tooke heart, and recovered their ancient courage.

At that time *Malo* held *Hippis* besieged, and had perswaded *Spendifus* and *Americus*, Capraine of the *Gauls*, to pursue the Enemy, and that flying the Plaines, by reason of the multitude of Elephants and Horse-men, they should keepe the foote of the Mountaines, and not to goe farre from them vpon any occasion that should be offered. More often he sent often to the *Nomidians* and *Lydians*, solliciting and incensting them to give him succours, and not to loose so great an opportunity to restore *Affricke* to liberty; *Spendifus* then hauing made choice of sixe thousand old Souldiers out of the Campe which was at *Tunes*, lodged continually neare into the Enemy, keeping the foote of the Mountaines. Moreover he had the *Gauls* with him, which were vnder the charge of *Amilcar*, to the number of about two thousand men: for the rest of their Troope which was in *Sicily*, had retired to the *Romans* during the

D While that *Amilcar* stayed with his Army in a Plaine, wholly environed with Mountaines, theracame great supplies of *Nomidians* and *Affricans* to *Spendifus*. By this meanes the Carthaginian Army was besieged with three Camps. The *Affricans* were in front, the *Nomidians* was upon their taile, and *Spendifus* on the side. *Hannibal* was long in suspence what counsell he shoulde take, being thus beset. There was at that time among the *Nomidians* a certaine man called *Narau*, of a noble and auncient extraction, and of a Royall courage. Hee had alwayes beeene fauourable vnto the *Carthaginians*, keeping his Fathers affection,

The Policy of
Amilcar.

The Victory of
Amilcar.

Supplies of
Nomidians
come to *Spendifus*.

Narau.

affection, and who then had succoured them; for that Amilcar was chosen their Captain. Thinking now to have found a good opportunity to purchase their friendship, he marched directly to the Camp, accompanied with about an hundred Numidians, being neare unto it he makes a stand, giving them a signe with his hand that he would parley. Amilcar wondering at his great boldnesse, sends an Horse man vnto him, whom he sayd, that he was come to speake with the Commander of the Army. And as Amilcar stood full in doubt, and could not foresee him, the Numidian leashes his Horse, his Lance, and his Company, and goes directly vnto him without any feare or amazement. A The whole Army wondered, and were amazed at this Numidian's great confidence. Finally, being called to parley, he told him that he had alwayes borne a great affection to the Carthaginians, and that he had done defiled the Friendship of Amilcar. Moreover that he was come to doe him service, and to put himselfe and his estate faithfully into his hands vpon all occasions. Amilcar hearing this Speech, was so joyfull, alwel for the boldnesse, of this young Man, who had presented himselfe so confidently vnto him, as for the plagenesse of his Speech, that he not only made him Companion of his fortunes, but protested and vowed vnto him to glorie him his Daughter, in keeping his faith to the Carthaginians. After this discource Narvae retired to his men, and within three days after returned to Amilcar with two thousand men which he had vnder his charge.

The Carthaginians being fortisched with this troope, Amilcar durst fight with the Enemy. Spendius likewise supplied with Numidians and Africans, drawes his Army into the Plaine, and without any long stay comes to the Combate, which was cruell. Finally, the Carthaginians relying in the multitude of their Elephants, and likewise Narvae performing his duty well, they had the Victory: Autarice and Spendius having no more hope, fled. There were ten thousand men slaine, and about four thousand taken.

After this battell Amilcar freed those that would follow the Warre vnder him, and armed them with the Enemies spoyles, telling them that refused, that they should no more carry Armes against the Carthaginians, and for all that which they had formerly done they were pardoned. Moreover, that it was lawfull for them to retire into their Countrey, if they thought it good: but if they were found heareafter attempting any enterprize, their punishment was certaine. At the same time the mercenary strangers which kept Sardinia, assailed all the Carthaginians that were there, after the example of Spendius and Ma- D tho, and having shut vp Captain Befare with his Company into a Fort, they put him to death. Hanno was afterwards sent with a new Army, against whom the Strangers conspired with the old Souldiers, and after they had committed great cruelties, they hang'd him. Then fearing to be punished for so great a villany, they slew and strangled all the Carthaginians which inhabited Sardinia, and tooke all the Townes and Forts, enioying the Iland vntill that a sedition rising betwixt them and the Sardinians, they chased them away, and forced them

The Victory
of the Cartha-
ginians against
Spendius.

A mutiny of
mercenary
Souldiers in
Sardinia,
Bellar slain.

Hanno hang'd
on a Croose.

them to flye into Italy. By this means the Carthaginians left Sardinia, a very great Island, well peopled, and abounding with all com- modities: It will not be needfull to relate thole things which are app- dina. The Carthaginians
saur late Sar-

Autarice, Spendius, and Autarice Chiefes of the Gaule, fearing that this clemency of Amilcar, in放ing the Prisoners with pardon, would gaine the Lybians, and other Soldiers, they laboured to commit some villainous act, to strange the hearts of their men wholly from the Carthaginians. And therefore they assembled them together, where soone after a Post comes with Letters, as if he had beene suddenly arraigned from Sardinia; the tenor whereof was, that they shold keepe Gafson and the other Prisoners carefully: and that there were some in the Camp, who to purchase grace and favor with the Carthaginians, would set them at liberty. Spendius having found this occasion, first aduised his Companions that they shold not regard the deliury of the Prisoners, vnder the colour of Amilcar's counterfeite clemency: For hee had not freed them for any desire hee had to saue them, but to the end that by this meane hee might haue them all, and afterwards punish them in generall. Moreover he gaue them charge to keepe Gafson with his Company carefully, that they might not escape through negligence: but if they did otherwise, the Boemies would make no great accompt of them, and withall they shold haue great inconveniences in their Warre.

But who will doubt that so excellent a Captaine, and of so great experiance in the Warre, will not suddenly become their mortall Enemy, whiche shall bee escaped by their negligence? Whilst hee was thus speaking, behold another M. Steiger comes from Tunis, bringing Letters from Tunis, to the
Muines Camp. Tenour, the whiche being Read vnto the Assembly, Autarice Commanduer of the Gaules stood vp, saying, that he saw no meanes for their safety, but by taking away all the hope they haue in the Carthaginians. For as long as any one hath respect vnto their clemency, he can never be a loyall Companion in the War. And therefore we must beleue, haire, and content vnto the opinion of those, which shall give aduise to do the worst we can vnto the Carthaginians, and to hold such as shall say the contrary for enemies and Traytors. When he had made an end of this Speech, hee aduised them to put Gafson and his company to some cruell death, with all the Carthaginians which had binne taken.

This Autarice had great credite in their Assemblies, for that they all vnderstood him, speaking the Punique Language, which at that time was common among the whole Army, by reason of the long War, wherein he had serued vnder the Carthaginians, and therefore his Aduice was easily allowed by the Army, in regard of the fauour he had among the Souldiers. And although many of every Nation, walking and conserning together, did not thinke it fit to vse such cruelty, especially agaynst Gafson, who had done them so much good, yet they heard nothing of that which they spake; for that they talked among themselves in their Languages. But when as they saw that they did not like of putting the Carthaginians to Death, a sedicious Man did like of putting the Carthaginians to Death, a sedicious Man who

who was by chance among them, cryed out with a loud voice, *Charge!* At which word they were presently beaten down with stones by the multitude, so as their Kinmen carried them away spoyle and dismembered as if brute Beasts had torn them in pieces. *do deth and dyng*.

This done, they take *Gescon*, and the other Prisoners which were to the number of seven hundred, and led them without the Rampiers, Company put and there beginning with the head, whom a little before they had cho- to death.

ten among all the *Carthaginians*, as the Man which had instreated them best, they cut off all their hands, and Dismembered them, and in breaking their Legs, they cast them thus living into a Ditch. The *A Carthaginians* aduentured of a great cruelty done vnto their Citizens, knew not what to do, but that which was to them to be wonderful incensed, and to lament for the great ignomy of their City, and the misery of their Citizens. Finally, they sent to *Amilcar and Hammo*, which were the other Commanders of the Army, increasing them that so great a cruelty done vnto their Citizens should not remayne unpunished.

Moreover they sent an Embassie to the se. enemies to require the Bodies to be interr'd. Who not only refus'd them, but also forbade them not to send hereafter any Treasures of Peace vnto them, nor Embassies, and if they did it they must expect to indeue the like paynes that *Gescon* had suffred: and moreover they had concluded, that as many *Carthaginians* as fell into their hands, should be cruelly slayne: And as for their Allies they should lose their hands, the which afterward they did carefully obserue. Wherefore he that will duly consider these things, may boldly say, that the Bodies of Men, and some of their Vices, do not onely increase sometimes, but also their hearts much more: Believe that even as Vices are inflamed by Medicines, and are impaired if they be applied; and if they make no reckoning of them, they dilate and extend themselves of their nature, and never cease vntill the Body be wholly corrupted and rotten: so it many times falleth out of the Vices and corruptions of mans minde, so as ther is no Beast so cruell or savage as Man: To whom if thou doest any grose or remissio[n] of punishment, or some other good, he growes worse, esteeming all this but Deceite, and wil[re] more distrustfull of his Benefactors: And if on the other side thou seekest to resist him, there is nothing sov'renacle, so cruell, nor so wicked, but he will easily undertake it, glorifying himselfe in his presumption, vntill his proud Spirit hath past the bounds of Reason. Of which things the beginning and the greatest part, proceedes from the lewd life, and bad breeding of Youth. There are other things which add much unto it, and namely the Covetousnes and cruelty of the Captaynes. All which Vices were found at that time in this Army, and especially in the Commanders.

In the meane time, *Amilcar*, bearing the enemies outrages impati- ently, caused *Hammo*, another Captayne Generall for the *Carthaginians* to come vnto him, imagining that when the whole Army were together, the Warre would be the more easily ended. Finally, he cau- led the enemies which were then taken, or afterwards, to be cruelly slayne

A cruel resolu-
tion.

slaine, or devoured by Beasts, hoping that the Warre would then haue an end, if he might putt them all to Death. As the *Carthaginians* seemed at that time to be in better hope, Fortune suddenly chan- ged, so as their Affaires beganne to impair and grow worse: For as soon as these two Captaines were joynd together, they fell into such dissencion, as they not onely lost purluing the enemy, but gonne them great occasions of their owne deafeate.

For which cautes the *Carthaginians* being moued; they sent word that one of them should returne to the City, and that hee which the Souldiers loued best, should remayne in the Campe. They had also another inconuenience: For their great shippes wherewith they brought Corne and other necessaries to the Campe, were in a manner all broken in a storme. Moreo[re] *Sardinia*, from whence they were woor to draw great succours for the affaires of Warre, was lost for them, as we have sayd. And to the end their miseries should be full, the Townes of *Hippone* and *Bisarthe*, which alone among all the people of *Africke* had kept their Faith inviolable to the *Carthaginians*, not only in this War, but in that of *Agathocles*; and in the time of the *Romanes*, revolted then not onely ignominiously from the *Africane*s, but also shewed them suddenly a wonderfull Affection and Loue: And to the *Carthagi- nians* an impitiable hatred, casting into the Ditches all the *Carthagi- nians* with their Captaines, which were there for their Guard, to the number of five hundred, after they had cruelly slayne them: And they deliuered the Towne, and would not render the Bodies to the Citizens of *Carthage* to interr them.

By this meanes *Spendius* and *Methogrew* more insolent, and layed siege before *Carthage*. *Amilcar* at that time had *Hannibal* for a compa- nion in his charge, whbm the *Carthaginians* sent him, when as the Souldiers left *Hammo*, to whom during the dissencion of the Captaines, the people of *Carthage* left a power to retayne whom they pleased. *Amilcar* accompanied by *Hannibal* and *Naraua*, ouer-ran the whole Province, cutting off the Vieuels from the enemy; wherein the *Numidi- an Naraua* did hit great saefice. This was the estate of their Campes. The *Carthaginians* being thus opprest by their enemies, were forced to cracie succours from their Allies, to whom at that time *Hieron* of *Sara- gossa* sent them great assistance, supplying them with whatsoeuer they demanded: For he was of opinion that the preferment of the *Carthagi- nians* was necessary for him, as well for the safety of his estate, as to entartayne the friendship of the *Romanes*; to the end that after the ruine of *Carthage*, they might easily do whatsoeuer they pleased without contradiction.

This was wifely considered of him: For in truth no Man must seeme carelesse of such things, neyther must they suffer any one to grow so to great a power, as he shall haue cause ever after to feare a manifest injustice. The *Romanes* also bound by the Articles of the peace, did what they could possibly to relieue them. It is true, that in the begin- ning, there was some dissencion for the cautes which follow. When the *Carthaginians* were first besieged, they tooke about fifti hundred Men,

Dissencion be-
twixt Amilcar
and Hammo.

The Townes
of Hippone and
Bisarthe coule
from the Car-
thaginians.

The Prudence
of Hieron.

The course
of the Roman
to the Car-
thaginians.

Men, who layling from Italy for gayne, were taken and put in prison. The people of Rome tooke this in ill part. But when as soone after they had sent an Embassie for this cause, the Carthaginians freed them, and intreated them courteously. This was so pleasing unto the Romanes, as presently they delivered all the Prisoners, which they had yet remayingning since the Wares of Sicily, without Ransome, succouring them still whensoever they required it; and suffered their Merchants to carry them Corne, forbidding them to furnish the enemies Campe with any Victuals. Moreouer at such times as the old Souldiers of Sardinia revolted agaynst the Carthaginians, they would not give Audience to their Embassadors, who were sent to deliver them the Island. A while after they would not receive the Bisbarbins, who would in like manner haue given themselves unto them: For that they would not in any sort infringe the Articles of the Peace: The Carthaginians thus relieved by the succours of their Allies, indured the siege more easily.

Matio and Spendius were no less besieged than they did besiege: For Amilcar had reduced them to such great want of all things, as they were in the end forced to raise the siege. Soone after they made choyse of the ablest Men of all their bands, to the number of fifty Theuiland, and went presently to seekke out Amilcar. Moreouer they kept not the plaines, fearing the Elephants and the Horse men, wherof Narane had the Charge, but striuing still to gaine the high and inaccessible places: during the which, although they were as strong and hardy as the Carthaginians, yet they were often beaten, for that they understood not the practise of Warre. Then they might easly judge what difference there is betwixt the good conduct of a Captain, and the over-wanering of a Multitude. He separated some and incloed others by his industry, being forced by their private necessity. He also deafeated many by Ambushes in full fight. Somtimes he terrified the enemies, falling vpon them by surprize. All such as were taken alue, were cast vnto the Beasts.

Finally, he lodged about his enemies to their great disadvantage, and to the benefit of the Carthaginians, drawing them into such necessity, as they neither durst come to fight for feare of the Elephants and Horse men, neyther could they safely flye, for that they were environed with Ditches and Pallisadoes. Finally, hunger did so press them as they did eat one another. Behold the reueng which the gods tooke of them for the cruelties they had committed against their Friends. They came not to fight, both for that the Carthaginians were assured of the Victory, and their punishment was certayne. They made no mention of any treaty of peace, for that they knew well there was no hope of Mercy, having committed such great cruelties. Finally they indured all miseries, expecting daily succours from Tunes. But when they had

The extreme
necessity which
perce the stran-
gers Campe.

Famine makes
them to eat
men.

D Cruelly eaten vp their Prisoners, and their Servants, (a kind of living which they had long vsed) and that no succours came from Tunes, they knew not what to resolute, for the extremitie of the Famine, and the fear of punishment. Finally, Autarice, Zarze, and Spendius resolued to parley with Amilcar. By this meanes they demanded leave to

send

send Embassadors: The which being granted, the Embassie comes with whom Amilcar agrees, that it should be lawfull for the Carthaginians, to chuse ten such as they pleased out of their whole Army, and that the rest might retire in their shirts without any armes. The which when they had concluded, Amilcar told them, that according to the agreement he made choyse of those that were in his presence. By this meanes Spendius, Autarice, and the other heads of the Army were delivered vnto him:

When the Lybians had newes of the taking of their Captaines, thinkeing that the Carthaginians had broken their Faith, for that they knew not the Articles of the peace, they tooke Armes, fortifying themselves in a Quarter of the Campe: To whom Amilcar gaue battell with the Elephants and his whole Army, and slew them all, whereof the number was above forty thousand men. This was neere vnto a place which they call *Sicra*, for that it doth resemble an instrument, which at this day is called *Sie*. This done, the Carthaginians who before seemed to haue lost all hope, began to assure themselves, and to recover their courage and Spirits. In the meane time Amilcar with Hannibal and Narane ouer-ran the Country, and the Townes of the Prouince, where B having reduced the greatest part of Africke with the Townes, they go and lay siege to *Tunes*, and besiege *Matio* with all his Company. Hannibal lay on that side which looked to *Carthage*, and Amilcar was opposite vnto him: Thither they brought Spendius and his Companions, who were hang'd on a Croffe.

Matio seeing that Hannibal made his retreat but badly, and without order, did not thinke it fit to lose this occasion. Wherefore he presently gaue a charge, and slew part, the rest flying away. Finally hee spoyl'd the Campe and all the Baggage. Hannibal himselfe was taken, whom presently they crucified in the place of Spendius, after they had done him a thousand indignities. Moreouer they slew thirtie Gentle men of *Carthage*, about the body of Spendius most cruelly, by a power given them by Fortune for a mutuall revenge. Amilcar was not soone enough aduertised of the enemies fall, by reason of the distance of the two Campes, neyther was it in his owne power to relleue them, in regard of the difficultie of the places. Wherefore leauing *Tunes*, and leading his Army to the River of *Machera*, he lodged vpon the banks at the mouth of it.

The Carthaginians hauing newes of this deafeate, began againe to haue a bad conceit of their Warre: But they presently resumed courage, vsing all possible diligence for the preferuacion of the City. They sent an Embassie to Amilcar of thirty Senators, with a leuy of young men under the Commande of that *Hanno*, who formerly had beeene the Generall. They gaue these Senators charge, to deale so with the two Capitaines, as their priuate hatred might be smothered and supprest, and that they shoulde force them to manage this Warre by their common Counsell, in laying before them the miseries of the time and the present necessity. After that the Senators had drawne these two Capitaines together, and vied diuers speeches vnto them, in the end

Fors that
Amilcar
had men slaine

A deafeate of the
Carthaginians
by *Matio*.

Hannibal cruci-
fied.

Reconciliation of Amilcar and Hanno.

end they perswade them to pardon one another, and to obey the *Carthaginians*. By this means all the Affaires were governed by a common Councell, so as when as *Mahos* was reduced to a streight, after many encounters, Ambushes, and pursuite which they had layd for him neare to the Towne of *Leptis*, and in other places, in the end they appointed a set day of battell with the enemy: to the which both Armies prepared with Resolution. So they called their Allies, and drew men from all parts, even furnishing their Townes of Garrifons, as if by this battell they should decide all their affaires. When as all things necessary for the fight were ready on eyther side, they ioyned vpon the A day appointed. The battell was cruell, but in the end the *Carthaginians* had the Victory. The greatest part of the enemies were slaine in fighting: The rest which retired to the next Towne, yeilded soone after to the *Carthaginians*. In regard of *Mahos* he was taken alue. They onely of *Bisarthe* and *Hippone* finding themselves guilty, and hauing no hope of pardon and Mercy, continued obstinate in their Rebellion. See how a reasonable contentment hath power in all things, and how much better it is, not to affect and secke a thing, which afterwards is intollerable to another.

A Battell won by the Carthaginians.

Finally after that *Amilcar* and *Hanno* began to approach neare vnto them, they had no more hope, but were forced to yeild vpon such conditions as pleased the *Carthaginians*. Thus ended the Warre of *Africk*, but so happily for the *Carthaginians*, as they not only recovered *Afrique*, but punished all the Heads of the Rebellion according to their spesites. Thus *Mahos* and all the other Prisoners, were led in Triumph through the City by the Youth of *Carthage*, and in the end putished for their Villanies. This Warre continued neare three years and four moedthes, the most cruell and inhuamane that euer was heard spoken of.

Mahos punisht.

Note the Inuincion of the Romanes at that time solicited by the Souldiers which were remayned out of *Sardinie* vnto them, prepared to vndertake the Voyage.

And when as the *Carthaginians* were discontent, saying that the Island belonged vnto them, and prepared an Army to send thither, the *Romanes* laying hold of this occasion, signified Warre vnto them, Complaining that this preparation of an Army was not so much for *Sardinie* as against them. But the *Carthaginians* yielding to the time, understanding well their owne weakness, to renew a Warre against the *Romanes*, indeauoured to auoide all occasions, so as they left the Island vnto them. And thererof they paied into the *Romanes* leauen hundred thousand Crowns to redeeme the Warre. Thus matters past at that time.

THE



THE SECOND BOOKE of the History of POLYBIUS.



E haue related in the First Booke, of what time the *Romanes* began to invade *Foirrhe Nations*, after they had pacified *Italy*: And how they past into *Sicily*, and the causes why they made Warre against the *Carthaginians*: At what time also they began first to put an Army to Sea, and Summarily all the Affaires which hapned to the end of this Warre, to the one of the other. In which finally the *Carthaginians* assynded *Sicily*, whereof the *Romanes* were absolute Lords, except those places which *Hieron* King of *Saragossa* held. Wee haue subseuently set downe, how after the Mutiny raised betwixt the *Carthaginians* and their Souldiers, the Warre was kindled, which they call *Affricaine*. And what extremitie and incredible crueltie was vsed, and whereto the end was. Now we will indeauour to write in few Words the accidentes which hapned since, touching euery thing as we haue propounded in the beginning.

After that the *Carthaginians* had reduced *Afrique* to their obedience, they sent *Amilcar* presently into *Spaine* with an Army, who (parting with all his Troupes, and hauing his Soane *Hannibal* with him, about nine yeares of age) past beyond the pillars of *Hercules*, and recovering a great part of *Spaine*. Where staying about nine years, conquering many Townes by force, and oþers by composition; to haue their liues and goods safe, hee dyed a Death worthy of his Amilcar, actions.

actions. For when he had made Warre against courageous and powerfull people, he dyed after bee, had exposed him selfe to all dangers, with great assurance, and the admiration of all the World. After this the *Carthaginians* made *Aesribus* kinsman to *Amilcar*, (who had com-manded the *Tirremes*) General of their Army : At which time the *Romanes* passed to *Sclauonia*, and to that part of *Europe* with an Army. They which desire to vnderstand truely our Discourse, with the beginning and increase of the *Roman* power, must diligently obserue it. This Voyage by Sea, was undertaken for the causes which here follow.

Aeson King of *Sclauonia*.

Demetrius Fa-
ther to *Philip*.

Aeson King of *Sclauonia*, was the Sonne of *Plurate*. This King drew to field more foote and Horse, than any that had reigned before him in *Sclauonia*. It is true, that he was corrupted with money; at the perwision of *Demetrius* Father to *Philip*, so as he succou'd the *Midionians*, whom the *Etolians* held besieged. You must understand, that when the *Etolians* saw that they could not draw the *Midionians* to liue according to their Lawes, they began to make Warre against them, laying siege to divers places, and doing what they possibly could to take the City. And as in the meane time the day of the assembly was come, wherein they were to chuse another Captaine of the Army, and that the besieged were growne so weake, as they seemed to haue no other thoughts but of yeilding ; he which at that time was General, came unto the *Etolians*, and let them understand that it was reasonable, that he who had indured so great paines, and exposed himselfe to so many dangers during the Warre, should haue the booty and spoyle of the enemies if they were vanquished. There were many, euen of those which had any colour to staine vnto that charge, who discontented with this kind of demand, intreated the multitude not to determine any thing, but to leue the booty to him to whom Fortune should giue it. Finally the *Etolians* decreed that whosoeuer should winne the Towne, he shoulde share a moiyte of all the Booty, Riches, and Armes, with him who formerly had beene the Com-mander.

Succour from
Sclauonia to
the *Midionians*.

While matters stood on these termes, and that within three dayes after the Assembly was to meeete (where according to the Custome of the *Etolians*, the last Commaundour was to be Deposited, and a new chosen) there arrived in the night about a hundred ships neare to *Midionia*, with ten thousand men of *Sclauonia*: Who after they had recovered the Port, and the day began to briske, they lauded in haste and by stealth, and then they march'd in battell after their manner, against the *Etolians* Army. And although the *Etolians* being aduertised of their coming, were at the first amazed at this newes, and the boldnesse of the *Sclauonians*: Yet hauing great spirits and courage, relying alio in their Forces, they drew out before their Campe, the greatest part of their Horse and Armed men, and placed vpon some passages, which were not farr from the Camp, some Horries and such as were lightly Armed. The which were charged and broken by the *Sclauonians*, as well by reason of the multitude of their Souldiers,

Souldiers, as for that the middest of their battell was strongly fortifi-ed. In regard of the Horse-men, they were forced to fly shamefully vnto their Campe : From thence thorough the advantage of the place, they marcht speedily against those which kept the Plaine, whom they charged and put presently to flight. The *Midionians* sally forth, and pursue them ; so as there was a great slaughter of the *Etolians*, and many Prisoners, with the spoile of all their baggage, haing found no resistance. When as the *Sclauonians* had performed their Kings Command, and shipt all their baggage and booty, they set syale and A retire to their houses.

The *Midionians* also being thus preserued contrary to their hope, they assembled, and held a Councell among themselves, as well for other affaires, as for the division of the booty taken from the Enemy, and of their Armes, to deuide them in common, by an example taken of him who had benee Chiofe of the *Etolians*, and of those which according to the decree of the *Etolians*, shoulde succeed him : as if Fortune had done it willingly, to make the world know her force by the misfortune of the others. In truth, these in a shorte time made their Enemies to feele the miseries which they themselves expected suddenly. The *Etolians* after this misery serued for an example to the world, not to hold future things as already done, nor to put their hope in things which may succeed otherwise : And that wee must always referre some part in things which may happen contrary to our hope, as well as in all other actions, (seeing we are men) as in the affaires of Warre.

When as the victoriouse ships were arrived, King *Aeson* transported with incredible ioy for the exploits of his men, haing vanquished the *Etolians*, relying much upon their forces ; he gaue himselfe so to ban-
queting in the night, and to a foolish delight of drinking and watch-ing, as hee fell into a Pleurisie, the which grew to violent, as hee died within few dayes after. After whose death his Wife *Tinea* King *Aeson*. Queen *Tinea*, reigned ; governing the Realme by the counsell and aduise of her Friends. But afterwards shee followed her womanish affections, ha-
lutting all those that would goe to Sea, to spoile all passengers. Shee also raised a great Army at Sea, letting the Captaines understand, that the Countrey which was right against hers, was Enemy vnto her : Who at the first assailed the *Etolians* and *Croissentines*, whom the *Sclauonians* spoiled often. But for that there is a large Sea, and that the Townes of those Regions were all upon the firme Land, they could not easily prevent the *Sclauonians* courses : and therefore they did spoile and ruine the Countrey without any obfacle. Andas at the same time they sayled to *Spira*, to fetch victuals, they came to *Phenice*, where there were about eight hundred *Gauls*, entertained by the *Pheonites* to guard the Towne. Here they landed, and parred with them to deliver it, whereto they vcelded : for as they tolde it, and all that was within it by the helpe of the *Gauls*.

When the *Epiroti* had the newes, they came presently to succour them with all their people, and lodged vpon the banks of a neare Riu. Then

Serdilaide.

The Victory
of the Selanoni-
ans against the
Epirotes.

Then they tooke away the planks of the Bridge, to be free from the danger of those which kept the Towne. In the meane time they were aduertised, that *Serdilaide* came by Land with five thousand men, by the Streights of *Antigonia*. Wherefore they divided their Army in two, whereof the one went to guard the passages of *Antigonia*, and the other remained in the *Camp* idly and negligently, consuming what was in that Countrey without fear, and dislaying to keepe any watch or guard. The *Selanonians* within the Town aduertised of the separation of the Army, and of the negligence of the Enemy, goe forth at mid-night, and lay planks vpon the Bridge : So crossing the Riuere, A they gaue a place strong by Nature, where they passe the remainder of the Night without any noise. At the break of day either side were in battell, and the fight began. The *Selanonians* got the Victory : so as few *Epirotes* escaped, the rest being taken or slaine.

The *Epirotes* seeing themselves involved with so many miseries, and out of all hope, they sent an Embassie to the *Etolians* and *Acheans*, crauing Succours from them; who hauing compassion of their afflictions, & desirous to relieue them, marcht to *Heliorene*: whither the *Selanonians*, (who as we haue fayd had taken the Towne of *Phenice*, being ioyned to *Serdilaide*) came and lodged neare vnto them, desirous battell. But the difficulty of the places kept them asunder: together with their Queenes letters, who commmanded them to make no longer stay, but to returne, for that some Townes of *Selanonia* had revolted to the *Dardaniens*. Wherefore after they had spoilt the whole Prouince, they made a truce with the *Epirotes*: by the which they yeelded the Citizens and the City, but carried awayall the slaves and pillage in their shippes. Thus one part retired by Sea, and the other by Land by the streights of *Antigonia*, leaving a wonderfull scarre in the Sea-townes of *Greece*. Without doubt when they considered, that so strong and powerfull a Towne of the *Epirotes* had beeene spoil'd, contrary to all expeciance, they were not onely in feare (as formerly) for the Countrey, but also for themselves and their Townes.

After that the *Epirotes* had ended their Affaires farre better than they expected, they were so farre from taking revenge of the wrongs which they had received, or to thank those which had affilid them, as they preſently ſent an Embassie to Queene *Tenua*, and made a league with the *Arcanians* and *Selanonians*. Wherefore following after that time the party of the *Mirians*, they became Enemies to the *Acheans* and *Etolians*. Wherein they were not onely ingrate and vnruthfull to their Benefactors, but alſo they had beeene very ill counſelled from the beginning of their affaires. And where as many (like men) ſat fountaines, by the hazard of Fortune into great aduerſties and miseries, it happens not ſo much by their owne fault, as by that of Fortune, or by ſuch as are the procurers: But when as men ſeekes their misfortune by their owne indiſcretion, their fault is evident. And therefore when we ſee ſome great diſtref and aduerſtie befall ſome men by Fortune, we doe not onely pity them, but relieve them to our power; whereas we blame, condemne, and hate thoſe whom we know to haue

A reprehensi-
on of the Epi-
rotes.

haue beeene the caufe of their owne misfortunes by indiſcretion and malice. The which the *Grecians* might at that time do with reſon vnto the *Epirotes*.

But what man is ſo confident, which hauing no feare of the common fame of the *Gauls* inconstancy, would haue dared to commit ſo noble a City vnto their charge, who had ſo many reaſons to doubt of their faith, being banifted out of their Country, for that they had ſalfidified their faith with their owne Nation: and who afterwards being retired by the *Carthaginians*, at ſuch time as they had Warte with the *Romans*, and hearing a bruite of the reuolt of mercenary Souldiers for pay which they had pretended was due vnto them, began firſt to ſpoile *Agraga*, whereof they had the Guard, being about a thouſand men. Afterwards they were put in Garrison into *Erix* by the *Carthaginians*: the which they would haue betrayed whileſt the *Romans*, who receiued them: After which they ſpoiled the Temple of *Venus Ericina*.

When as the *Romans* ſaw the treachery and falsehood of these *Barbarians*, hauing concluded a peace with the *Carthaginians*, they diſarmed them, and ſhipped them away, chafing them out of all Italy. B These are the men whom the *Epirotes* made the Guardians of their Lawes and Common wealth, to whom they intrusted to faire and / rich a City: Who will not then blame them? Who will not ſay but they haue beeene the caufe of their owne miseries? Without doubt it is a great folly and indiſcretion to entertaine forces, especially of barbarous men; and to put them into a Towne, where they may bee the stronger, or more in number than the Citizens. But wee haue ſpoken ſufficiently of the *Epirote* folly.

The *Selanonians* before, and many times ſpoiled ſuch as ſold from Italy and *Pheonia*, ſeeing that of late daies they inhabited there, by ſeparating themſelves ſometimes from the Army at Sea, ſpoiled many *Italian* Merchants, or ſlew them. They had alſo carried away a good number of Prisoners. When this had beeene often complained of to the Senate, they made no accompt thereof. Yet in the end, they ſent into *Selanonia*, *Catus* and *Lucius Coronanus* in Embassie, when as the complaints of many came vnto them concerning the outrages of the *Illiarians*.

When the ſhips were returned from *Phenicia* in safety, *Tenua* (wondring at the beauty and greatness of the ſiſole), had a great D longing deſire to make Warre againſt the *Grecians*; for in truth, it was the richelſt Towne of all *Epirus*: But for that her Country was then in Combuſion; ſhee could not attempt it. Moreover, after ſhee had pacified *Selanonia*, and at ſuch time as ſhee held / The *Romans* Embassie to *Epirus*, ſhee attred, who having a day of audience appointed them by the *Tenua Queen* of *Selanonia*, they made knowne vnto her the outrages her men had done them. The Queen gaue eare vnto them with great pride and arro-

Some *Gauls*
banifted their
Country for
their diſloyal-
ty.

After

A bold answer
of an Embassado-

After they had delivered their charge he made answere, that she would take order, that her Subjects should not make open War against them; but it was not the custome of Kings to prohibite their priuate subjects to make what profit they could at Sea. At which words the yongest of the Embassadours made a bold and courageous answere, but in bad season. And therefore sayd he, *Madame, it is the custome of the Romans to take a publicke revenge for priuate wrongs, and to relieue the afflicted: So as it please God, wee will take such order, that hereafter you shall not be much troubled to reforme this kinde of roiall customes.* The Queene an ouer weening woman, grew into such a rage, as neglecting the right of A Nations, shewd men at the retumre of the Embassadours, to kill the yongest who had vsed this Speech.

The Romans being aduertised of this great affront, prepared presently to Warre, leuied men, and made a good number of Vessels: Finally, they prepared all things necessary to take revenge of so great a crime. In the meane time the Queene sent in the Spring a greater number of ships into Greece than formerly: whereof one part sail'd to Corfue, and the other bent their course to the Port of Dura^{zo}. Where

B solued to take the Towne. They of Dura^{zo} being confident, and fearing nothing, suffered them to enter without Armes, vnder colour of water and victuals; although their true intent was to take the Towne by Treason.

But when they saw themselves within the Towne, they tooke their Armes which they had hidden in their vessels for water, and killing the Guards at the Gare, made themselves Masters thereof. Those in the ships being ready, entred in like manner, and felld upon a great part of the Walles: And although that they of the Towne were much amazed at this great and suddaine accident, yet they made a long resistance, defending themselves valiantly; so as the Sclauonians were forced to retire. By this means it happened, that the Durazians who were in danger to lose themselves and their City by their negligence, after they had escapted the perill by their vertue, did afterwards settle a better order in their affaires.

C The Sclauonian Captaines weighed Anchor presently, and put to Sea, ioyning with those, who as wee haue syd, went to Corfue, and made haste ioynly to besiege the Towne. They of Corfue being thus sudainly surpized, and not finding themselves strong enough, sent to crave aide from the Achaeans and Etolians; the like they did to them of Apollonia and Dura^{zo}, intreating them not to suffer them to bee thus shamefully chafed awy from their natural Country by the Barbarians, who hauing pitty of their fortune, armed ten ships of Warre of the Achaeans, and within few days, after sayled to Corfue, hoping to raiue the Barbarians loose at their coming. But the Illirians having recollected seven Vessels armed, from the Sclauonians, with whom they had made a league, marched against the Achaeans, whom they encountring neare vnto the Islands which they call Paxi, and there they fought. The Sclauonians and the Achaeans ships fought equally; and continued long firme, onely their men were wounded.

But

But the Illirians interlaced themselves with their Enemies, who were tied foure together, and enironing them, they hindred them much: Then the Enemis Vessels were much troubled, being peirced and grappled withall, their Spurs being fastned to the Sclauonians Vessels: who entred them with fury, and vanquished them easily by reason of their multitude. By this meanes foure Quadriremes of the Achaeans were taken by the Illirians, and one Quinquereme sunke, and all that was in it: In the which was Marcus Caryenus, a man of great esteeme among the Achaeans, who had alwayes performed his duty well for the A Country. But when as they which fought against the Sclauonians, saw that the Illirians had the Victory, they fled, relying much in the lightnesse of their Vessels: And saued themselves from the Battell, retiring to their houses. The Sclauonians growing proud of this Victory, besieg'd the Towne more boldly than they had done. They of Corfue hauing no more hope, after they had maintained the siege for a season, vsuall yecled, in the end yecled it to the Illirians, receiving their Garrison, and Demetrius of Pharos their Captaine. After which the Illirian Captaines returned to Dura^{zo}, and besieged it.

In the meane time the Roman Consuls, Caius Fulvius with an Army at Sea of two hundred ships, and Anctus Posthumus with the Army at Land, parted from Rome: So as Fulvius came to Corfue, thinking that the siege had continued still. But when hee saw that hee came too late, for that the Illirians were within, hee resolued to passe on, as well to understand what had beeene done, as to try what Opinion they had of Demetrius: And for that he had understood that his Enemies had brought him in disgrace with the Queene, and that hee feared her fury, he had sent men to Rome, to promise their the Towne, and whatsoeuer he held. They at Corfue being joyfull at the Romans arraial, deliuern'd vnto them (by the consent of Demetrius) the Towne and the Illirian Garrison. Finally, they put themselves vnder their protection, hoping that by this meanes they should bee no more subiect to the outrages of the Illirians. When the Romans had received them into league, they sayled to Apolonia, whither Demetrius guided them. At the same time Anctus Posthumus cauiled his Land-army to imbarke at Brunduzium, being about twenty thousand Foote, and two thousand Horse, all which met at Apolonia; the which being Apolonia yeelded to the Romans, they raised the siege for feare, and fled here and there.

D When the Romans had received them of Dura^{zo} into friend-way, and shal vp the Sardens. In the meane time there came an Embaile from Parthenis to the Romans, giving themselves and their City vnto them. Who being received with the Antitages, they tooke their way to Ipe, hauing understood that the Illirians held it besieged: where they entered after they had raised the siege: After which they tooke many Townes in Sclauonia by force, wherein they lost not onely many Souldiers, but also some of their Tribunes, with the Quicke neare vnto

Pasienis yeeld-
do to the Ro-
mans.

vnto *Nutria*. They tooke twenty of the *Illyrian* shippes, which serued them to victuall their Campe. In regard of those which were within *Ilie*, they were all defeated, and fled to *Narente*, except those which were of *Pharos*, which were given to *Demetrius*. Queene *Tenua* with a small company retired to *Rhyzon*, a strong Towne, and farre distante from the Sea, feareing vpon the Bankes of the Riuere of *Rhyzon*.

When the Consuls had put many Townes and great Seignuries into the hands of *Demetrius*, they returned to *Durazzo*, with their Armies both at Sea and Land. From thence *Caius Fulvius* returned to *Rome* with the greatest part of both Armies. But *Pothumus* stayed at *Durazzo*, whereas he rigg'd forty Vessells, and after hee had leuied men in the neighbour Countries, he settled his Garrifons, hauing in his company the *Ardenses*, and all the rest that were allied to the *Romanis*. When the Spring came, *Tenua* sent an Embassie to the *Romanis* to treatre a peace, the which in the end shee obtained vpon these conditions. That shee shold pay them a yeerely tribute, and that shee shuld leue all *Sclavonia*, except some petty places : And as for that which concerneas the *Grecians*, shee might not sayl beyond *Ilie*, but only with two shippes without any furniture of Warre. During these actions *Pothumus* sent an Embassie to the *Chians* and *Etolians*, to aduertise them of the cause of the Warre, and of the *Romanis* voyage by Sea : And to let them understand what they had done, and to reade the condicions of the peace. Who after they had obeyed the Consuls commandaunce, and had bee well received by these two people, they returned againe to *Corfue*; the Cittis of *Greece* being then freed from feare by this accord made with the *Illyrians*. For in those times the *Illyrians* did not affule any one in particular, but all the world in generall. These are the causes for the which the *Romanis* past first with an Army into *Sclavonia*, and into that Countrey of *Europe*. Since they sent an Embassie to *Corinth*, and to the *Atheniens*, at such time as the *Corinthians* desired to make the *Romanis* partieakes of the Warre, which they made against them of the *Istimus*.

At that time *Adrubal* (for here wee formerly left our discourse of the affaires of *Spaine*) had by his great vertues much increased the *Carthaginian* Empire in *Spaine*, and built a Towne which some called *Carthagena*, others *Villanova*, most commodiouse by reason of its situation, as well for the affaires of *Spaine* as of *Affricke*. Of whose situation, and of the benefit it may bring to the two Provinces, we will speake in another place when it shalbe fitting. The *Romanis* seeing the *Carthaginians* forces growne thus powerfull in *Spaine*, did not hold it fit to let things passe in this manner : But acknowledging their negligence for that formerly like menslepe, they had by their owne weakness suffered the *Carthaginians* name to grow great there, they resolute to repaire this error : Yet they durst not begin a Warre, fearing a descente of the *Gaules*, whose fury they apprehended much. And therefore they resolute to treatre first with *Adrubal* touching *Spaine*, and then to assile the *Gaules* : And whatsoeuer should happen to vndergoe

An accord
made
with
Tenua.

Carthagena
built in *Spaine*
by the *Cartha-
ginians*.

vndergoe the danger, in holding it for certaine, that it was not possible for them, to be Lords of *Italy*, nor to keepe their owne Country and houses, vnlesse they had subdued the *Gaules*. Thus they sent an Embassie into *Spaine* to *Adrubal*, who concilid a treaty of peace : By the which among other things it was agreed, that the *Carthaginians* shold not passe the Riuere of *Ebro* with an Army, and that they might ouer runne the rest of *Spaine*. Presently after the conclusion of this treaty, they prepared for Warre in *Italy* against the *Gaules* : the which wee haue thought good to relate summarilly, to the end that as wee haue propole the preparation for the other, Histories may be more manifest. Wee will looke backe vnto the time when as the *Gaules* feased first vpon *Italy*. For in my Opinion the History will not onely be pleasant, and worthy of memory, but most necessary to understand with what people afterwards, and in what Countries *Hannibal* trusting himselfe, durst assaile the *Roman Empire*. And first wee will speake of their Province, what situation, and what proportion it hath to the rest of *Italy*. For by this meanes they may the better understand the things which concerne the knowledge of the History, in declaring first the property of places and Countries.

A *Italy* is of a triangular forme. That side which looks towards the East, iſconſed by the *Ionian Sea*, and the *Adriatique Goufe*: of *Italy*. and that which tends towards the South and West, is included by the Seas of *Italy* and *Sicily*. These two sides ioyning together make the point of the Triangle : Where in front lies the Promontory, which the people of the Country call *Coeynhe*, and hath its ſpectre to the South, deluiding the *Ionian Sea* from the *Sicilian*. The third ſide, which tends to the Pole *Artique*, and to the firme land, is limited by the continuation of the *Alps*, the which beginning at *Marseilles*, and in thole Countries which are about the *Sardinian Sea*, continue vnto the ſhore of the *Adriatique Sea*, leaving ſome little ſpace betwix both. Within on this ſide which wee meane to bee bounded by the *Alps*, and is as it were the Basis or foundation of the Triangle, there are from the Southerne Country, tending towards the North, Plaines which make the end of *Italy*, and are the greatest and the moft fertill in all *Europe* : whose figure is likewife Triangular.

The *Appen Hill*, and the *Alps* ioyning together make a point of the Triangle, neare vnto the *Sardinian Sea*, and aboue *Marseilles*. That ſide which looks to the North is made by the *Alps*, whereof the exent is two thousand, two hundred Furlongs. That ſide which hath its ſpectre to the South, is bounded by the *Appen Hill*, the which hath three thousand and three score Furlongs in length. The ſhore of the *Adriatique Sea* holds the fashion of the foundation of the whole figure, whereof the greatness (which begins at the Towne of *Sengaille*, vnto the Goufe of the ſame Sea) hath two thousand five hundred Furlongs in compasse.

By this meanes the Circuite of the whole Plaine containeth tenne thouſand Furlongs in compasse. It is not in my power to deſcribe

The fertility
of Ital.
About three
pence.

describe the great fertillity of the Country, so much it abounds in all sorts of Fruites, that many times a Bushell of Wheate, after the measure of Sicily, hath beeke sold in our times for two Shillings, and fourre Denars: That of Barley for fourteeene Denars, and a Vessel of wine for asmuch. Moreouer it is not crediblē the abundance of Mill and Panique, which they call Indian Oatmeale. There is also a great abundance of Akornes, which come from the Forrests which are in divers parts of that Region: Considering that the *Italians* breed an infinite number of Swine, to Sacrifice, and for their vse and necessary provision of an Army; the whiche the Fertillity of this Country doth A supply abundantly.

A price hard
to be credited.

It is easie to conceiue that the abundance of other particular things necessary for the vse of Man, is great: Considering that when as Guests come unto their Innes, they never make a particular price for the things they take, as they do in other Countries, but onely what every Man is to pay for his share. When as the Guests had beeke honestly intreated, and haue had whifoeuer was necessary for their refection, they never pay above halfe an Assaire, which is worth three-halfe-pence, they seldom exceed this price. Moreouer it is very well peopled; the Men are active, goodly, and strong for the Warre, the which is more B easie to be knowne by their Actions, than by that which can be spoken. The *Gauls* whom they call *Transalpins*, inhabite the Mountainous places on either side the *Alpes* towards the *Rhone* and the North. And on the side of the plaines dwelle the *Turinois*, and the *Agoniens*, and many other Barbarous Nations, which are of the same Race with the *Transalpins*, and differ only in their Habitation: The other are called *Transalpins* becuse they dwell beyond the Mountains. As for the top of the Mountaines, it is so faire from being inhabited, as they do not find so much as the tract of a man, both by reason of the difficulty and vnaessesse, as for that it is alwayes couered with Snow, and full of Ice.

The *Genouis*.

But the *Genouis* dwell aboue *Marseilles*, where as the *Appenin* Hill begins to ioyn with the *Alpes*. Moreouer they hold all that Coast which looks to the Champion Country, and to the Sea of *Italy*: So as along the Sea they hold all vnto the Towne of *Pisa*, which is the first City of *Italy*, towardsthe West, and towards the firme Land to *Arezzo*. Next to the *Genouis* come the *Italians*, and of either side of the *Appenin* Hill ly the *Umbrians*. Then the *Appenin* Hill being distant about three score and three miles from the *Adriaticque Sea*, leauing the Plaine, bents to the right hand, and in crossing *Italy*, extends it selfe to the Sea of *Sicily*. The Country which is betwixt it and the *Adriaticque Sea*, extends vnto *Senegaille*.

The *Poe*.

The Riuere of *Poe*, which the Poets call *Eridanus*, and which beginnes at the Foote of the Mountaines, where as they make in a manner a point of the Triangle (as we haue sayd) takes his course to the plaine towards the South, and from thence bending towards the East, it enters by two mouthes into the *Adriaticque Sea*. It is the greatest of all the riuers of *Italy*. For all the waters which descend from the *Alpes* and

and the *Appennins*, fall into the *Poe*. It is farre greater in Summer than in Winter, by reasoun of the abundance of Snow which melts. It is nauigable from a place which the people of the Countrey call *Volane*, Volane, two hundred and fifty miles towards the *Alpes*. Its spring is but a small Riueret; but after it deuides it selfe in two, and enters into the *Adriaticque Sea* by two Armes, which they of the Countrey call *Padoua* and *Volane*. The last is the safest Port of all those of the *Adriaticque Sea*.

They which dwell vpon the *Poe*, haue sometyme called it *Bodenius*. A Finally the *Grecians* speake many things of this *Poe*, as that *Phaeton* governing the Horses of his Fathers Chariot, fell into it, and how that the *Heliades* powre forth teares continually, the which are perfuried by a Tree: and that the people of the Countrey since that day began to ware blacke Robes in signe of mouring, and haue alwayes vled it since; with many other things, whereof I will now to leave to speak, for that in my Opinion they doe not conduce to the preparation of our Worke. Hereafter notwithstanding we will treate of them, when any necessary occasion shall be offred: being most certaine that *Timæus* did not vnderstand those things which did concerne this B Region.

The *Tyrreins* haue formerly held all the Champion Countrey, which is confiayd by the *Appenine* hill, and the *Adriaticque Sea*, at what time also they enjoyed the Countrey called *Pblegrie*, which is about *Capona* and *Nola*: at what times also they purchased a greate esteeme of vertue. Wherefore Historiographers must not attribute the power of the *Tyrreins* to the Region which they now inhabite. The *Gauls* frequented much with them, by reason of their neighbour-hood: who mowed with the beauty and fertillity of the Countrey, vpon a small occasion made Warre against them, and hauing chased them away, settled themselves there. The Countrey betwixt the *Poe* and the *Alpes*, is C inhabited by the *Layes*, then by the *Vercellains*. Neere unto whom are the *Milanois* in great numbers, and vpon the banks of *Poyle* the *Cenomans*. In regard of those places which are neere vnto the *Adriaticque Sea*, they are inhabited by people, which are aunctiently descended from *Paphlagonia*, whom they call *Venesiens*, who differ nothing from the *Gauls* in their manner of living and habite, but onely in their tongues: Of whom the tragical Poets write many strange foolesies. Moreouer, that which lies betwixt the *Appenin* Hill and the *Poe*, is at its entry inhabited by the *Ananes*, by the *Bolosians*, by the *Eganes*, and then by the *Senogallois*: These are they who (borderers to all the rest) haue inhabited neere vnto the *Adriaticque Sea*.

Boldly the principall Nations of all the *Gauls* which dwelt in *Ita-*
ly, living in Villages without any inclosure, hauing no furniture for The *Gauls*
their houses, but lay vpon the bare. They liued of flesh, and made
no profession but of Warre and Tillage, leading a simple life without
Arts or Sciences. Their wealth was in Gold and Cattell, for that
they were thingsease to transport where they pleased, when necessity
pressed them. They did all stricke to purchas Friends, for they much
esteemed

The *Venetians*
come from
Paphlagonia.

esteemed a man that was honoured by many. In the beginning they not only held this Country, but they also drew unto them a great part of their Neighbours, being terrified with their fury.

Soone after making Warre against the *Romanes*, they defeated them with their Allies, and put them shamefully to flight. Within three dayes after they tooke *Rome* except the *Capitoll*, and afterwards returned to their houses, having concluded a Peace with them, and restored their City : For that they were forced to returne, by reason of the invasions which the *Venetians* made into their Country. From thenceforth they began to make Wars among themselves : For they which A dwelt at the Foote of the Mountaines, seeing the others to increase daily in power, made Warre often against them : In the meane time, the *Romanes* recovering their Forces, prevailed over the *Latinis*.

Rome taken by
the *Gaules*,

The *Gaules* re-
turne against
the *Romanis*.

Thirty yeares after the taking of *Rome*, the *Gaules* returned with a great Army to *Alba* : But for that the *Romanes* were surprized, and had no leisure to leuy an Army, nor to require succours from their Allies, they made no resistance against them. And whereas they returned twelve years after, the *Romanes* being presently aduertised of their comming, and drawing together the succours of their Allies, marcht with great courage to encounter them with an Army, desiring B nothing more than Battell, by the meanes whereof they should soone decide who should haue the Empire. The *Gaules* amazed at their Resolution, and withall there falling a mutiny amongst them, they made their Retreate little lesse than a flight, and so continued thirteene yeares without making Warre.

But when they saw the *Romanes* power increase daily, they begane to treat of Peace, the which they obtained, and continued thirty years without Warre. The *Transalpins* renewed the Warre against them. Wherefore fearing to be assailed on two sides, they intreated them, that forasmuch as they were of one Nation they would not be C their enemies. Moreover they sent them rich preſents, intreating them to turne the Warre against the *Romanes*, and that they would affit them with all their meanes. Whereunto being easly perwaded, they marcht all with one consent against the *Romanes* by *Tuscany* (for a great number of the *Tuscanis* held for them) and having made a great spoile, they retired out of the *Romane* Preuinces to their owne Houles without losſe. Where as there fell out a great debate vpon the devision of this great booty, so as they not onely lost a great part of their booty, but also the best part of their Empire : the which doth vsually happen to the *Gaules*, by reason of their gormondize and drunkennesse. Fourre D years after ioyning with the *Sannites* they affailed the *Romanes*, of whom they made a great slaughter, in the Region of the *Camertins*. Some few dayes after they affailed them againe, and had a Battell neere vnto the Country of the *Sentinates*, where they gaue them a great deafeate, and forced the rest to recover their Houles.

Pillage made
by the *Gaules*
vpon the *Romanis*.

Divers victories
of the *Gaules*
against the
Romanis.

Ten years after they made a great assembly of men of Warre, and descending into *Tuscany* they besieged *Arezo*. The *Romanes* comming to succour the *Arezins*, fought neare vnto the Towne, and lost the battell,

Battell with the Consull *Lucius* : In whose place they did choose *Marcus Curio*, who presently sent an Embassie into *Gaul*, to retire the prisoners; who at his comming was slaine by them, contrary to the Law of Nations.

The *Romanes* incensed at so wicked an Act, made a new Levy of men, and refolued to enter the *Gaules* Country. But they had not done any great matter, when as the *Senegallos* went to encounter them; whom the *Romanes* charged, and slew the greatest part, and those few which remained were chased out of the Country. They recovered the whole Country, and re-peopled the Towne againe, calling A it *Senegaldis*, as it had beene formerly, when it was first inhabited by the *Gaules*. This Towne (as we haue layd) is situate vpon the *Adriaticke* shore, where as the points of *Italy* do end. When the *Boloniens* saw the *Senegallos* chased by the *Romanes* from their Country, they rayfed an Army to make Warre against them, calling all the *Tuscans* to their ayde, fearing least the *Romanes* should doe the like vnto them.

Prelently after they fought, where most of the *Tuscans* were slaine, and a few of the *Boloniens* saved themselves by flight. Yet they fainted not for this deafeate, but the yeare following drew together all the B Forces they could make, and all the Youth that could beare Armes, and marcht against the *Romanes*, where they were defeated and slaine, so as they were in a manner vtterly ruined. Wherefore their pride abated, they made an agreement with them by Embassadors. These things hapned, threes yeares after the descent of *Pyrhus* into *Italy*, and fiftie yeares after the *Gaules* had beene defeated in *Delphos*. Behold how C in that time Fortune (as a mortall plague among the *Gaules*) persecuted them in all places. But the *Romanes* made a double profit by the battels which we haue formerly related : For being accustomed to fight with the *Gaules*, who had bee held very fierce and fearefull, they became good Souldiers against *Pyrhus*. Thus by little and little they abated the pride of the *Gaules*, so as afterwards they were much more assured, first to fight with *Pyrhus* for *Italy*, and afterwards against the *Carthaginians* for the Souerainty of *Sicily*.

The *Gaules* weakened by the meanes of the former Battells, liued in peace forty five yeares, without any breach of the accord made with the *Romanes*. But after that the old men, (who had undergone the dangers, and felt so many losſes) were dead, the Youth who were of a harsh and bad disposition, and had not felt the miseries of former D times, grew insolent. These (as it is willingly the nature of men) began presently to undertake the Warre, and to bee enemies to the *Romanes*, whatsoever shoud succeed, and moreover to send to craine succours from the *Transalpins*. It is true, that in the beginning the Princes did managge the affaires without the consent of the people : So as it hapned, that when as the *Transalpins* were come to *Rimini*, the common people of *Bologna*, being ignorant of this enterprize, and fearing this deſcendent, mutined against their Commanders, and put to death *Etrus* and *Gallus* their Kings ; then they fought with the *Transalpins*. The E *Romanes*

A deafeate
vnde of the
Senegallos by
the *Romanis*.

The incation
of *Senegaldis*.

The *Boloniens*
defeated by the
Romanis.

A deafeate of the
Gaules in *Del-*
phos.

King *Etrus* and
Gallus slaine.

Romanes likewise amaz'd at this descent of the *Transalpins*, drew their Men to field: but when they were aduertised of the other defeate of the *Gaules*, they teryed to their Housers.

Five yeares after, *Marcus Lepidus* being Consull, *Caius Flaminius* made a Law for the people, by which that Region of *Gaule*, which they call the *Marquise of Ancona*, vnto *Rimeni*, from whence the *Senegallos* had beeene chased, shoule be deuided amongst the *Romanes* Souldiers. For which cause there suddainly grew a new Warre: For most part of the *Gaules*, especially the *Boloniens*, who were neighbours vnto the *Romanes*, were much incensed therewith, thinking that ^A the *Romanes* did not fight for principallity or Glory, but for pillage and their ruine. Wherefore the *Milanensis* and *Boloniens* conserning together, sent suddainly to the other *Gaules*, which dwell beyond the Mountaines along the River of *Rhone*, whom they call *Gessates*, for that they fight for pay, (for so the word imports) offering to their Kings *Congolitan* and *Anarcke* a great summe of present money. They acquainte them with the great felicity of the *Romanes*; and what a benefit it would be if they could vanquish them.

By this meanes they mooue them to make Warre against the *Romanes*; which was easie to perswade, considering the former Reason. They promise them also to make them Companions in this Warre, reducing to their memory the prouesse of their Predecessors, who had not only defeated the *Romanes* in battell, but after the Victory had taken the City of *Rome* with wonderfull celerity: Where they had taken great spoiles, and after they had beeene masters thereof feauen moneths, they restored them the Empire willingly, and returned into their Country safe with all their booty. In propounding these things brauely vnto them, they incouraged these Kings and the *Gaules*, so as there was never defencet made out of that Country, of a greater Army, nor more valiant men, nor better furnished.

^B Amazement of the *Romanes* for the descent of the *Gaules*. When the newes of came to *Rome*, the City was so amazed, as they presently made a new Levy of men, and began to make prouision of Victuals, leading their Army sometymes vnto their Frontiers, as if the *Gaules* had beeene there present; who notwithstanding were not yet come out of their Country. These things were very beneficiall to the *Carthaginians*, to augment their Empire in *Spaine*. But the *Romanes* considering that these affaires were more pressing, for that these people were too neare enemies, they were forced to lay aside the affaires of *Spaine*, vntill they had pacified *Italy*. And therefore renewing the accord with *Afdrabal*, Lieutenant General for the *Carthaginians*, they wholly attended the Warre against the *Gaules*, studying only how they might resist their fury.

^C A descent of the *Transalpin* into *Italy*. When as the *Gessates* had drawne a great number of men together neare vnto the *Rhone*, they passed the Mountaines, and entred the plaine neare vnto the *Poe*: Where as the other *Gaules* eight yeares after the yeilding of that Region, and in like manner the *Milanensis* and *Boloniens*, ioyned preuently with a great multitude. But the *Venetians* and *Cenomans* pacified by an Embassie from the *Romanes*, preferred their

The occasion to renew the Warre betwixt the *Romanes* and *Gaules*.

The *Gaules* were feauen moneths in *Rome*.

When as the *Gessates* had drawne a great number of men together neare vnto the *Rhone*, they passed the Mountaines, and entred the plaine neare vnto the *Poe*: Where as the other *Gaules* eight yeares after the yeilding of that Region, and in like manner the *Milanensis* and *Boloniens*, ioyned preuently with a great multitude. But the *Venetians* and *Cenomans* pacified by an Embassie from the *Romanes*, preferred their

their friendship before the Alliance of the *Gaules*. Wherefore the Kings for feare of them, left a part of their Army in *Milanensis* to guard the Countrey, and marcht with the rest into *Tuscany*, being about fifty thousand Foote, and twenty thousand Cars and Horse-men. When as the *Romanes* had newes that the *Gaules* had past the *Alpes*, they sent *Lucius Emilius* the Consull with an Army to *Rimeni*, that being there before the Enemy, hee shoulde stay their passage. They also caused one of the Pretors to march into *Tuscany*, for the other Consull *Caius Attilius*, had in the beginning of his Consulship past in *Sardinia* with an Army at Sea.

The City of *Rome* was heauy, and much troubled, and did not attend this great attempt of the *Gaules* without great teare. They then remembred their former defeats, and feared this Nation, as the ruine of the City of *Rome*. And therefore they had long before prepared a great Army: they dayly made new leuis of men, and they aduertised their Allies to bee ready and in Armes. Moreover, they enyoied them to send vnto the Senate the Rolles of the Bands of their YOUTH, desirous to know the number of Souldiers of all the *Italian Army*. They likewise made provision of Corne and Armes, and of all other things necessary, in greater abundance than they had done in former times.

The other people of *Italy* were no lesse diligent, they were so much amazed at the descent of the *Gaules*: so as they did not thinke to fight for the *Romanes*, nor for their Empire, but every man for his owne safety, for his City, and for his Countrey: Wherefore all the *Italians* did willingly obey the *Romanes* in this Warre.

I will here set downe the preparations the *Romanes* made for Warre, and what The preparation on which the *Romanes* made for Warre. fee how great they were, and what forces they had when as *Hannibal* presumed to saile them, and with what Troopes making Warre against the *Romanes* power, hee brought the City into so great danger.

First, the Consuls went to field with four *Roman* Legions, whereof either consisted of five thousand two hundred Foote, and two thousand Horse. They had moreover by reason of this arming of the *Gaules*, raised other Troopes. The *Tuscans* and *Sabins* had drawne together three score and ten thousand Foote, and about four thousand Horse.

As soone as the newes came that the *Gaules* past the *Alpes* of *Bologna*, there were sent into *Tuscany*, vnder the command of the Praefest of the City. After them the *Vmbrians* and *Sarsenates*, inhabiting Mount *Appenni*, were assembled to the number of twenty thousand men. The *Venetians* also, and *Cenomans* were about twenty thousand, all which were appointed to keepe the *Appenni Hills*, and to fall vpon the *Boloniens* when occasion should bee offered. Behold the Troopes which at the first they sent against the *Gaules*. There was moreover another Army within *Rome* to guard the City, and to attend the pleasure of the Senate vpon all occasions: whereof there were twenty thousand foot, *Roman*, and fifteen hundred Horse, and of their Allies thirty thousand *Foote*, *Hoofe*, *Roman*,

The number of the *Gaules* Army.

The diligence of the *Roman* Army.

The number of the *Italian* Army.

Tuscany ruined by the Gaules. Foote, and two thousand Horse. Moreover they had the Roll of the Army of the *Latins*, which consisted of four score thousand Foote, and five thousand Horse : and of the *Sannites* of three score and ten thousand men, and seuen thousand Horse. Of the *Lapiges* and *Mesapiens* fifty thousand Foote, and sixteeen thousand Horse, of *Marces*, *Marricenses*, *Ferrenses* and *Vestins*, twenty thousand Foote, and four thousand Horse. Of the *Lucains* thirty thousand Foote, and three thousand Horse. There were moreover at that time two Legions in *Sicily*, and about *Tarentum* for the guard of the Country : whereof either was of four thousand two hundred Foote, and two hundred Horse. Moreover, the multitude of the *Romans* and *Campanis*, was about two hundred and fifty thousand Foote, and three and twenty thousand Horse. By this means the number of the Troops which were subject to the Senate and people of *Rome*, exceeded an hundred and fifty thousand Foote, and about five thousand Horse. But the whole force of *Italy* was generally of seuen hundred thousand Foote, and three score and tenne thousand Horse. Against the which Hannibal hauing but twenty thousand men, durst enter into *Italy*. But this shall bee for another time.

The policy of the Gaules. The *Gaules*, finally passing the *Appenin* Hills, entred into *Tuscany* without any resistance, putting all to fire and sword : Finally, they marcht speedily to *Rome*. Being come neare vnto a Towne which they call *Ciuta*, within three dayes iourney of *Rome*, they had newes that the *Roman* Army (which as we haue sayd, had bene sent to gaurd *Tuscany*) was drawne together and followed them. Wherefore they prelenty turned head furiously vpon them. And when they were come neare vnto the other at the Sun-setting, then they campt, leauing some little space betwix them. Night bring come, the *Gaules* made fires in their Campes after their viuall manner, and left thei Horse-men there, giuing them charge to part at the breake of day, and when they should be discouered by the Enemies to goe on their course. In the meane time making shew of a fight, they part with all their Foote, and march directly to *Felsula*, of purpose to drawe on their Horse-men, and to breake the Enemy which followed them.

A Victory of the Gaules against the Roman. The *Romans* seeing the *Gaules* Horse-men part at the breake of day with great noise, thinking it was for feare, hasted after them indeſcretly, and drew neare vnto them. Who being ioyned, the combat in the beginning was furious, for that the *Gaules* did charge them on all sides according to their resolution. Finally, the *Romans* lost sixe thousand men, for that the *Gaules* were more in number and of greater courage. All the rest of the Army fled, whereof a great part retired to a little Hill, strong by ſtituation and nature. The *Gaules* began to besiege them : But for that they were tired with watching the Night before, and with the toyle of the day, they returned to take their refection, leauing a strength of Horse-men to keepe the Hill, with a resolution to giue an affuit with all their forces, if they did not yeeld within three dayes. At that time *Lucius Emilius* the Confull, who (as wee haue sayd) was at *Rimini* with an Army, having aduertisement

aduertisement that the *Gaules* had past *Tuscany*, and marcht to *Rome* with all their forces, he vſed all diligence to come and ſuccour his companions. When he had past the *Appenin* Hill, and was lodg'd neare vnto the Enemy, they which had retired to the Hill, knowing the Confulls comming, which they easly diſcouered by the fires in the Night, they preſently tooke courage, and ſent ſome of their men vñarmed vnto him by the Forrest, to let him understand how things had paſt.

The Confull ſeeing that all delayes in ſo great a danger of his compaions were preuidiciall, he gaue order to the Tribunes of the Souldeiers, to march at the breake of day with all the foote : And in the meane time he takes his way towards the Hill with all the Horse-men. The Commanders of the *Gaules* doubtng of the Confulls comming by the fires in the Night, assembled to aduife what they had to doe. Then King *Anoreſſe* was of opinion, that it was a folly to loſe time with the ^{The advice of Anoreſſe.} Enemies, and to bring their conqueſt in danger, before they had put ſo great a ſpoile in ſafety (they had in trueth an infinite number of Prisoners, and abundance of all other things) and therefore they muſt firſt returne into their Country, and there leaue all the baggage, and then B returne into *Italy* if they think it fit : to the end the Souldeiers might fight with their Enemies without any incumbrance. The *Gaules* liked of this counfull, and the next day drew forth their Ensignes before the breake of day, returning into *Gaul* along the Sea-shore, laden with all ſorts of pillage.

When as *Lucius Emilius* had retired thofe which had fled to the Hill, he purſued the *Gaules* with his Army. Yet he did not hold it of *Emilius*, fit to preuent battell to ſo great a multitude, but rather reſolved to attend ſome opportunity, either of time or place, where he might anafe the Enemy, or make them abandoon the booty in ſome fort. At the same time *Caius Attilius* the other Confull, who was lately arrived at *Isa* from *Sardinia*, landed with his whole Army, and marched directly to *Rome* by the Sea-shore before the *Gaules*. They were not farre from *Telamona* a Towne of *Tuscany*, when as ſome of their ſcouts fell by ſurprize into the *Romans* hands, who diſcouered vnto the Confull that the *Gaules* were not farre off, and that *Lucius Emilius* purſued them. These things being vnderſtood, *Caius Attilius* wondering at this fortune, and hoping partly of the Victory, for that Fortune seemed to haue deliuereſ the Enemy betwix their two Campes, he gaue the Legions to the Tribunes of the Souldeiers, and gaue them D charge to march againſt the Enemy, as much as the opportunity of place would give them leaue.

In the meane time ſeeing a little Hill vpon the way, very comodious for their Warre, to the which the *Gaules* ſeemed to tend, hee tooke the Horse-men, and refolued to get it before them, and to vndergoe the danger, hoping that if the *Romans* had the Victory by this meaneſ, they would attribute the honour vnto him. The *Gaules* ignorant in the beginning of the Confulls comming, and doubting by the things which they ſaw, that *Lucius Emilius* had paſt before night with his horſe-

men, to gain the Country which was aduantagious for the Warre, they preffently sent all their Horse, and some of their most active men to recover this Hill. But when they were aduertised by the Prisoners that *Atilius* held it, they preffently caused their Foot-men to march, and order their battell in the Reare, as in the Front, for that they law *Emilius* followed them in the taile, and that the other attended them in front, as they had learned by the Prisoners, and by the things which had happened. They which were with *Emilius*, were not yet confident, although it were a commen biuite that the Army of *Sardinia* was arrived at *Pisa*. But they were assured when as they saw the combat at the Hill : for the Enemies were very neare, and therfore the *Emilian* Horse reyned much, and tooke a way by the fide of the nearell Hill to goe and succour those which defended it.

Emilius in the meane time marcht after the *Gaules* in the same order he had become accustomed. When the *Gaules* law themfelves thus inuolued by the Enemies, they put vpon the Reare the *Genses* and *Milanensis* against *Emilius* who followed them, and vpon the Front the *Boloniens* and thole which inhabit along the *Poe*, appointing the *Boloniens* and the *Cav's* with all the baggage apart without the two Battalions, and all the pillage vpon a little Hill, with some Horse-men to guard it. When they had thus ordained their Battell with two fronts, it seemed not only terrible to b'hold, but also of a wonderfull efficacy for the combat. The *Boloniens* and *Milanensis*, made choice of such as had Breeches, and were most at ease in their apparel. But the *Genses* for the great courage and wonderfull desire of glory which they had, stript themfelves, and put themfelves before the Battalion naked, only with their Armes, hauing a conceit that by this means they shoule be more active and disposed to fight : For the Bushes (which were thicke there) would stay them by their Clothes, and hinder their fighting.

The order of
the Gaules
battell

Caius Atilius
Emilius

The battell of
the foot-men.

First, the Combate which was at the Hill, was in the figh of both Armies, whereas the Horse men charged one another, and fought valiantly. There *Caius Atilius* was slaine, fighting too rashly, whose Head was preffently carried to the Kings of the *Gaules*. Yet the *Roman* cauillery fainted not, but were the more incenled to fight; so as in the end they not only defended the Hill, but defeated all the *Gaules* Horse-men. In the meane time the Foot men approach, and the combat began, the which was not only horrible and wonderfull to behold for those that were present, but likewise for those which shall heare it spoken of. First considering that the battell was of three Armies, every man may imagine, that the figh was not only now and fearefull to the assistants, but also their manner of fighting. Moreover, who will doubt but the *Gaules* had the worst, being charged as well in the Reare as in the Front? Or it may be the better, for that they fought altogether against the two Armies, and that the two sides repulsed their Enemies, so as at the same instant they defended one another: And that moreover they could not passe on, nor hope for flight backward? There is no doubt but a Battell with two Fronts hath the be-

nefit,

nefit, that the Souldiers haue no meanes to flye. In regard of the *Romanes*, they had hope of Victory, for that they saw their Enemies inclosed, as it were delivered into their hands : On the other side they feared the fury and order of their Army, the sound of Trumpets and Clairons was terrible, with the which all the Troope made a great cry and shoute, so as there was an incredible noise. They could not heare the Trumpets and Souldiers, and moreover, the neighbour places seemed to eccho forth their cries.

It was a terrible thing to see the forlorne hope march naked. Behelme me, these great naked bodies, with their motions vnder their Bucklers were maruelous and fearefull. The beauty and riches of their Apparrell gaue also a great luster. For the whole Army shined with chaines of Gold, and Silkes wounen with purple. The which the *Romanes* obseruing, they were partly amazed, and partly encouraged with the hope of spoile. Finally, the taile of the Army which was armed, was not gaule by the *Roman* Archers, who doe vsually march before the Battalion. But the forlorne hope which fought naked before their Troopes, were contrary to all hope much annoyed : For they could not couer their great naked bodies with their *French* Bucklers : And therefore the Arrowes fell easilie vpon them. Finally, when they saw themselves thus beaten, and could not bee reuenged of the Archers by reason of the distance, and for the multitude of Arrowes which flew from all parts, they cast themfelves like desperale mad men, some vpon their Enemies, where they were slaine : others retired vpon their owne Troopes, who being all bloody, daunted the courage of the rest, and put them in disorder.

By this meanes the fiercenesse of the *Genses*, which made the forlorne hope was abated. Then the *Milanensis*, the *Boloniens*, and the *Turinois* maintained the burthen of the battell : where they did not fight

C a fatre off with their Arrowes and Darts as formerly, but hand to hand with their Speeres and Swords : and the Combate was as furious as ever any was, for euery man performed his duty. It is true, that their Targets and Swords were not equal. For the *Gaules* Swords were heavy and blunt, and their Targets weake : The *Romanes* couered themfelves with stronger Targets, and carried short Swords and sharpe. And therefore the *Gaules* were still defeated in what manner so euer they fought, whether in troope, or man to man : Yet they stood firme in

D great fury : Then they were broken and slaine here and there. The Foot-men died in the place where they had their Stations appointed : But the Horse-men fled. The *Gaules* lost in this battell forty thousand men ; there were only taken ten thousand with King *Congellanus*. *H* The taking of *Congellanus*. *W* The death of *King Congellanus*.

King Congellanus, which was the other King of the *Gaules*, fled with some few which followed him to a neighbour-place, who some dayes after slew themfelves.

After this defeate, *Lucius Emilius* the Consull, sent the Enemies spoiles to *Rome*, and restored the booty to those to whom it did belong. From thence he went thorough the *Genuinis* Country into that of *Bol-*

The defeate of
the forlorne
hope of the
Gaules.

The Ames
which the
Gaules did vse.

A defeate of
the *Gaules* Ar-
my.

The death of
King Anoreus.

lona,

The Bolonians *Ionia*, making great spoyles : And hauing in a short time enrich't his Army with all sorts of booty, he brought it backe to *Rome*, with the Armes, chaine's and bracelets of gold, wherewith he did adorne the Capitoll : being a kind of ornament of gold, which the *Gaules* are accustomed to carry about their waists and neckes : the rest of the spoyles and all the prisoners, went before him in triumph. Behold those great attempts of the *Gaules*, which the *Romans* not onely feared, but all Italy in like manner, came to nothing.

The *Romans* hoping now to chase the *Gaules* out of *Italy*, sent *Quintus Fulvius* and *Titus Manlius* late made Consuls, with a great Army into *Gaul*. Who at their entry forced the *Bolonians* to submit themselves to their obedience. But they could not proceede in the warre, but were forced to retire by reason of the continuall Raine and the Plague.

Afterwards *Publius Furio*, and *Caius Flaminius* being created Consuls, came againe into *Gaul* with an Army : and after they had received the *Ananes* into friendship, which are not farre from *Marselles*, they marched directly into the Country of *Milan* with their Legions, where as the Riuers *Ade* ioynes vnto the *Poe*. The *Milanois* had made a great leuue to repulse their enemies. By whom when the *Romans* had received great losse, not onely at the passage of the Riuers, but also in fortifying their Campe, they parted thence, and tooke their way to the Country of the *Cenomans* : where after they had ioyned their Army to theirs, for they were their Allies, they made a new descent into the *Milanois* by the higher Country, which looks toward the *Alpes*, ruining all where they passe.

The Princes of *Milan*, hearing the resolution of the *Romans* to bee immutable, resolued to undergoe the hazard and to fight with them. Wherefore after they had drawne an Army together, and taken the Ensignes of gold which they call *vnmoucable* out of *Minerva's* Temple, & C made prouision of all other things necessary, they marcht against them with great assurance, planting their Campe right against them, to the number of fifty thousand Men. It is true, the *Romans* finding themelues not strong enough, were of advice to call the *Gaules* to their aide, with whom they were in league. But for that they feared their revolt, & they were to fight with men of the same Nation, they held it dangerous to trust in such men so great a danger, and especially to put their safeties in their hands, such a time, and in such an action : Finally, being neare the Riuers, they call the *Cenomans*, and caule them to passe. When all were past they brake the Bridge, depriving them at one instant of the meanes D to ioyne with their Enemies, and leauing their Men no hope of safety but in the victory.

When this was done they put their men in order, and off' i battell to the *Milanois*. It seemes the *Romans* had ordered this battell discreetly, by the aduertisement of the Tribunes, for the meanes to fight in troope, or man to man : For when as their men were in battell they tooke the Pikes from the *Triarij*, and gave them to such as were in the Front, giving them charge to entertaine the fury of the *Gaules*, vntill their first heate of

*The Army of
the Milanois.*

of fighting were spent : Which being done, leauing their Pikes, they should flye to their Swords, ordaining it in this manner, for that they had seene by the former Warres, that the *Gaules* had a furious poynt, and afterwards their hearts were faint and effeminate, and that moreover their Swords as we haue sayd, were only fit to giue one blow ; but afterwards their length grew crooked, and the edge turned by reason of the breadth : So as if they did not suffer them to set the poynt to the ground, and to make them straight againe with their Feete, the second blow wrought no effect.

A The *Romans* following the Command of the *Tribunes*, charge their enemies with great blowes vpon the brest with their Pikes. The *Gaules* on the other side imploy all their fury to cut them. Then the *Romans* abandoning their Pikes, fought hand to hand, breaking by this meane the fury of the *Gaules* : And taking from them all meane to stepp backe, which these people are accustomed to vse in their Charge, for that their Swords are bluse and vnprofitable, by reason of their length, but only to giue one blow a farre off. But the *Romans* by meanes of their short Swords, wherewith they did not strike like viu to them, but thrst often through the bodies and throates of the *B Gaules*, so as they flew a great number.

Behold how the prouidence of the *Tribunes* prevailed much ; with our doubt the Confull had not made choise of a place fit to fight : Considering that in ordering the battell vpon the Riuer side, hee had taken from the *Romans* the meanes to march, which is vsually vnto them. Wherefore if during the Combate they had bene forced to retyre, ^{A Victory of} they had all fallen into the Riuer by the errour of the Confull. Yet against the *Romans* they had a goodly Victory by their owne forces, and retyred to *Rome* *Milanois*, with a great multitude of Prisoners and spoyle.

The yeare following the *Gaules* weakened, with so many battells lost, sent an Embassie to the *Romans* for a Peace, making them goodly prouises. But *Marcus Claudiu*s, and *Caius Cornelius* chosen Consuls, vied all diligence to draw their Army into their Country, to the end the Senate shold not yeild vnto it. Wherefore the *Gaules* having no more hope of peace, being as it were in despaire, rayfed a new Army, and interrayfed thirty thousand *Gessates*, who, as we haue sayd, dwelle on this side the *Rhine*, hauing them all ready and in Armes attending the descent of the *Romans*. When as the Consuls were entred the *Milanois* Country in the Spring, they besieged the Towne of *Acerrara*, which lies betwixt the *Poe* and the *Alpes*. And although it were not in the power of the *Milanois* to succour the besieged, for that the *Romans* held the passage : Yet their full intent being to raise the siege, they cause a part of their Army to passe the *Poe*, to whom they giue charge to besiege *Claufidium*, a Towne belonging to the Allies of the *Romans*, hoping by this meane the Consuls shold be forced to rayfe their siege. But presently when they had the newes, *Marcus Claudiu*s makes hast with the Horfe-men, and the most aduis of the foote, to succour the besieged. When the *Gaules* were aduertised of the Consuls comming, they presently rayfed the siege, and went

*The vnaemie
of the *Gaules*.*

*The Gessates
dwelle on this
side the Rhine.*

*Accerrara
ges.*

*Claufidium
ficed.*

A defeat of
the *Gaules* by
the *Romans*.

*Accras taken
by Cornelius.*

went resolutely to encounter the *Romans* offering them battell. At the first the *Gaules* had the better, for that the *Roman* Horse-men were surprized by theirs. But being afterwards environed by the *Romane* Cavalry, they were broken and defeated. Many were drowned having cast themselves into the Riuers, flying the Enemy: The greatest part were slaine, and the rest taken Prisoners.

But when they which were besieged in *Accras*, had notice of the defeate of their men neare unto *Clastidium*, they retired to *Milan*, the Capitall City of the Country. Then *Cornelius* hauing gotten the Towne of *Accras* well furnished with Corne and all other Municion, hee pursued the *Gaules*, and planted his Campe neare unto *Milan*. And for that the *Milanois* came not out to fight, he drew backe his Army, spoiling the Country. Then the *Milanois* pursuing them, began to charge them in the Reare, and make a great slaughter: whereof some fled, vntill that *Cornelius* turning head againt the Enemy with the Legions, encouraged the whole Army to fight. Who willingly obeying the Consuls commandment, fell with great fury vpon the *Gaules*, who hauing lately beeene so often beaten, made no long resistance, but prelenty turned head, and recovered the *Alpes*. *Cornelius* pursued them, spoiling the whole Country, and from thence hee marcht to *Milan*, which he tooke by force, and brought it vnder the *Romans* obedience.

After all these defeats, the Princes of the *Gaules* seeing there was no more hope in their affaires, submitted themselves to the will of the *Romans*. Thus ended the Warre of the *Gaules*, hauing never vnto this day heard speake nor read of a greater, be it for the obstinacy of courage, or the resolution of Souldiers, or the crueltie of battels, or the great slaughter of men, or the greatnessse of Armies: Although the counsell, the enterprize, and the daily aduice were vnprofitables. For that the *Gaules* manage their affaires by rage and fury, not by reason. Of whom we might haue considered in how short a time they haue beeene chased out of their naturall Country by the *Romans*, in leauing them a small portion within the *Alpes*, wee haue thought it good to relate summarily their first attempts, the successe of affaires, and finally their last ruines: For that I hold it fitting for a History, to make such accidents knowne to those of future times: to the end that our men for want of knowing them, may not easily feare the rash descretes which Barbarians doe ofte make: and that they rather try their fortune, than to omit any thing that is necessary, nor to subiect themselves vnto them: Certainly such people are easilly and without difficultie broken and defeated, if they resist their first fury. I imagine that they which haue written the Gests of the *Perians* against the *Grecians*, and of the *Gaules* against the *Delphens*, haue done a great fauour to the *Grecians* to fight for the liberty of the Country. There is no doubt but a man will not be amazed for riches, forces, or the multitude of men, if he fights for the defence of his Country, if hee hath before his eyes the actions of those times, and consider how many thousands of men, what forces and what Armies, the virtue of Souldiers with valour

lour and reason hath vanquished, broken and defeated. The *Grecians* haue not onely beeene terrifid by the *Gaules* in former times, but also many times in our age: which is the thing which hath moued mee most to relate their actions summarily, beginning with the Originall. But to returne where we left, after that *Aesdruball Generall* of the *Carthaginians* had continued eight yeeres in *Spaine*, hee was in the end traitorously slaine in the Night in his lodging by a *Gaul*, by reason of some private hatred: Hee was not onely excellent and expert in the Art of Warre, but was so eloquent to move the hearts of A men, as hee much augmented the *Carthaginians* Empire. Then they gaue the charge of the Army which was in *Spaine* to *Hannibal*, being then a young Man, for that hee had a good beginning, and a wonderfull great courage for his age. Who at his comming made declaration that hee would bee an Enemy to the *Romans*, the which fell out loone after. From that time the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* grew iealous of one another. To speake the truth, the *Carthaginians* laboured secretly to surprize them: for that they had chased them out of *Sicily*. On the other side the *Romans* knowing their intent, gaue no great credit vnto them: so as it might easilly bee conceyued the Warre woule soone breake out. At the same time the *Achaens* with *Philip* King of *Macedon*, and their Allies, made Warre against the *Etolians*, which they called the Warre of the Allies.

C As wee haue related the Warre which the *Romans* made against the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* and in *Affricke*, and the things which followed, and being now come according to the order of our preparation, to the beginning of the Warre betwixt the Allies, and to the second of the *Carthaginians*, which they call the Warre of *Hannibal*, seeing wee haue resolued to begin our course with those times, it is reasonable wee shalld come to the Gests and Exploits of the *Grecians*: to the end that making by this meanes a preparation of all parts, wee may begin the History which wee haue resolued on, when as wee shall come to the same end of all things.

D As therefore wee haue not undertaken to write the actions onely of one Nation or another, as other Historiographers haue done, as of the *Grecians* or *Persians*, but of all the parts of the world together, which are come to our knowledge, (for that this present time hath beeene of great vse, whereof we will speake more amply in another place) it shal be fitt to make a summary mention of the most knowne Nations and Countries of the whole World, before the beginning of our worke.

In regard of the actions of the *Asians* and *Egyptians*, it shal be sufficient to deliuer those of our time: considering that many haue written the deeds of times past, whereof no man is ignorant: Neither is there any thing innovated, which is not according to the Commentaries of Historiographers. In regard of the people of *Achia*, and the house of *Macedon*, it is fittig to search out the times past summarily:

All Morea reduced into a league.

Assemarily : As for that which concerneth the *Macedonians*, the prooef will bee easie : And as for the *Achaeans*, there hath beeene made (as wee have formerly sayd) an augmentation and wonderfull accord in our time. For when as many laboured formly to reduce *Morea* to one accord, and could not effect it, considering that all men aime more at their priuate profit, than the liberty of the Countrey, there hath beeene at this day made so great a change, as they haue not onely contrachéd friendship, and a strict league, but moreover they vse the same Lawes, the same weight, the same measure, the same money, and more, the same Princes, the same Counsell, and the same Judges : A So as there is no defect in *Morea* for the making of a Burgeſſe, but that they dwelt not all in one Towne : All the rest was alike and the same thing.

The Name of the *Achaeans* well entituled in *Morea*.

It shall not bee therefore vnfiting to shew how the Name of the *Achaeans* hath first reigned in *Morea*. You must understand that they which were first so called, had no better Countrey, nor more Townes, nor more Wealth, nor more virtue. Without doubt the *Arcadians* and *Lacedemonians* doe farre exceed the other people of *Morea*, both in number of men and Townes : Neither is there any Nation in *Greece* which passeth them in prowesse and virtue. What is **B** the cauſe then that these men whom wee haue named, and the other people of *Morea*, haue willingly ſuffered not onely the Communallity of the *Achaeans*, but also to take the Name? It were a folly to ſay that it was by chance. Wherefore it were better to ſeek the cauſe without the which wee cannot ſtill those things which are done with reſon, nor thoſe which ſeeme to bee done without it. For my part I conceiue it was the equality, and the common liberty which was kept amongst them all, as a certayne preſident of a true Common-wealtheſt : For there is no City in all *Greece*, where there are found better Lawes. Behold the cauſe which hath cauſed the greatest part of *Morea* willingly to follow this Common-wealtheſt. Some thorough reaſon and perſuasion, others forced by little and little with the time, and yet they haue preſently pacified their diſcontents. And for that they did not from the beginning leue more to one then to another, but would haue all things equal to all men, it preſently brought the *Achaeans* to thiſ great Authority, vſing two meaneſt of great efficacy, that is, Equality and Clemency : Behold the cauſe which wee muſt imagine, for the which all *Morea* being of one will and accord, attained to thiſ prosperity and peace wherein we ſee it at thiſ day.

D It is true, that thiſ manner of living, and meaneſt of government of a Common-wealtheſt was long obſcured by the *Achaeans*: the which is probable by the testimony of many witnessēſt. Yet wee will produce but one or two at thiſ time. You muſt understand that at what time a Company of the *Pythagorians* were burnt for a ſecret coniſpiracy in the Region of *Italy*, which they then called great *Greece*: It happened that the Countrey and the Townes were much affilid with muſters and ſedition, by a ſtrange alteration of Common-weales: whose

The *Pythagorians* burnt in *Italy*.

Princes

Princes were wickedly ſlaine. And therefore Embaſſadours came from all parts to pacifie their debates. Who leauing all the rest, they referto'd themſelues in all their quarrels to that which the *Achaeans* ſhould decree. Soone after they refolvo'd to vſe their Lawes, and to frame their Common-wealtheſt like unto theirs. Without doubt the *Crotoniates*, *Sybarites*, and *Caulonites*, after they had ended their quarrels in a friendly manner, edified a Temple in publicke, to *Jupiter Omarie*, where they might assemble the people, and give them iuſtructions. Moreouer hauing accepted the Inſtitutions and Lawes of the *Achaeans*, they would onely liue in them, and erect their Common-wealtheſt. But the tyranny of *Denis* of *Syracusa* and the *Gaules*, who at that time ſpoiled the Countrey, hindered them from bringing their enterprize to an end. Moreouer, after the deafeate of the *Lacedemonians* beyond all hope, before *Lutres*, and that they of *Thebes* had already troubled the Empire of *Greece*, there was a great mutiny and a ſtrange combuſtion throughout all *Greece*, namely, betwixt the *Lacedemonians* and the *Thebains*: For that the *Lacedemonians* conceiued they had beeene vanquished, and the others did not thinke they had gotten the Victory. Notwithſtanding either of them by a common confeſſion made choice of the *Achaeans* among all the *Grecians*, to whose judgement they ſubmited themſelues touching their quarrels, not hauing ſo much regard to their forces or power (for in truth it was the leaſt of all the Provinces of *Greece*) as to the faith and iuftice of the people, which at that time was held great in the opinion of the World. It is true, they had then but bare virtue, hauing done nothing worthy of fame or estimation. Wherefore their communallity did not increase much for that they had not any Lord which was worthy to gouerne them, for that they had bee alwaies kept under by the Empire of the *Lacedemonians* or *Macedonians*.

C But after by ſucceſſion of time they had found Gouernours worthy of their estate, they preſently purchased honour and glory. They reconciled all *Morea*, which was an excellent worke: whereof no man doubts but *Arate* the *Scyopon* had beeene the Authour and contriuor: the which *Philoponē* the *Megalopolitein* finished, and afterwards confirmed: and that *Licetra* was the third which amplified and augmented it, and ſubsequently all his Companions. Hereafter wee will endeavour as much as the Subject ſhall require, to relate their deeds, the manner and the time: Yet wee will make a ſummary meation of the actions of *Arate* at thiſ time, and hereafter, for that hee hath comprehended all things in his Commentaries according unto truſt plaiſingly and ampliſhly. But as for others our diſcourse ſhall be ſomething more diſtinct and more copious.

It is true, that in my opinion, the declaration would bee more eaſie, and the History more plaine to thoſe that deſire to know it, if wee take it from the time, when as the *Achaeans*, who had beeene diſperſed into diuers Citties by the Princes of *Macedon*, drew themſelues againe together as it were in one body, and afterwards they augmented in thiſ ſort, as they came to thiſ great amplitude whereof

The *Lacedemonians* and *Thebains*.

wee haue hitherto spoken in particular, and which continues vnto this day.

They of *Patras* and the *Dymensis* made a league together, in the hundred and fourre and twentie Olimpiade, at such time as *Ptolemy* the Sonne of *Lagus*, *Lysimachus*, *Selucus*, and *Ptolemy Ceravnen* dyed, without doubt they all dyed during this Olimpiade. Behold in what estate the *Acheins* were in former times: They began to be governed by Kings, at such time as *Tisamenes* the Sonne of *Heracles* chasid from *Lacedemonia*, after the decess of *Heracles*, held the Countrey which is about *Achaea*. After whom Kings governed continually by succession vntill the time of *Sygas*. After whom the Regall power began to be tedious, for that the Children of *Sygas* did not govern the Prouince legally, but by Tyranny. Wherefore they chased away their Kings, and governed in common: wherein they liued diversly according to the diuersity of the times, vntill the dayes of *Alexander* and *Phillip*, yet strivng withall their meanes to gouerne their Common-weale in a Communallity, which contayned twelve Townes, who are yet in being, except *Olona* and *Elix* which an Earthquake swalowed vp before the Battell of *Leutres*. Behold the Citties, *Patras*, *Dymes*, *Phare*, *Trice*, *Leanty*, *Egire*, *Pellene*, *Bure*, *Ceraunis*, *Cary-B*

*The alliance
of twelve Citties.*

But in the time of *Alexander*, and before the Olimpiade which we haue mentioned, they grew into so great dissencion, namely for the Kings of *Macedon*, that the Townes thus desuided, held it would bee a great good vnto them to make Warre one against another. So as some drew vnto them the forces of *Demetrius* and *Cassander*, and soone after those of *Antigonus*: The others were employed by the Kings, whereof there were many at that time in *Greece*. But in the hundred and fourre and twentie Olimpiade, as wee haue sayd, they began againe to be reconciled, at such time as *Pyrrohus* King of *Epirus* past into *Italy*.

First, they of *Patras*, *Dymes*, *Trice*, and *Phare*, were reconciled, when as there was no tyme of common alliance betwix them. Five yeeres after they of *Egire* chased away their Garrison, and ioyned to the rest: whom the *Burens* followed killing their King: and soone after the *Ceraunians*.

*The beginning
of the league.*

When as *Iseas* (who at that time was King of the *Ceraunians*) saw that they of *Egire* had chased away their Garrison, and they of *Bure* had slaine their King, leeing himselfe in a manner involved with Warre, hee relinquished the principallity, leaving the administration of the Common-weale to the *Acheins*, after the Covenants concluded with them to saue his life. But why haue wee brought these things from so farre? To the end first that the World may know by what meanes, and at what time, and who were the first among the *Acheins*, which recifid this communallity againe, the which at this day wee see flourish: And that knowing their order, every man may easily beleue not onely our History, but also our actions. Beleue mee, they haue alwayes obfider one course concerning the government of their Common-weale, and one reason by the which keeping continually an equality

Iseas King.

D

equality among them, and defeating those who of themselues, or by their Kings laboured to take their Country, they haue in the end preualid in all their interprifties, as well by their owne forces as by the helpe of their Allies.

Finally those things which haue beene since done in this Prouince, ought to be attributed to the *Acheins*, who being companions to the *Romanes* in many great affaires, haue not attributed any thing vnto themselfes of that which was done, hauing no other thought but of libertie, and the common accord of *Morea*. But we shall see it more plainly by their actions.

All these Citties which we have named, did administer the Common-weale from the beginning, fiftie and twenty yeares with the *Acheins*, making choyse of one *Qustor* and two Capitaines. Afterwards they refolled to haue but one, who shoulde haue the charge of their principall affaires. But *Geryne* was the first which had this honour. When his fiftie years were expired, *Arate* the *Styonian* was chosen at the age of twenty years. Who presently by his singular Virtue, and great courage, freed the Country from Tyrants, and restorid the Common-weale of the *Acheins*, to the which from the beginning he bare a great affection. Some time after hauing governed eight yeares, he was chosen againe: And then he begane to triuine of the meanes by the which he might take the Fort of *Corinthe*, which *Antigonus* then held. The which after he had effectid, he freed all *Morea* from great feare: And when as the *Corinthians* were freed from Tyranny, he ioyned them to the *Acheins*. Some few daies after he did the like to the *Megarens*.

These things hapned the yere before the battoll of the *Carthaginians*, by the which they were forced to abandon *Sicily*, and to pay tribute vnto the *Romanes*. When as *Arate* had in a shorttyme fiftie and all his interprifties, he spent the remainder of his life in the government of the Common weale, studying by all meanes how to chafe the *Macedonians* out of *Morea*, to ruine the Kings, and to preferre the common liberty of the Country. And therefore he resisted the attempts and pradises of *Antigonus Gonatas*, whistle he liued, and the couetousnes of the *Etolians*, who with *Antigonus* grew so audacious and ouer-welling, as they were not ashamed to diuide betwix them by a common conftreit the Townes of *Achaea*. But after the death of *Antigonus*, and that the *Acheins* and *Etolians* had made a league, when as *Demetrius* made Warre against them, the dissentions and discords were somewhat pacified, and they contracted a common and mutuall friend-shipe betwix them.

But after the Death of *Demetrius*, who Reigned onely ten yeares, and at such time when as the *Romanes* pased first into *Sclavonia*, the *Acheins* made themselfes wonderful great: For all the Kings which Reigned in *Morea* fell into de paire, awfull for the death of *Demetrius* who was their Commader and Emperour, as for that they saw *Arate* fiftie with all his power, to deprive them of their Crownes, propounding to such as shall doe it willingly great honours and dignitie, terrify-

*Geryne,
Arate.*

*The Fort of
Corinthe taken
by Arate.*

Lysias,
Aristomenes.
Xenon.
Cleomenes.

The enuy
of the *Etolians*.
against the *Acheans*.

Antigonus Tu-
tour to tibi ipsi
Sonne.

ing and vng threats to such as should be obstinate and wilfull. Finally he did admonish them all to leave their Crownes, and restoring the Country to liberty, they should embrace the League of the *Acheans*. Wherefore *Lysias* the *Megalopolitaine*, who during the life of *Demetrius*, had wifely fore-seene future things, prelenty layes downe his Crowne. *Aristomenes* King of the *Argives*, *Xenon* of the *Hermionians*, and *Cleomenes* of the *Peloponnesians*, renounced their Royall Principalities, and ioyned themselves to the League of the *Acheans*. But for that their Forces were by this meanes growne wonderfull great, A *The Etolians* as men ambitious by nature, envied them, and hoping to be able to breake the League of the Townes which were allied, as they had done in the beginning, they promised to *Alexander* to share with him those of the *Acarnanians*, and to *Antigonus* those of the *Acheans*. By this meanes they gayned vnder colour of the same hope *Antigonus* then Gouernour in *Macedony*, and left by *Philip Tutor* to his Sonne; they also made *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedemonians*. When as they saw that *Antigonus* had the government of *Macedony*, who was a Souldier and an enemy to the *Acheans*, for the losse of the Fort of *Corinthe*, they were of opinion, that if the *Lacedemonians* were compaines in this Warre, in affailing the *Acheans* on all side they should easily defeate them. The which vndoubtedly had hapned, if *Arate* a man of great Virtue and Courage, (which they did not consider) had not taken vpon him the defence of the others.

Arate began a most wicked War with all their Forces, wherein they were not only frustrated in their expeciance, but they mad *Arate* more stoue and Resolute, being then Commender of the *Acheans* and the whole Nation, by his policy and diligent prouidence in all things, as we shall see by that which follows. For when like a manwell aduised, he had considered that the *Etolians* were ashamed to declare Warre against the *Acheans*, for the benefits they had lately received from them C during the Warre of *Demetrius*, and that for this caule they had sollicitid the *Lacedemonians* to attempt it: And that they were transported with envy against the good Fortune of the *Acheans*, so as they were aothing incensed against *Cleomenes*, who had taken from them by stealth *Tegea*, *Mantinea*, and *Orthomene*, very strong Townes of *Etolia*, but contrarywise they confirmed them willingly vnto him; and that moreover they fought all occasions of Warre, only for a desire they had to Reigne, the *Acheans* hauing never offendid them, suffering the King to violate his Faith vnto them, and that by fraud he had taken from them such rich Townes, to the end that the forces of *Cleomenes* (increased by this meanes) might with more ease defeate the Comminality of the *Acheans*.

Arate then (as I have sayd) and the other Captaines considering these things, refolued not to declare any Warre, but onely to refist the attempts of the *Lacedemonians* with all their power. Behold the first Resolution of the Captaines. But soone after when as they saw that *Cleomenes* built a City without feare, which afterwards was called *Athenes*, in the Country of the *Megalopolitains*, and that he declared him-

himselfe an open enemy to the *Acheans*, they make an assembly, where it was refolted to make open War against the *Lacedemonians*, and not by Disimulation.

This Warre called *Cleomenique* beganne thus at that time: In the which the *Acheans* beganne first to refist the *Lacedemonians* with their owne Forces, without the helpe of any other, both for that they held it a greater honour to defend their Countrey and Townes themselves then with affisstance of others: And they likewise indeauoured to enterteine their friendship by all meanes with *Ptolemy*, fearing least hee

should be discontented, if they should require succours from any others then from him. But when the Warre was begunne, and that *Cleomenes* in ruining the Common-weale, had turned a iust Empire into a Tyranny, governing the Warre with Policy and Courage:

Arate A good counsell and presumption of the *Etolians*, was of opinion that they must breake their attempts. And considering that *Antigonus* was a man of great experiance in the Arte of Warre, and more found of his Faith then any other: Knowing that Kings by nature haue neither friend nor Foe, measuring Friendship and Hatred according to their profit, he B refolued to addresse himselfe vnto him, and to let him visibly see the event of the Warre, and finally to make a League with him. He had many reasons why he shold not do it openly: For if *Cleomenes* and the *Etolians* had beeorne aduertised, they would haue made greater preparations for the Warre, and moft of the *Acheans* would haue left him, being amazed at such an alteration, for that they would haue thought, the ir Commader would haue fled to the enemy for refuge like a man in despaire. Wherefore to auoyde these inconueniences, he not onely kept their things secer, but he spake and did many things contrary to his thought, by the which he shewed the contrary of that which hee practised.

C Seeing then the *Megalopolitains* to bee more prest with Warre then any other, beeing neighbours to the *Lacedemonians*, and hauing no hope to obtayne succours from the *Acheans*, being subiect to the same Warre, and being moreouer in League and friendship with the *Macedonians*, for that they had done great pleatures to *Philip the Sonne of Amyntas*, there was no doubt but as soone as *Cleomenes* shold begin the Warre against them, they would require succours from *Antigonus* and the *Macedonians*. Finally he declared his secer to *Nicophanes* and *Cercides* *Megalopolitains*.

D They had beeome friends to his Father, and seemed fit men to manage this busynesse. By their meanes hee incites the *Megalopolitains*, to send an Embassie to the *Acheans*, to incite them to demand succours from *Antigonus*. The *Megalopolitains* send *Nicophanes* and *Cercides* to the *Acheans*, with Commission after their content to go to *Antigonus*, the which the *Acheans* did easily allow. This Embassie went to King *Antigonus*, and let him understand their Charge: and in regard of the Affaires which concerne their Countrey, they delievered only thole things which were most necessary in few words: But they made a long Discourse of the whole in generall, as *Arate* had

The Cleome-
nique Warre.

A good confi-
deration of
Arate.

The nature of
Kings.

Nicophanes.
Cercides.

A good inven-
tion of states.

had instructed them. They lay before him the attempts which the *Etolians* and *Cleomenes* might make, confessing that this Warre for the present was of great consequence for the *Acheans*. But if the others prevailed in their interprize, it would be much more dangerous for him. They make no doubt, but the *Acheans* being assisted at one instant by these two forces, they would be easily ruined: So there is leſt doubt, that if *Cleomenes* and the *Etolians* haue the Victory, that they will not bee ſatisfied therewith: For you must understand that *Morea*, no nor all *Greece* cannot glut the covetouerneſſe of the *Etolians*. In regard of the ambition of *Cleomenes*, although hee ſeems for the preſent not to affect any thing but the principallity of *Morea*, yet if hee prieuale, he will neuer ceaſe vntill he hath Conquered all *Greece*: Wherunto he can neuer attaine before he hath ruined the principallity of *Macedon*.

By theſe reaons and ſuch like, they mooue the King to thinke carefully of things to come, and to conſider what may ſeeme fitte for his affaires, whether to Allie himſelfe to the *Acheans* and *Bacchiens*, and to make Warre againſt *Cleomenes* touching the Empire of *Greece*, or leaſting the party of ſo many people, to haue it ſoune after againſt the *Etolians*, *Bacchiens*, *Acheans*, and *Lacedemonians* in *Thessaly*, for the principallity of *Macedon*. But if the *Etolians* be abhaued, to ſeeme to breake the accord made with the *Acheans*, during the Warre of *Pemirus*, and ſhould ſtill make ſhew to perfift in friendſhip, as they did yet, the *Acheans* would be too ſtrong to defend themſelues againſt *Cleomenes*. And therefore if Fortune fauours them, they ſhall not neede any mans ſuccour. But if contrarywife it ſhould bee rather for the *Etolians*, they intreated the King that he would be pleased to give them ſuccour, and that (not loſing the opportunity of the time,) hee would preſerve *Morea*, before it ſhould be vterly ruined.

They ſayd moreover that he had no reaon to care at that time for Faith and Recompence, and that *Arate* would finde the meaneſſe in the greatest heſte of affaires, to giue him ſatisfaction, and that hee would aduertis him of the time when he ſhould neede ſuccour. When as *Antigonus* had heard the Embaſſie, hee did wonderfullly command the prudence of *Arate*, and made anwere that hee was ready to undergoe the danger. Moreouer he wrote letters to the *Megalopolitains*, by the which he ſent them word that hee was ready to giue them ſuccour, ſo as it were with the conſent of the *Acheans*.

This done *Nicophanes* and *Cercides* returned to their Countrey: Whereafter they had deliuereſſe their Letters, they made report of the D Kings good affection. The *Megalopolitains* ioyfull of this newes, ſent an Embaſſie againſt the *Acheans*, intreating them to conuict with *Antigonus*, and that they might ſtyle in him for all his busynesse: *Arate* hearing all this by *Nicophanes*, and the good affection the King bare vnto the *Acheans*, and to himſelfe, was wonderfullly ioyfull, both for that he was not frustrated of his hope, but for asmuch as *Antigonus*, (contrary to the hope of the *Etolians*), did not ſeeme to ſlay his friendſhippe. Hee did not finde that reaonable which the *Megan-*

Megalopolitains aimed at, that the *Acheans* ſhould ſubmit themſelues vnder *Antigonus* in all this Warre: For hee was not of aduice to require ſuccours of any man but in extreme necessity; and if that hapned, hee ^{The foreſight of Arate.} would not haue it done at his request alone, but by all the *Acheans*. In truthe he feared that if *Antigonus*, hauing the victory by the deafeate of *Cleomenes* and the *Lacedemonians*, ſhould in the end make any enterprize againſt the Communitie of the *Acheans*, they ſhould not lay the blame vpon him, as if he had indiſcreetly giuen the aduice for the drawing of the King into their Countrey, who was offended for the A taking of the Fort of *Corinthe*.

When the Embaſſadours of the *Megalopolitains* came into the Countell, and had made relation of *Antigonus* his Letters, and of the Kings loue and affection, and had made a remonſtrance vnto the *Acheans* for a peace with *Antigonus*, and that it ſeemed the whole assembly found it good, *Arate* commended the Kings affection, and the good deſire of the whole assembly. Yet he let them understand by many reaons that they ſhould indeauour to keepe their Townes and Countrey with their owne forces, but if they could not effect it, then they could not doe any thing more commendable and more profitable. But if Fortune were contrary vnto them, that they muſt first doe all that could be poſſible: And if there were no more hope, then they ſhould require ſuccours from their friends. The whole assembly allowed eaſily of his Councell; and it was reſolved, that for the preſent they ſhould ordaine no new thing, and that the *Acheans* ſhould manage this war alone.

But when as (during theſe negotiations) *Ptolemy* had furnished *Cleomenes* with men, and other thinges neceſſary for the Warre, deſiriting by this meaneſſe to make him an enemy to *Antigonus*, for that hee had greater hope to bee able to Conquer the Realme of *Macedon* by the means of the *Lacedemonians*, then of the *Acheans*, and that the *Acheans* were firſt Defeated by *Cleomenes* by a ſurprise neere vnto *Lyrea*, and that afterwards they made a great loſſe neere vnto the Towne of *Megalopolis*, and that finally the third time, they were ſo beaten, Defeated, and ſlaine, neere vnto the Towne of *Dyme* in a place which they call *Hecatombe*, as they were in a manner quite ruined: Then *Arate* ſeeing himſelfe inuironed with ſo many miseries, knew it was no time to Dreame, and that hee was forced (as hee had formerly reſolved) to demand ſuccour from King *Antigonus*. For the effeſting whereof hee ſent his Sonne in Embaſſie to conſirme the Articles of the agreement. Yet hee was in doubt and much troubled, for that hee did not hope *Antigonus* would ſuccour him, if they did not deliver him for his ſecurity the Fort of *Corinthe*, which they called *Acrocorinthe* with the Towne: Neyther did hee ſee any meaneſſe to deliver it to the *Macedonians* without the conſent of the *Corinthians*. And therefore hee deferred the Councell to aduife of the meaneſſe of ſafety. In the meane time *Cleomenes* glorious of his good Fortune, ouer-ran the whole Province, taking Townes awell by perſuaſion as by terror. When by this meaneſſe hee had taken *Caprie*, *Pellene*, *Phae*, *Argos*, *Pholie*, *Cleone*, *Epidaurum*, *Hermion*, and *Triptole*, and in the

Divers deafeates
of the *Acheans*.

*Aetoinis
yeelded to An-
tigonus.*

the end *Corinthe*, hee seated his Campe neere vnto the *Terrane* of the *Sicyoniens*, and by this meanes freed the *Achaeans* of that Cittie whereof wee have spoken. For when as *Arctachad* the newes, that the *Oriphians* had chased away the *Garrison* of the *Achaeans*, and sent an Embassie to *Cleomenes* to deliver him the City, having found a good occasion, hee yeelds unto *Antigonus* the Fort which the *Achaeans* held. By this meanes bee repaired the wrong which bee had done vnto the King, and it serued him for a pledge, and as it were a Fort and retreate for the future Warre.

But when as *Cleomenes* understood the league which the *Achaeans* had made with *Antigonus*, and that the Fort had beeene freely deliuereed vnto him, hee presently raised his Siege, and seated his Campe neere vnto *Isthmus*, and rampred diligently with *Pallidadoes* and *Ditches*, the place which lies betwixt the *Fortress* and the *Mountaines*, which they of the Country call *Onitis*: as if bee had a hope to make himselfe Lord of all *Morea*: *Antigonus* who had his Army ready, expected only the opportunity of the time. But when hee saw by those things which had happened, according to the aduertisement of *Arate*, that the time approached of *Cleomenes* voyage into *Thessaly*, hee caueth his Army to march towards *Isthmus* by *Bocca*, hauing B aduertised the *Achaeans* of his affaires: For the *Etolians* being disconected at his deſcent, ſent him word, that hee ſhould not paffe within the streights of *Thermophiles*, and if hee vnderooke it, they would take Armes to hinder his paſſage. Thus *Antigonus* and *Cleomenes* lodged their Armies before one another. The one to enter into *Morea*, and the other to keepe his Frontier. And although the *Achaeans* had receiued great losſes, yet they faintēd not. But being luddinly aduertised of the revolte of *Argos* against *Cleomenes*, they reliued him under the conduet of *Timoxene*, and tooke the Towne of *Argos*, which was of great conſequence vnto them: For by this C meanes the fury of *Cleomenes* was much abated, and the Souldiers hearts broken, as appeared plainly: For althoſt that *Cleomenes* Army was much stronger by reaſon of the opportunity of places, and abundance of viuals, hauing also good and reolute Souldiers, yet there was so great and ſuddenne an alteration after the taking of *Argos*, that *Cleomenes* leauing all, made a retreate, ſauouring of a flight. So much hee feared that hee ſhould bee incloſed by his cruelle Enemies.

*Reuolte of A-
rgos by Ant-
igonus.*

*Argos taken by
the Achaeans.*

*Acrocorinthe
taken by Ant-
igonus.*

From thence hee marcht directly to *Argos*, where hee made great attempts to carry it by assault. But for that the *Achaeans* refiſted like braue men on the one ſide, and the *Argives* on the other, for ſearc of the fault committed, hee was deceiued in his hope: And in paſſing by *Mantinea*, he led his Army to *Sparta*. When as *Antigonus* was entred into *Morea*, hee tooke *Acrocorinthe*. Then hee made hafte to goe to *Argos*, where he much commanded the *Argives*, and ſent an order for the affaires of the City. From thence he returned again into *Arcadia* with his Army, and chased away the *Garrisons* out of thoſe Forts which *Cleomenes* had built, the which he restored to the *Megalopolitans*: paſſing

sing by the Region *Egitane*. Then he went to *Egia*, where he called an assembly of the *Achaeans*: and made a great diſcourſe of the preſent af- faires, and ſhewed them in few words the times to come. Finally, be- ing created chiefe of the whole league, he paſt the Winter in the Coun- tries of the *Corimbiae* and *Sicyoniens* with his Army. Then in the Spring he went to the field, to whom the *Achaeans* ioyned, and being come within three dayes to the Towne of *Tegée*, hee besieged it. The *Tegatians* ſeeing the *Macedonians* very busie in making of Trenches, ^{regretted} *Antigonus*, ^{vnde, natiqute,} and all other preparations to take the Towne, they yeelded, be- ing void of all hope: Whereaſt after he had ſettel a good order, *Antigonus* marcht ſuddainly to *Laconice*. By this meanes approaching neare vnto *Cleomenes*, who kept vpon the Frontiers, hee had ſome ſmall en- counters with the Enemy. In the meane time they were aduertified by their Spies, that there were ſuccours come from *Orchomene* to *Cleomenes*. Wherefore *Antigonus* turned head to *Orchomene*, and takes it without reſiſtance. From thence he besieged *Mantinea*, which was ^{Orchomene ta- ken with other} *Antigonus* *Antigonus* houses, and retired with the mercenaries to *Egia*, there to conſult of the preſent affaires.

At that time *Cleomenes* aduertised that *Antigonus* had diſmift his Army, and that he stayed at *Egia*, which is about three dayes journey from *Megalopolis*, a vaste Towne, and ill peopled: especially for that the greatest part had beeene flaine in former batells, as we haue ſaid, neare vnto *Lices*, and *Laodicea*: and that moreover at that time it was not carefully kept, by reaſon of the preſence of *Antigonus*, he had a hope to ſurprise it. Wherefore hee marcht ſuddainly, being guided by ſome *Meſſeniens*, who being chafed and banished from their Country, had C retured to *Megalopolis*: and brought them by Night into the City. But day beeing come, he was in danger to be defaſed wiſh his whole Army, conſidering the great reſiſtance the *Megalopolitans* made: the which happened vnto him three Moneths before, when he affiſled a City feaſed in *Colea*. It is true, that in the end he had the Victory, as well by reaſon of the multitude of his men, as for that he had formerly gotten the places of aduantage.

After he had taken and ſpoiled the City, and chased away the *Megalopolitans*, hee razed it vterly, to the end they ſhould haue no more hope to re-edifi it. In my opinion hee did it tending to that which the *Lionenses*, the *Megalopolitans*, and the *Stimphalians* with other bordering people, conceiue, that *Taytours*, or thole which loue reuoltes, are neuer in ſafety. Without doubt the wickedneſſe of one man blenchiſh all the virtue of the *Clitoriens*: This was *The- arce* whom with reaſon the *Clitoriens* denied to bee borne in their ^{theares} Country, ſaying, hee was of *Orchomene*, and the Sonne of ſome ſtranger. Moreover, for that there are ſome which preferre *Philarebus* before al others that haue written this Hiftory, althoſt that many times he ſpeakes and judges of things contrary to *arate*, I haue thought it good

good, nay rather necessary, not to conceal this: To the end they may discern truth from falsehood, and the rather for that we have followed *Arete*. Hee hath spoken many things throughout the whole History as Affection hath transported him, which are not needfull to debate at this present, holding those things to be delivered by vs, which hapned at such time as we Write, that is to say, during the *Cleomenique Warre*: For that they would be more then sufficient to discouer the errors and faults of this Author.

First when he labours to set forth the cruelty of *Antigonus*, and of the *Macedonians*, and moreouer that of *Arete* and the *Achaeans*, he fayd A that as soone as he had Conquered the *Mantinians*, they cauſed them to ſuffer great outrages and cruelties, and that the City which was one of the nobleſt and moſt auncient of *Arcadia*, fell into ſo great miſery and ruine, as it mooued all *Greece* to weepe and lament. And when as afterwards he ſeeks to make the cruelty ſeeme greater, and to mooue the Readers hearts, he relates a burning of Women, their haire ſcattered vp and downe, their Paps naked, the teares and lamentations made by men and women, who dragg'd after them their little Children and their Parents broken with age. This hee doth often throughiour his whole History, to let every man ſeeke the agrauating of B their miſeries. Leaving then this baſeneſſe and effeminacy of his heart, let vs ſeek the things which are moſt proper and profitable for the History.

The duty of a Historiographer.

What is required in a Tragedy.

A Historiographer ought not to mooue the affections of men, nor ſecke occasions fit for it, neyther let him purſue the miſeries of men (the which belongs to the makers of *Tragedies*) but let him deliuer truly the ſayings and doings of men, although they be not great. Without doubt a History and a *Tragedy*, tend not to one and the ſame end, but rather are quite contrary. For they muſt labour in a *Tragedy* to draw by coniecture the hearts of the *Auditors* to Hope, Fear, Care, Pleaſure, and ſuich like affections. But in a History hee muſt imploie his whole indeavour to relate truly the ſayings and doings of men. Wherefore things that are likely and coniectural, are neceſſary in the one, to abuſe the *Assitants*, and thofe which are true in this being Written for the profit of the Readers.

You muſt vnderſtand likewiſe that this Historiographer many times doth not yeld the cauſe in his History, nor the reaſon of things, without the which they cannot eaſily mooue any to pitty, or indignation in humane affaires. But what is he that will not finde it ſtrange to ſee a Citizen whipt: yet if any one be ſo by reaſon of his offence, wee finde it reaſonable. And if any one ſtrikes a free man to puniſh and amend him, ſhall wee not hold him an honest man and prieſt worthy? Murther in a Cittizen is likewiſe forbidden, and feuerely puniſh: But if any one kilſ a Thief or an Adulterer, is hee not held for innocent? And if any one kilſ a Traytor to his Country, or a Tyrant, ſhall he not be commended by all the World, held deare and honoured? VVee muſt therefore looke to the end in all things, and to the intention of the man, not to that which is acted, but to the cauſes and Discourses,

with

with conideration of the diſferences. The *Mantinians* leauing first the Common-weale of the *Achaeans*, gaue themſelues and their Countrey willingly to the *Etolians*, and loone after to *Cleomenes*. In the meane time, whileſt they liued under the *Laccedemonians*, the *Achaeans* tooke them againe vnder the Conduct of *Arete*, four yeres before the Deſcent of *Antigonus*: where they were ſo far from being puniſhed for the offence committed, as this eaſie and ſuddaine reuion of two people into one Common-weale, ſeemed incredibile to the whole VVorld.

A For as ſoone as *Arete* was entred, he forbade his men to touch their good: Calling the Burgeſſes afterwards together, wishing them not to care, and that they ſhould inioy their goods, and be auſſured to liue in peace, as long as they were vnder the *Achaeans* Common-weale. The *Mantinians* who ſeemed to be without hope, were wonderfully reioyced at the words of *Arete*: VVherefore they preſently changed their opinion, receiving thofe into their Houfes, to whom formerly they had beeſe deadly enemies, with whom they did communicate their Goods and VValth. Finally, they omitted nothing of that which ſeemed neceſſary for the ſeeling of a firme friendſhippe; and in A B truſt it was not without cauſe. I do not know if euer any fell into the hands of more gracious enemies, or being falne into ſo great inconueniences, haue relieued and raiſed themſelues with ſo little loſſe: the which proceeded from the humanity of *Arete* and the *Achaeans*. Afterwards ſeeing a faire off the ſeditions which were renewed amongst them, and the practize of the *Etolians* and *Laccedemonians*, they ſend an Embaſſie to the *Achaeans*, to deliuer their Towne into their protection and to recue a Garrifon. VVho preſently leuied three hundred men, and ſent them to *Mantinea*, thofe three hundred men of the *Achaeans* nation, leauing their Country and all their elates, they remained at *Mantinea* to preferre their liberty. They had moreouer two hundred Souldiers that were ſtrangers.

Soone after there grew a ſedition among the *Mantinians*; wherofe they called the *Laccedemonians*, deliuering them the Towne; and to D the end their wickedneſſe might be full and compleat, they muſtered all the *Achaeans*; a crime which was moſt execrable. For ſeeing they would leaue the party and friendſhip of the *Achaeans*, they ſhould at the leaſt haue ſent backe the Garrifon ſafe into their Country. It is a Custoſe which enemies obferue daily by a Common Law. But to the end they might with more eaſe ſhewe their affection to *Cleomenes* and the *Laccedemonians*, they preſcribed to this great cruelty and baſneſſe, who in breaking the Law of Nations would not ſpare their Friends. Seing then they haue practized ſuch great cruelty towards thofe, who haue lately taken their Towne, increas'd them like men without offence, and now defended and kept their Towne, of what paines ſhall wee iudge them worthy? What punishment may wee ordigne for ſo foule an outrage? Shall they be fold with their wiues and Children? But by the Law of Armes thy may doe it to thofe, which haue not committed ſuch crimes nor ſuch cruelties. They were therefore worthy

thy of a greater punishment, and a more grievous example. Wherefore if they have suffered no more but that which *Philarchus* mentioned, we must believe that the *Grecians* were not moued to pity, but rather commended the judgement of the *Acheans*; who had resolued that so great a cruelty (the like whereof had never beene spoken of) should be grievously punished.

The Mantinians
fold.

Seeing then the *Mantinians* at that time had no other harme, but the losse of their goods, and were fold by their enemies, who will not hold this Historiographer to be a lyer, and moreover to haue A Written incredible things: And to the end he might shew his ignorance, he hath not observed that the *Acheans* at the same time did not the like vnto the *Tegeates*, whom they tooke in battell: For if the cruelty of the *Acheans* had beeene the cause thereof, there is no doubt but the *Tegeates* had suffered in like manner. But seeing that this Rigour fell only vpon the *Mantinians*, it is apparent that the cause of their choller was diuers. Moreover, this same Historiographer tells vs, that *Aristomachus* the *Argive*, of a noble Family, and of an auncient Tyrannicall Race, was Tyrant of *Argos*, who being taken by *Antigonus* and the *Acheans*, and brought to *Cenchrea*, hee suffered the most vniust Death that euer man induced.

Aristomachus.

B He makes him moreover (as it is his custome) to cast out lamentable cries, the night that he was strangled: And that the neighbours terrified partly with the cruelty, and partly desirous to know what it was, some of them wonderfully incensed ranne thither. He also sets downe other effeminate things, which we will leau for the preuent, beeinge content with that which we haue here related. For my part I conceiuie that if *Aristomachus* had done no other thing against the *Acheans*, but to turne the Common-weale into ruine, and the liberty of the Country into Tyranny, that he hath worthily deserued very great punishment. Although that this gentle Historiographer desirous to attribute great glory vnto him, and to begge pity from the Auditors, by a commemoration of the paines which he endured, he doth not once say, that he was a Tyrant, but that hee was descended of a Tyrannical Race. What could he say worse, or more pernicious? For the very name is the field whare all cruelty is sowne, and which imbraceth all the ouerages and villanies of men. And admit that *Aristomachus* had indured great torments, as *Philarchus* saith, yet he was not sufficiently punished for that which he committed in one day: for when as *Arate* entered into *Argos* with a Troupe of *Acheans*, without Discouery, labouring to restor the *Argives* to their liberty, hee was in the end forced to leave the Towne, for that hee found not any man would take Armes, for the feare they had of this Tyrant.

C D Wherefore *Aristomachus* taking his occasion (for that they had feared to the comming of the *Acheans*) put to Death fourscore Citizens in the presence of his familiars. Believe me it will bee tedious to relate the cruelty which he committed in his life time: He held it of his Predecessors by right of inheritance. And therefore wee must not thinke they haue done him wrong, if they haue made him serue for an example

*The cruelty of
Aristomachus.*

example with torment: For it would haue beeene much more vnworthy, that so wicked a man after the murder of so many, and after many thefts and spoyles, should haue died unpunished like an Innocent. Neither can they charge *Antigonus* nor *Arate* of crudelty, to haue put a Tyrant to death in Prison, whom they had taken in open Warre, and whom they might with reason and honour haue taken during a peace, and haue put him to a cruel death. But of what punishment will not you hold him worthy, who besides all these things brake his accord with the *Acheans*? A little before hee had relinquished the tyranny, being destitute of all hope and succours after the death of *Demetrius*. At what time the *Acheans* did not onely faue him, but enterraine him so courteously and graciously, as they remitted all the wrongs which he had done during his Reigne, and gave him great advancements in their Common-wealth. Finally, they made him Chiefe of the *Acheans*: But this wicked man amongst all others, forgetting that great humanity and clemency, began presently to plot how hee might make a league with *Cleomenes*, retirring himselfe in that greatest neare foone after to the Enemy: whereby the *Acheans* were in great danger. Who some few days after was taken in Warre, was haue worthy to dye in the Night in the Prison at *Cenchrea*, as *Philarchus* saith, but hee should rather haue beeene carried throughout all Morea, and after that hee had suffered infinite torments, to haue dyed crudely. Yet hee was onely strangled in Prison, although hee had committed all sorts of Villany.

E Moreover, the same Historiographer holds a long discourse of the miseries of the *Mantinians*, as if hee thought it were the duty of an Historiographer onely to relate cruell and vniust actions. In regard of the virtue and magnanimity of the *Megalopolitains*, which they shewed at that time, he makes no mention, as if the duty of an Historiography were rather to remember the wickednesse and vices of men, than things well and commendably done: Whereas the Readers of Histories shall reape more profit by deeds which are worthy to bee imbraced and followed, than those which are vniust, and to bee avoided. Moreover, hee pursueth his Discourse, how that *Cleomenes* tooke the City, and that hee sent Letters to *Megara* to the *Megalopolitains*, aduising them to returne into their Countrey which was whole, and to be of his party: And how the *Megalopolitains* could not endure they should finish the reading of the Letters, and could hardly forbear from doing outrage to the messenger, with many other petty triuiall things, to shew the magnificence and modefty of *Cleomenes* towards his Enemies. But he forbeares to tell that which followed, and which was very proper to the History, which is the praise and memory of things well done. But who hindred him? If we hold them honest men who in words and will maintaine a Warre for their Allies, and if wee doe not onely praise with admiration, but also give thankes with Presents, to those that endure the spoile of their Countrey with tire and sieges, what commendations shall we giue then to the *Megalopolitains*? what affection shall wee bear unto them? Shall it not be great and ample?

F The great
deity of the
Megalopolitains

First, they left the Province to Cleomenes, and abandoned their owne Countrey, rather than to breake their Faith with the Achaeans. Finally, altho'g that contrary to hope, and the opinion of all the world, they might have returned into their Country with safety, yet they desired rather to be banished, for forsaking their houses, Sepulchers, Temples and goods, and finally, all their estates, than to be taxed to haue broken their Faith with their Allies. Was there euer any thing done that was more rare and excellent? Whereunto then shold an Historiographer make his Auditours more attentive? With what examples A could he better exhort men to keepe their Faith, and to follow things well done. But Philarchus makes no mention hereof, and is in my opinion blindly when as braue exploits which are worthy of memory offer themselves.

The third part
of the booke is
due to the Ge-
nerall.

Her faith moreover, that the Lacedemonians made a spoile within Megalopolis of three Millions, and sixe hundred thousand Crownes, whereof Cleomenes according to the custome had twelve hundred thousand. But who will not maruaile at the baselinesse and ignorance of this man, touching the Riches and power of Greece: the which are things which an Historiographer ought to know. Truely, I dare boldly affirme, that they could not gather together this Summe in all B Morea, out of the money of all their moueables, excepting their persons: I meane not in the time when it was impouerished by the oppressions of the Kings of Macedony, and by the diuers Warres which they had amongst themselves, but at such time when as all the Townes were firmly united together, and whenas Fortune seemed to smile on them. But to shew that wee say, proceeds not from ouer-weeting or want of reason, it appears thus. Who knowes not that when the Achaeans ioyned to the Thebeans, made Warre against the Lacedemonians, and that they were to raise an Army of ten thousand men, and another at Sea of an hundred Triremes, and that they had calculated the charge, it not onely empited their publicke Cofers, but also to their houses and the whole Province: and that finally, they could hardly draw together three Millions, and sixe hundred thousand Crownes, whereof there wanted an hundred and fifty thousand.

You must not hold that strange which I now affirme of Morea. There is not any man that dare affirme, that the spoile of Megalopolis at that time, did amount to above nine score thousand Crownes: and that the people, as well Burgeffes as Slaves retired to Messina. Whereof behold a great argument: For when the Mantineans were not leesse strong, nor of meaner estate than the Arcadians, as this Historiographer sayth, were enuironed by a siege, so as when they yeeded, no man could steale away, nor carry away any thing. Yet the whole spoile, reckoning it at the vtermost, accompting the bodies, was effected but nine score thousand Crownes. Moreover, who will not wonder at that which hee faith afterwards, that an Embassie from Ptolomy came ten dayes before this battell, to let Cleomenes understand that he was not resolu'd to contribute any longer to the charges of this Warre, and that hee aduised him to agree with Antigonus? The which Cleomenes

The pillage of
Mantinea came
to nine score
thousand
Crownes.

nec

nec hearing, he resolu'd to hazard the battell, before his Souldiers shold heare the newes, lest they shold mutine, when they shold be out of hope of their pay. But if it were true, that he had lately gotten three Millions, and sixe hundred thousand Crownes in Megalopolis, what neede hath he of Ptolomies contribution, seeing that nincscore thousand Crownes were more then sufficient to defeate Antigonos forces? Is it not a great weakenesse in him to say, that Cleomenes did expect pay for his Souldiers from Ptolomy, and withall, that he had taken to great a booty of money in Megalopolis? My Discourse should be long if I should pursue the vices wherewith this good Historiographer doth generally abound: but this shall suffice for this present.

After the taking of Megalopolis, at such time as Antigonus wintered in the City of Argos, Cleomenes drew his Army together, as ^{an Army leav-} ^{ed by Cleo-} foone as the opportunity of the time would give him leaue. And having preached vnto his men, he entred into the Countrey of Argos. Many blamed him for this attempt, as being too bold and rash, in regard of the scituacion of the Countrey, which is difficult and strong by Nature. Others which were of a better judgement, B held it wifely done. For when as he saw that Antigonus had leaue the greatest part of his Army in the Countrey, and had with him but a small handfull of Mercenary Souldiers, he had a conceit, that hee might easilie enter the Province without danger: And if he put all unto fire and Sword, evn into the Walles of the City, the Argives through necessity would charge Antigonus, who though his basenesse must endure such outrages. Finally, if hee be forced to come to fight, moued with the cries of the people, who shall hinder him to haue the Victory, seeing he hath a greater Troupe of men? If he doth not abandon the City as it is fitting, hee can C carry backe his men without danger into his Countrey, after that hee hath ouer-runne the Champion: Leauing a great amazement and terror to his Enemies, and assuring the hearts of his owne Souldiers. The which succeeded according to his proiect. For when the people saw the whole Province thus spoyled, they began to blame Antigonus: who notwithstanding discharging the Duty of a wise and discreet Captaine, would not goe to field. Cleomenes in the meane time ouer-ran their whole Countrey without feare. By this meanes he returned safely into his Countrey, after that hee had at pleasure ruined the Province, and left a great amazement amongst the Argives, and made his owne men more hardy for the future Warre.

But when the Spring came, the Macedonians and the Achaeans returning from wintering, went to field: Antigonus marcht to Laconia with his Army, consisting of ten thousand Macedonians, three thousand Archers, three hundred Horse, a thousand Bowmen, and likewise as many of the Gauls: Moreover, three thousand Foote which were Mercinaries, with three hundred Horse, and about a thousand Megalopolitans armed after the manner of the

The number
of Nations
which were in
Antigonus' Ar-
my.

O

the

Sellasia.
Eua.
Olympus.
Euclides.

Antigonus
Camped
upon the
Banks of *Gorgo-*
gile.

The order of
Antigonus Batt-
cell.

the *Macedonians*, whereof *Cleomenes* had the leading. As for the Allies, hee had two thousand Foote of *Bauiere*, and two hundred Horse : a thousand Foote of the *Epirotes*, and fifty Horse : and as many of the *Acarnanians* : and besides all thele, a thousand and sixe hundred *Sclauonians*, whereof *Demetrius* of *Phare* was Captaine. Thus the whole Army consisted of twenty eight thousand Foote, and twelve hundred Horse. *Cleomenes* being aduertised by his Spies of the Enemies descent, hee placed forces vpon the passages, by the which they might enter into his Country, fortifying them with Trenches and Trees cut downe : And hee himselfe went with his Army to a passage which they call *Sellasia*, thinking as it happened, that the Enemy would take that way. His Army was about twenty thousand men. There were two Mountaines in this passage, whereof the one is called *Eua* by the people of the Country, and the other *Olympus*. There is a way betwixt both which runs along a Riuere vnto *Sparta*. When as *Cleomenes* had lodged himselfe in these two Mountaines, and had carefully fortified them with Trenches and Pallisadoes, hee put the Souldiers which were drawne together with the Allies into *Eua*, whereof his Cozen *Euclides* had the Command, and stayed himselfe in that of *Olympus* with the *Lacedemonians* and Mercenaries. Moreover, hee placed his Horse-men in the Plaine, with some of the Mercenaries, vpon the two Bankes of the Riuier.

Wheras *Antigonus* was come into those places, and finding the situation of them, and the wonderfull industry of *Cleomenes* to dispose of his Army, hee was not resolute to fight at that time. And therefore hee camped neare vnto him, vpon the banke of the Riuier of *Gorgo-* *gile* : whereas staying some dayes, hee turned about the Country and the Enemies Campe and fought to draw them to battell by skirmishes. But when hee found nothing without defence, for that the *C* Prouidence of *Cleomenes* had carefully rampired all places, hee gaue ouer his enterprize : But in the end they resolved by a common consent, to make an end of their Warre by a battell. Behold how Fortune had drawne together two great Captaines, equal in virtue, Counsell and Wisedome. Thus *Antigonus* oppoſed in Front to those which held the Mountaine of *Eua*, the *Macedonians* with their Targets, and the *Sclauonians* : and hee put the Legionaries in divers bands to succour the one and the other : to whom hee gaue for Commaunder, *Alexander*, the Sonne of *Amata*, and *Demetrius* of *Phare*.

After these marcht the *Acarnanians* and they of *Candy* : Finally, hee placed two thousand *Acheans* for a supply, to succour them at need. Then hee set his Horse-men neare vnto the Riuer-side in Front of the Enemies Horse, whereof *Alexander* had the charge with two thousand Foote-men. As for *Antigonus*, hee lodged neare vnto Mount *Olympus* with the bands of Aduenturers, and the *Macedonians* : where hee resolute to fight with *Cleomenes*. When hee had put the Mercenaries into battell, hee caused the Battalion of the *Macedonians*

Macedonians to march. The place which was straight, would not suffer them to doe otherwise. They had giuen charge to the *Sclauonians* to begin the battell, as soone as they should see a white cloth, which shoulde be aduanced neare vnto Mount *Olympus*, at the foote whereof they lodged at Night, vnder the Riuer of *Gorgo-* *gile*. The *Megalopolitanis* also with the Horse-men were to enter the combate, as soone as they should see a purple Robe, aduanced in the Aire from the Kings Quarter.

The houre of the battell was now come, the *Sclauonians* had alreade dy discouered *Antigonus* signe. They encourage their Companions according to the opportunity of the time, making no doubt but they had the victory in their hands. Then they endeauoured with wondful resolution to gaine the Mountaine. But the Foote-men which were lightly arm'd, whom *Cleomenes* as wee haue sayd, left in the Plaine with the Horse-men, seeing that the Bands of the *Acheans* had not the courage to second them, charg'd them vpon the Reare, so as they were in greater danger : For on the right hand, and in Front *Euclides* had the better with his men : and the Mercenaries on the left hand, fighting obstinately, made a great spoile vpon the Reare. By this meane they were suddenly enironed with two Troopes of Enemies. When *Philopomene* the *Megalopolitanis* saw this disorder, hee studdainly gaue good aduise to the Captaines. But for that hee was a young man, and had never had charge they gaue no eare vnto him. Wherefore addressing himselfe to those of his Nation, Companions sayth hee, the Victory is ours if you will follow mee. And in charging the Enemies Horse, they assailed them with great courage. Wherefore the Aduenturers strangers, who fought in the Reare of thole which assaid the Mountaine, hearing a great noise, and seeing the Combate of the Horse-men, retired to aide and succour them, whereto they had beeene at the first ordained.

The order of the Enemies bring by this meanes broken, the *Sclauonians* and *Macedonians* with others whom *Antigonus* had appointed, fell vpon them with great violence and fury. So as afterwards all the World was of opinion, that the industry and courage of *Philopomene* had defeated *Euclides* at that time. And therefore they say, that when as *Antigonus* demanded of *Alexander* why hee had sent the Horse-men against the Enemy, before hee had seene the signe, and that hee had answered, it was not hee, but a young *Megalopolitanis* which had done it without his privity, hee then replied, that this young man had performed the duty of a good Captain, and *Alexander* that of a young foole.

But they which kept the toppe of the Mountaine with *Euclides*, shewed their basenesse, seeing the Enemies ascend : for they shoulde not haue attended vntill they had gain'd the top with safety : But relying vpon the aduantage of the place, they shoulde haue encoutered them, and charged them from aboue : and if necessity had required, they might haue retired safely on the right hand ; to charge the Enemy againe. In doing this they had easilly broken, defeated and

The courage
of *Philopomene*
is the cause of
the Victory.

and put the *Macedonians* to flight. But they did the contrary, as if they had the Victory certaine in their hands; for without mouing from the place which the *Cleomenes* had appointed them, they staid expecting the enemy, with hope of a greater defeat: For that they should be repulsed and beaten from the highest place of the Mountaine. But they soone suffered the pannance of their basenesse. For after that the *Macedonians* had recouered the Mountaine, without any resistance, and were come into the Plaine, they fell vpon their enemies, fighting hand to hand with so great fury, as they prelenty drave them backe into the hollow Caues and inaccessible places.

A In the meane time the Combate was cruell among the Horse-men, where it was worth the fight, to behold with what heate, force, and courage the *Achaeans* fought, considering they all fought for the liberty of the Countrey. But among all others they made great esteeme of *Philopomene*; for when his Horfe was ouer thrown with a *Persiane* he fainted not, fighting long on foote with great courage. Finally in the end hee died valliantly, being shot thorough the shinne-bones with an Arrow. On the other side the Kings had begunne the fight at Mount *Olympus* with the mercenaries and such as were lightly armed. They were about five thousand men, who fought sometimes man to man, and sometimes they tried the Fortune of the whole Troupe. There the Victory was long in suspence, finally they parted equally from the battell.

B But when as *Cleomenes* was aduertised that *Emlide* had abandoned the Mountaine, and that the Allies had turned head, and that the Horse-men were in great despair, and that all trembled for feare, hee resoluued to goe out of his Fort, and to put his whole Army in Front vpon one side of the Campe; and therefore hee caused them to sound a Retreat. By this means when those that were lightly armed were drawne together, the two Armies charged with their Pikes and Iaue-lings. The Combate was cruell, and the charge performed with so great courage on either side, as the Victory was long doubtful, and the iudgement difficult who deserued the greatest honour: For that sometimes the *Lacedemonians* retired, and againe they made the *Macedonians* giue backe.

C Finally, when as the *Lacedemonians* were vanquished and put to flight, they were slaine heire and there like sheepe. *Cleomenes* sauied himselfe in *Sparta* without any wound, beeing accompanied by some of the Horse-men. From thence hee retired the night following to *Sybia*, where he imbarqued in certaine shippes which lay long ready for the necessities of the Countrey, and failed with his friends to *Alexandria*. When as *Antigonus* was entred into *Lacedemon* finding no resistance, hee intreated the *Lacedemonians* graciously and courteously in all things; but especially in sufferinge them to liue and gouerne their Common-weale after the Lawes of the Country. When he had staied certaine daies there, he returned into *Macedony* with his Army, having newes of the deceipt of the *Solanians*, and of the spoile they made. Behold how Fortune disposeth of great affaires as she pleaseth.

There

*The victory of
Antigonus a-
gainst the Solanians.*

*Lacedemonians
killed by Antigonus.*

There is no doubt but if *Cleomenes* had deferred the battell a little, or staied in *Sparta* after his defeat, keeping them in hope, in the end he had preualed in his affaires after the retreat of *Antigonus*. *Antigonus* *Sparta or La-*
ceman.

A came from thence to *Tegae*, to whom hee left their Common-weale intire. Three daies after he arrived at *Argos*, at such time as the people were gathered together to celebrate the *Nemean* games; who preuently went foorth to meeet him. All the City had their eyes fixt vpon him and beheld him, all the World commended him; all the assembly of *Greece*, and every City in particular did him Honour, not only Humane but Divine.

From thence he made hast to go into *Macedon*, where as he found the *Solanians* spoiling the Country, to whom hee gaue battell, and got the Victory after a long combate. But hee cried to much during the fight, as within few daies after hee died of a flux of blood; so as the *Grecians* lost the great hope they had conceiuied, nor so much for his skill in Warre, as for his vertue and roiall perfections. He left the Realme of *Macedony* to *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrius*. But if you deauoud of me why I haue helde so long a Discourse of this present Warre, you must know I haue done it of purpose. For as this time concurses with that whereof wee meant to speake, I haue helde it fit and necessary, to let the World understand, according to my first resolution, what the estate of the *Macedonians* and *Grecians* were at that time. At that time *Ptolemy* died of sicknesse; to whom succeeded *Ptolemy Philopater*. The like did *Selucus* the sonne of *Selucus*, who was surname *Callinice*; and in like manner *Pagon*; to whom his brother *Antiochus* succeeded in the Realme of *Syria*.

B The like in a manner hapned to those which helde the Kingdomes of *Alexander* after his death, as *Selucus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Lysimachus*; for those died in the hundredth fourte and twentweth *Olympiade*, as wee haue formerly related; and these in the hundredth thirty nine. Seeing wee haue exposed the preparation of all our History, and sufficiently declarred at what time and how, and for what causest the *Romanes* after the conquest of all *Italy* assailed foraigne Realmes, and what the estate then was of *Greece*, *Macedony*, and the *Carthaginians*. I haue thought it fit to make an end of this Booke, with a Commemoration of these actions, and this alteration of Kingdomes: Seeing that according to our intention we are come vnto the times when as the *Grecians* made the VVarie of the Allies, the *Romanes* against *Hannibal*; and to that when as the Kings of the lower *Asia*, fought for the Empire of *Syria*.

The end of the Second Booke of Polybius.



THE THIRD BOOKE of the History of POLYBIUS.



Wee haue shewed sufficiently in the First Booke, how that wee haue taken for the beginning and foundation of the *Romane* actions, the VVarre betwixt the Allies, that of *Hannibal*, and that of *Syria*: Wee haue in like manner set downe the causes, for the which wee haue beeene forced (in reducing the beginnings farther off,) to write the History of the Second Booke. Now we will indeauour to make you understand the Warres themselues, and the causes why they were vndertaken, and dispersed in so many places, hauing let you understand, in as few words as possible we may, the attempts of the people of *Rome*. Seing that which wee haue vndertaken to write is but a Worke, and as it were a spectacle; (that is to say,) how, when, and wherefore all the Countries of the VWorld haue beeene reduced vnder the obedience of the *Romans*, and that this hath a notorious beginning, a prefixed time, and the end certaine. VVe haue thought it good to deliuer summarily the accidents which hapned from the beginning vnto the end of the VVarres: Imagining that they which desire to see our Worke, will more easily come to the knowledge of the whole History. Believe me that our understanding conceiuers many things necessary for a particular History, by the knowledge of the generall; for the understanding whereof, the experiance of particular actions is of no small importance; and if they be

be both ioyned together, so as it may bee but one description, they will be wonderfull profitable to the Reader. But as for the contents of our Worke, wee haue sufficiently spoken thereof in the two first Books. And as for the perticular actions which haue hapned, they haue taken their beginning in the Warres which we haue Related; and there end at the death of the Kings of *Macedon*. So as from the beginning vnto the end there were fifty years; during the which there were as great and admirable things performed, as euer were in so short a space.

To speake whereof, wee will beginne to write from the hundred and fourtie *Olympiade*, and will obserue this order. First we will shew the causes for the which this VVarre, which they call of *Hannibal*, beganne betwixt the *Romanes* and *Carthaginians*: So as entring into *Italy*, they reduced the *Romans* to so great an extremity, as they suddenly grew in hope to be Lords, not only of the rest of *Italy*, but also of the City of *Rome*. And afterwards we will continue our narration, vpon what occasion *Philip* King of *Macedon*, after that he had made VVarre with the *Etolians* and pacified *Greece*, entred into hope with the *Carthaginians*. And as for *Antiochus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Philipater*, they in the end had Warre together for the lower *Syria*, after a long diffention. Moreover the *Rhodiens* and *Prusians* making VVarre against them of *Constantinople*, forced them to abandon *Ponius*. And there ending our Discourse, we will beginne to speake of the manner of liuing of the *Romanes*, of their Lawes and of their Common-weale: By the which as proper to them, they haue attained vnto such great power, as they haue not only made subiect to their obedience, *Italy*, The Countries conquered by the Romans. *Sicile*, and the *Gaules*, and likewise *Spaine* in a short time; but in the end they haue vndertaken the Empire of the whole World, after they had vanquished the *Carthaginians* by Armes. Then passing on we will shew, how the Kingdome of *Hieron* of *Saragoſa* was defeated and ruined. The like we will do of diuers troubles which were in *Egypt*.

C Moreover how after the death of King *Ptolemy*, *Antiochus*, and *Philip*, being agreed touching the diuision of the Realme left vnto the *Sonne*, The Warres which Antiochus and Philip made. began the Warre. *Philip* against *Egypt* and *Samos*, and *Antiochus* against *Syria* and *Phoenicia*.

And when as we haue summarily set downe the affaires of *Spaine*, *Lytia*, and *Sicile*, we will presently turne our Discourse to *Greece*, as the affaires shall change. For after that we haue related the VVats at *Sea*, which *Athalus* and the *Rhodiens* made against *Philip*: and hauing set downe the *Romanes* VVarre against him, how and by whom it had beene managed, and what successe it had, obseruing the order of things, we will come to the indignation of the *Etolians*, who proclaimed VVarre against the *Romanes*, and drew *Antiochus* out of *Asia*. And when we haue deliuered the causes, and related *Antiochus* nauigation into *Europe*, we will first shew how he fled out of *Greece*; and being vanquished by Armes, how he abandoned vnto the *Romanes*, all the Countries which lie on this side Mount *Taurus*. Thirdly, we will shew with what power the *Romanes* conquered the Empire of *Asia*, after they

Bizons.

Atalans.

Mount Taurus.

*Eumenides,
Ariarat,
Morea.*

The Conquest
of the Romans
in 53 years.

they had wholly defeated the *Gauls*, who wondred vp and downe; and how they freed the whole Country on this side Mount *Taurus*, from the fear of the *Barbarians*, and the insolency of the *Gauls*. And when we haue related the misfortune of the *Etolians* and *Cephaliens* in their Warres, we will make mention of those of *Eumenides*, of *Praesia*, and of the *Gauls*; the like we will do of that of *Ariarat* against *Pharnace*. From thence dispatching the accours of them of Morea, and the increase of the *Rhodian* Common-wealth, we will make an end of our worke, settynge downe in the end the Voyages which *Antiochus* surnamed *Epiphanes*, made into *Egypt*. And in like manner the Warres of *Persia* with the ruine of the Kingdome of the *Macedonians*. These are things whereby we may easily understand how the *Romanes* in a short submitted the whole Earth vnder their obedience, assailing them in particular. And if it were lawfull to discerne vertue from vice, by the good or bad successe of affaires, or from the prais or dishonour of men, we must of necessity make an end here, and turne our Relation to things which in the beginning we propounded to set downe; for this hath continued fifty three yeares: during the which the *Roman Empire* hath gotten so great an increase, as the whole World might well know, that they must do what their people comandued. But for that such things, B cannot be rightly judged by the good Fortune of affaires, considering that many times those that seeme to be well done, are the cause of great inconueniences, if they be not done in time: And contrary-wise they which are fallen into some disaster, many times turne their misfortunes to good, if they know how to haue patience. We haue thought it fittynge to adde to that which we haue Written, what the nature of the Victors were, what meanes they held in the government of their Empire, and how the rest of the Townes, Regions, and Countries yeilded willingly vnto them? And moreover what course of life, and what Lawes they held with all the World, aswell in particular as generally with all their Common-wealths.

C By this meanes they which liue at this day, shall plainly see, whither it be good to die, or voluntarily to submit to the Empire of *Rome*; and they which shall come after may judge whither the actions of the *Romanes* be commendable and worthy of memory, or altogether blamable. Behold, wherein the profit of our History will consist, aswell for the present as the future time. They which mannge a Warre, and they which vndertake to judge of it, do not propound the Victory for the last end, nor wholy to subiect himselfe. Beleeue me, a wise man doth not make Warre with his neighbours, to see the defeat and ruine: D Neither doth any man saile in diuers Seas, only to make Voyages; nor pursues many Sciences and Disciplines, in regard onely of them. Without doubt we pursue these things, for that which follows, seemes pleasant, profitable, or decent, and therefore wee may with reason say, that the end of our Worke hath beeene to know the condition of all things, after the Conquest of the World made by the *Romanes*, vntill they fell againe into new combustions.

Of which troubles I haue resolued to write, making as it were, a new beginning:

beginning: For that there hath beeene great and memorable thinges, hauing not onely beeene present at the greatest part, but also a com<sup>polybius hath
been pre-ent
at a great part
of the things
which he hath
written,</sup>

A This trouble grew, when as the *Romans* made Warre against the *Celtiberians*, and the *Carthaginians* against *Massinissa*, King of *Lybria*: and wheretime *Ariarat* and *Praesia* were at Warre in *Asia*. And then *Ariarat* King of *Cappadocia* expell'd his Realme by *Roserne*, by the meanes of *Demetrius*, was soone after restored by him. But *Demetrius* the Sonne of *Selucus*, lost his Realme and life by the conspiracy of other Kings, after he had held *Syria* twelve yeers. And the *Romans* restored the *Grecians* to their Citties, whom they had charged to bee the Authoires of the *Persian Warre*, after they had accepted the excuse of their innocency. Soone after they made Warre against the *Carthaginians*, for the causes which wee will specific, so as they resolued first to transport them, and afterwards wholly to ruine them.

B And for that the *Macedonians* abandoned the part of the *Romans*, and the *Laccedemopians* the Common wealth of the *Achaeans*, they followed, the vtter ruine and destruction of all *Greece*. This shall serue for the Preamble of our Worke. I haue neede of the fauour of Fortune, to the end that by the meanes of life I may finishe this my resolution, although I hold it for certaine, that if a long life should faile mee, yet there would bee alwayes some one found among so great a multitude of wife and lerned men, that would finishe our Worke, and endeouour to bring vnto perfection that, which sudaine Death might hinder and prevent in vs.

C As wee haue related at large the deeds which seeme most memorable, defining that our whole worke might bee knowne to the Reader, as well in generall as particular, it is now time vnto the declaration of our designe. The greatest part of those which haue written the deeds of *Hannibal*, desirous to shew the caufe of the Warre which kindled betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*, say, that the siege of *Sagonte* was the first: and the second, that contrary to the accord made with the *Romans*, they had past the River of *Ebro*.

D For my part, I am of opinion that these were the beginnings, but not the causes; for there is a great difference betwixt the causes and beginning of things: vnflesse some will say, that the Voyage of *Alexander* into *Asia*, hath beeene the cause of the Warre which he made against the *Persians*: Or that the descent which *Antiochus* made at *Demetriadie*, hath beeene the cause of that which was begun against the *Romans*: the which is neither true nor likely.

E But what man is so much blinded with ignorance, that will affirme and maintaine, that the preparations which were made partly by *Alexander*, and partly by *Philip* in his life time, for the Warre of *Persia*: Or by the *Etolians*, to make Warre against the *Romans*, before the comming of *Antiochus* hath beeene the causes of the Warre?

The beginning
of a worke caud
of the causes, etc.

Warre? These are the opinions of men, who doe not obserue how much the beginnings and the cause differ: and that the caufes in all things are the first, and the beginning are the end of caufes. I am of opinion that the beginnings are called the first workes of things which are refolved and concluded, and that the caufes are those which preceed the decree and refolution, and makes vs so to judge: as are the thoughts, the aduices, the discourses of reaſon and ſuch other things.

This will be apparent for that which follows: For it will be eafe for any man to fee for what caufe the Warre of Persia was made, and whence the beginning came. The firſt was the returne of the Grecians with Xenophon into their Country, by infinite hēre and barbarous Nations: where not any one durft make head againſt him in ſo long a Voyage.

The ſecond hath beeene the Voyage of Agesilaus King of Lacedemonia into Asia by Sea. Where having found nothing anſwerable to his forces, nor that preſented it ſelfe, hee was forced to returne into Greece, for the troubles which were kindled there: as if he had triumphed ouer the Barbarians. For which cauſe Phillip King of Macedon, hauing experience of the baſeneſſe and ſloth of the Persians and relying vpon the readineſſe of the Macedonians in matters of War: being likewiſe drawne with the hope of great gaue, he prepared Warre againſt them with all his forces, as ſoone as he found himſelfe afflerte of the amity and friendſhip of the Grecians: taking his occation, that the Persians had vied great cruelty againſt them.

And therefore wee muſt ſay, that the cauſes of this Warre are those which wee haue firſt related, and the occations are thoſe whereof we now ſpeak: and the beginning was Alexander's Voyage by Sea into Asia: And in that which was made againſt the Romans vnder the conduet of Antiochus, the wrath and indignation of the E tolens was the caufe. You muſt understand that for the opinion which they haue conceived, that the Romans made no accoupt of them as long as the Warre of Phillip continued, they not onely called Antiochus vnto their Succours, but also refolved to put all in hazard, ſo great their spleene and fury was for that which was past.

It is true, the liberty of Greece was the occation, vnder hope whereof they laboured by all meaneſ to draw the neighbour Cities to their Enterprize: But the beginning of the Warre was the Voyage to Sea of Antiochus to Demetria. Wee haue beene tedious in this Discouſe, not to blame any one of the auncient Historiographers, but for the profit of thoſe which haue a deſire to leaſne. For as Phisitians cannot cure their Patients, if they haue not knowledge of the cauſes of the Diseases wherewith they are troubled: So they which treat of Historiies, are altogether vnprefoitible, if the reaſon of the place, of the time, with the cauſes and occations bee not knowne.

The cauſe of Alexander's Warre in Persia.

Agesilaus.

Phillip.

The cauſe of the Roliens Warre againſt the Romans.

A good comparison.

There

There is therefore nothing more neceſſary, nor more to be deſired, than to know the cauſes of all things that happen: For opportunity doth many times rectifie great affaires, and it is eaſie to prevent their beginnings.

It is true that *Fabius* a Roman Historiographer ſaith, that the cruelty and inhumanity of *Hannibal* towards the *Sagontins*, and the ambition and infatiablie deſire of Rule in *Aſtrabal*, haue beeene the cauſes of the Warre betwixt the *Romans* and *Hannibal*, Generall of the *Carthaginians*. Then hee ſayth that he had much augmented the *Carthaginians* Empire in *Spaine*, and that being returned to *Carthage*, hee fought to tiranize the Common-wealth, and to ouerthrew their Lawes. The which the chiefe men diſcouering, they oppofed themſelues againſt *Aſtrabal*. Wherefore leauing *Aſſirice* in a rage, hee returned preſently into *Spaine*, and afterwards managed the affaires according to his owne fancy, and without the authority of the Senate of *Carthage*. Moreouer, he ſaith, that *Hannibal* who from his youth had beeene at the Warre vnder him, was of the fame enterprize: and therefore after he was Lord of *Spaine*, hee followed the courses of *Aſtrabal*. So as this Warre which was made againſt the *Romans*, was begun by him in ſpite of the *Carthaginians*, and that there was not any man in *Carthage* which loued the Common-wealth, but did much blame the deeds of *Hannibal* againſt the *Sagontins*. Moreouer, hee ſayth, that after the taking of *Sagonte*, there was an Embaffe ſent from *Rome* to *Carthage*, demanding *Hannibal* to bee put to it, they ſhould declare Warre againſt the *Carthaginians*.

But if a man ſhould demand of *Fabius* what could ſucceed better, nor more reaſonable, and expedient for the *Carthaginians*, than to deliver vpon the *Romans* requelt the auhour of the offence, and C him that had committed the fault, to puniſh him: Seeing that as hee ſayth, they had diſlike the actions of *Hannibal*: and by this meaneſ might revenge by another the common Enemy of the Country, and maintaine the eſtate of their City in peace, chafing away the auhour of the warre, conſidering that this might bee well effected by a bare reſolution? What can he anſwe? Nothing without doubt. Contrariwife they were ſo farre from doing it, as they maintained the Warre feuentene yeeres continual against the *Romans*: Neither did they ceaſe vntill defiuite of all hope, they not onely hazarded their Country, but alſo their liues.

D Finally, to what end doe wee vſe this diſcouſe of *Fabius* or of his writings? It is not to cry him downe: For his lying writings are ap- parent to thoſe which read them. It is onely to aduertife thoſe which giue the credit, not ſomuch to regard the title of the Authour, as the truth of things: For there are men which doe not bear ſo much reſpect to the writings, as to him that made them, and which thinke that for as much as *Fabius* liued in thoſe times, and had beeene of the Senate, that hee could not but ſpeak truth. It is true, and I am of opinion, that we muſt giue beleefe and credit unto him in many

*The Warre of Hannibal
continued 17. years.*

many things, but yet wee may not beleue all : for wee must consider things as they are, and how they agree.

Finally, to retorne to our Discourse, we must not thinke that the first cause of the Warre, which the *Romanes* had with the *Carthaginians*, was the indignation of *Amilcar*, surnamed *Barca*, Father to *Hannibal*. And we must understand that he was not vanquished by the *Romanes*, during the Warre of *Sicily*, (for he preferred the Army which was about *Erix* with great Judgement) but when he saw the *Carthaginians* had lost the battell at Sea, hee thought good to yeld vnto the time, and made a peace with the *Romanes*, yet hee left no^t his indignation, A so as he expected continually an opportunity to be revenged of them. And if the *Carthaginians* had not found themelues troubled with the mutiny of their Souldiers, hee would prettily haue renewed the VVArre with all his power : and therefore being hindred by an intestine milchier, he deferr'd it to another time.

The *Romanes* considering the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were by the mutiny of their Souldiers, threatened them with VVArre. To preuent the which, the *Carthaginians* made an accord as we haue specified in the former Booke, without which no man can understand that which wee haue now sayd, nor that which follows. Finally, they B quit them *Sardina*, as vnfurished both of counsell and aide : For that the *Romanes* would not otherwise desist from their Enterprize, and they payed them beside the Summe already accorded, seuen hundred thousand Crownes : which was the second and the greatest cause of the VVArre which afterwards began.

VVhen as all the people of *Carthage* were entred into the like indignation with *Hannibal*, and that *Amilcar* saw the mutiny of the Souldiers supprest, and the affaires of the Countrey pacified, he began to make VVArre in *Spaine*, seeking to make vse of it, as a preparative to leade them against the *Romanes*. Behold that which we must imagine for the third cause, that is to say, the good fortune which the *Carthaginians* had : For that their hearts grew great, and therefore they undertooke this VVArre more boldly. There is prooef sufficient, that *Amilcar* was the principall cause of the second Punicke VVArre, although they were dead ten yeeres before : but it shall suffice for the present to relate that which followeth : At what time that *Hannibal* was vanquished by the *Romanes*, he retired to *Antiochus* leauing *Affricke*, the *Romanes* aduertised of the *Etolians* attempt, sent an Embassie to *Antiochus* to know his will, and to discouer by this meane his preparation for Warre. But hauing understood that he held the party of the *Etolians*, and that he was resolued to make Warre against the *Romanes*, they frequented daily with *Hannibal*, seeking by their continual familiarity, to draw him into suspition and dislike ; wherin they were not deceiu'd : For *Antiochus* thinking he had beene gain'd by the *Romanes*, suspected him long. But it happen'd on a time when as the King called him to his Councell, whereas he had good liberty to speake. And then after many discourses, in the end as it were by indignation, hee began to vse these termes. VVhen as my Father Amilcar

Sardinia abandoned by the *Carthaginians*.

The second cause.

The third cause.

Antiochus an Enemy to the *Romanes*.

Amilcar was to passe into *Spaine* with an Army I was about the Age of nine yeares : and when as he sacrificed to *Jupiter*, I was neere vnto the Altars.

Bur when as the Sacrifices were ended, my father caused the rest to retire backe ; and hauing called me alone, he demanded kindly of me, and as it were with imbracings, if I would go the Voyage. The which when I had not only accepted, but moreover intreated him like a childe ; then taking my right hand, and laying it vpon the Altar, hee would that touching the things sacrificed, I shoulde sweare that presente Aly when I came to age, I shoulde be an enemy to the *Romanes*. And therefore Sir, as long as thou shal be their enemy, you may relie confidently in me, and haue no suspition of *Hannibal* : but when you shall be reconciled, or that you shall contract friendshipe with them, then expect no other acculer, and haue a care to keepe your selfe from me, as from an enemy to the people of *Rome* ; for I shal be alwayes opposite vnto them with all my power.

Antiochus hearing this kind of Speech, and that *Hannibal* spake truly and with affection, in regard of his griefe, he prestly abandoned all suspcion. Behold then a manifest testimony of the haterd and bad

B affection of *Amilcar* towards the *Romanes* ; for hee left *Affribul* his sonne in Law, and his sonne *Hannibal* for their enemies, such as there could be none greater.

It is true, that Death tooke an order that *Affribul* could not shew the hatterd he bare them. But *Hannibal* had time at will, so as preuailing in his interprize, he hath sufficiently made knowne the hatterd which he held from his Father. And therefore they

which haue the Government of a Common-weale must carefully consider this, and ruminante in their understanding to know the humours of those, with whom they make any accord or friendshipe, whither it be

C for the necessitie of the time, or to giue ouer the Warres, to the ende

they may alwaies defend themselves from those which seeke an opportunity to do euill, and to make vse of thos whom they know to bee

their Subiects or true friends, when necessity shall require. These causes which we haue specified, are those of the second Punicke Warre,

and the beginning of that which we will now relate.

The *Carthaginians* hardly induring the losse of *Sicile*, which

D the *Romanes* had taken from them. It is true that as we haue said, *Sardinia* which they had surprized by Treafon during the mutiny of *Affribul*, and this summe of money which they had cauied them to pay, did much increase their hatterd. And therfore it was likely that as soone

as they shoulde grow great in *Spaine*, they would transport the VVArre into *Italy*. But after the death of *Affribul*, who after the death of *Amilcar* was Generall of the *Carthaginians*, they desir'd to know the

will of the Souldiers, before they would place a new Commander. And when as the newes came from the Campe, that *Hannibal* had bin chosen Capraine by a generall consent, they prestly assembeled, and confirmed with one accord by the election of the men of VVar. *Hannibal* hauing receiued all power, and considering that to linger was of

no worth, he marcht with his army to the skirts of the *Olvades* to ruine them.

Hannibal his speech to *Antiochus*,

*Hannibal's tweare that when hee came to age, he would be an enemy to the *Romanes*.*

*Affribul's sonne in Law to *Hannibal*,*

Agreement, and necessity for al Gouvernours.

*The cause of the *Carthaginians* are haused.*

Neuer Commauder old any thing worthy which was not pleasing to the Souldiers.

Carteia taken by assault. them. And therefore he besieged *Carteia*, the chiefe Towne of that Countrey, and tooke it by assault after some dayes resistance. So as the other Townes being terrified yeeded of themselves to the *Carthaginians*.

After this Victory the Army retired to winter at *Carthagena* with great booty: whereas *Hannibal* vsing great bountie, deuided it amongst the Souldiers: So as hee gained their hearts wonderfully, leauing them in great hope for the future. In the Spring he led his Army against the *Vaccens*, and presently conquered *Ermandique*: Afterwards hee tooke *Arbacle* by force, not without great danger, hauing A held it long besieged: For that it had beeene well defended by the greatness of the City, and the multitude and courage of the Inhabitants.

Countries conquered by Hannibal.

The Toleatins.

The riuers Tagus.

Hannibal's victory vpon the Barbarians.

An army of a hundred thousand men.

An Embassie from the Romans to Hannibal.

After this, hee suddenly fell by chance into a maruellous danger, by a charge which the *Toletatins* haue him, at his returne from the *Vaccens* with a great booty: For it is a people which exceeds all the rest of this Province in courage and multitudes of men, with the which also there ioyned the Fugitives of *Ermandique*. Whereunto the banished men of the *Olcades* had persuadid them. Without doubt the *Carthaginians* had beeene vanquished and defeated, if they had offered Battell; but *Hannibal* gave order to the contrary, and striking Sile to enemy, he planted himselfe vpon the Banke of the Riuier of *Tagus*: giuing charge vnto his Horse men, that when they shoule see the Enemies enter into the Water, they shoule charge the Battalion of foote, He lodg'd forty Elephants along the Bankes.

By this meanes all things succeeded happily, for that he had the riuer and the Elephants as it were, for Combattants: For the *Barbarians* thinking that the *Carthaginians* were retired for feare, they cast themselves confusely into the Riuier with great cries. Wherefore a great number of them were defeated vpon the Bankes of the Riuier by the Elephants which stood there, and flewe them at their landing. Some C were also slaine in the Riuier by the Horse men, for that the Horsemen being at easie and without Armour, could better helpe themselves, and annoy the enemies, who durst not relye vpon the Ford. They which were in the Reare, and might easily recover the Banke, retired, vntill in the end the *Carthaginians* cast themselves into the riuer with all their bands and companies, and put them to flight. The *Toletatins* army, with the *Olcades* and *Vaccens*, consisted of a hundred thousand men. After which defeat, there were not any found beyond the riuer of *Ebro*, that durst resist the *Carthaginians*, except the *Sagontins*. It is true that *Hannibal* would not fall vpon them, least hee shoule offer an D occasion of Warre to the *Romanes*, before hee had seized vpon that which his Father *Amilcar* had aduised him to do.

In the meane time the *Sagontins* sent often to *Rome*, awfull for the care of their owne priuate affaires, as also fore-seeing future things, and likewise to aduertise them of the good Fortune of the *Carthaginians* in *Spaine*. Finally the *Romanes* hauing thereupon many and diuers aduertisements, they sent an Embassie into *Spane*, to discouer the course of *Hannibal's* actions: But he was retired to Winter at *Carthagena*, hauing

hauing managid his affaires to his owne liking. Being suddenly arrived there, he calles them and giues them audience, and power to deliue their charge. The Embassidours at the first signifiest vnto him, that he should demand nothing from the *Sagontins*, being allied vnto the *Romanes*: And moreover that he should not passe the riuer of *Ebro*, for that it had beeene so concluded by the Treaty made with *Afdraball*. The which was heard by *Hannibal*, like a young man and greedy of War, and who easilie did what he wold with the Senate of *Carthage*, by the meanes of the heads of his faction, together with the hatred he A bare against the *Romanes*, he auawered the Embassidours as a friend to the *Sagontins*, blaming the people of *Rome*, who when they had late ly received Letters from the *Sagontins*, for a mutiny which was growne amongst them, to the end they might send some Embassie to pacifie it, they had wickedly put to death some of the principall of the City: Whereof he threatens them to take revenge, saying that the *Carthaginians* had a Custome not to dislaine outrages: On the other side, he sent vnto *Carthage*, to aduertise them of that which they were to do, considering that the *Sagontins* relying vpon the Alliance with the *Romanes*, had done great outrages to many Townes subject to the *Carthaginians*.

Finally as one full of inconstancy and rage, and inflamed with a desire to make Warre, he propounded no other valuable reason, pursuing to those, who transported by their passion forgot their duty. But had it not beeene much better to say thus? That the *Carthaginians* do right, and the siluer, which for so many yeares they had vniuely drawne from them, during their great affaires, and if they did it not, they will proclame Warre against them. Whereas contrariwise it seemes C now, in leauing the true cause, and supposing a false one of the *Sagontins*, they would make it not only without occasion, but also with great outrage. And although the Embassidours vnderstood well, that vpon necessitie they must enter into Warre, yet they went vnto *Carthage*, where they vsed the like speech.

It is true the *Romanes* meant to Transport it into *Spane* and not into *Italy*, and to haue *Sagonte* for a Fort. Wherefore in the interim, they laboured first to pacifie the *Wars of Sclauenia*, as if they intended to make a Warre that was long and tedious and farre from *Italy*. It hap- D pened at that time, that when as *Demetrius* King of the *Sclauenians* for- gat the many fauours which the *Romanes* had done him: for that hee faw them prest on the one side with the feare of the *Gaules*, and on the other by the *Carthaginians*, and that all his hope was in the King of *Macedon*: for that hee had bin a perculer of that Warre, which *Antigonus* made against *Cleomenes*, ruining the Townes of the *Sclauenians* which were subiect to the *Romanes*, forcing the City, and exceeding the bounds limited in the Treaty. The like hee did to most parts of the Iland of *Cyclades*: So as he ruined all like a Tempest, beeing accompanied with fifty strong Vessells. Whereof the *Romanes* being

Hannibal sent to the Roman Embassidours.

Demetrius King of Sclauenia.

being aduertised, seeing at that time the Principallity of *Macedon* to Triumph, they laboured with all their present meanes to pacifie the affaires of *Sclauonia*, hophg it would prove easie : And that soone after, they shd punish the basenesse of the *Sclauonians*, and the ingratitude of *Demetrius*. But matters past otherwile then they expected. For whilste they employ their time therein, *Hannibal* takes *Sagont* much soone then they conceaved. So as the Warre grew hot, nor in *Spane*, but against the City of *Rome*, and throughout all *Italy*. Yet the *Romanes* pursuing their enterprize, sent *Lucius Emilius* into *Sclauonia*, the first year of the hundred and fifteth Olympiade, with A very great Army to keep that Prounce in peace, and from future danger.

The situation
of *Sagont*.

The discretion
of the head of
an enterprize.

Hannibal parting from *Carthagena* with his whole Army, goes to *Sagont*, a Towne situate beyond the Riber of *Ebro*, at the foote of the Mountaines, which denides *Spane* from the *Celiberians*, about a mile distant from the Sea. The people of this Countrey exceede all the rest of *Spane* in abundance of frutes; and in multitudes of men, and they are the most warlike. *Hannibal* entring into these limits with his Army, and hauing ruined all the Countrey, he besiegded it with all manner of Engines, conceiving that the taking thereof would prooue wonderfull commodious for his present Affaires. First he considered that he shd deprive the *Romanes* of all hope to make Warre in *Spane*; and that moreouer he shd strike a great terror into the rest; and that by this meanes the Townes of *Spane* reduced already vnder his obedience, would keepe their faith the better: Besides it was likely, that they which desired to live still in their liberty, would soone yeld: And that thidly he immagined, that he might then confidently pursue the Remainder, leauing no enemy behind.

He hoped more ouer, to gather much Treasure for the entertainement of his War; and that he shd gaine the hearts of the Souldiers for the booty that every one shd get at the sacke of the Towne; and that finally he shd purchase the loue of the Citizens remayning in *Carthage*, with pretence that he will send them of the spoiles. Beeing moued with these reasons, he wholy attends the siege of this Towne, and inflames the hearts of the Souldiers; spurring them on sometimes with rage against the Enemy, sometimes with hope of Recompence, and sometimes he serues them for an example, alwell in making the Engines, and approaching them to the Wals, as in going sometimes to those places which were most dangerous. Finally, he performed D all things so extraordinary well; as if he had beeene but a simple Souldier.

Sagont forced
by *Hannibal*.

And when he had toyld his Body, and minde herein for the space of eight moneths, in the ende he forced *Sagont*. Whereas after he had made a great booty of gold and siluer, and taken many men; he kept the money for the charges of the War, as he had formerly resolued, deuiding the Prisoners among the Souldiers, according vnto their severall dignities, and set the rest of the spoile vnto *Carthage*.

After

After these things, hee was not deceived in his hope, so as things succeeded according to his desire: for his Souldiers were much more ready to undergoe all dangers: and the *Carthaginians* much more ready to please him. Moreover, this boory of money was a great meanes for the enterprize he had in hand.

During these actions, *Demetrius* King of the *Sclauonians*, discouering the enterprize and preparation of the *Romanes*, hee presently caused the Towne of *Dimale* to bee carefully furnished with men and victuals: and as for the other Townes of *Sclauonia*, hee chased away those that were of contrary faction, suffering none but such as held his party. Then hee made choice of sixe thousand old Souldiers out of his Army, and put himselfe into *Phare*. In the meane time the Consull *Emilius* arriuers safely in *Sclauonia* with his Army: where being aduertised that the Enemies were confident and reolute, for that they were in hope, that the descent of the *Romanes* should not preudle against them, relying much in the feitation and munition of *Dimale*, hee thought good before all things, to doe his vttermost endeauour to take it: thinking (as it afterwards happened) that this being taken, all the rest amazed with fear, B would easily yeld vnto the *Romanes*. And after that hee had made some speeches vnto the Souldiers, hee planted his Engines of Batterie against the Towne, and besieged it: which being forced on the sequent day, did so much amaze the Enemies, as presently Embassies came from all the rest of *Sclauonia*, yelding vnto the *Romanes*.

The which being receuelid into Friendship, and hauing treated with every one according to their condition, hee caufeth his Army to march directly to *Phare*, whereas the King of the *Sclauonians* made his abode. But for that hee found this Towne strong by scituation, and man'd with the choise of the Army, and moreouer well furnished with Victuals, and all kinds of munition, hee feared the siege wold bee long and difficult. Finally, being long in suspenſe, he takes this counſell. Hee vſeth all diligence and labour to gaine the Iland in the Night, and doth lode a great part of his Army in the thicket of the Forrest: as for himselfe, at the breake of day, hee gains the neareſt Port vnto the Towne with twenty ſhipps. The *Sclauonians* ſeeing the Enemies ſhipps, and making no account of their number, they goe forth with a great Fleet to hinder the landing of the *Roman*, where they charg'd them, and for a time D the Combate was very furious, there comming ſtil ſuccours vnto them from the Towne by ſiles, ſo as in the end all the City was drawn thither.

Then the *Roman* who had layne all night in Ambush in the Fox-reſt, hearing the noife, ranne with all speed by covered places, and gaining a little Hill which was ſtrong by nature, within the Towne and Port, they tooke from their Enemies all meanes of returne. The which the *Sclauonians* well perceiving, they leave their first enterprize to repule the Enemy, and drawing together in one troupe, they

*Demetrius for
ficed Dimale.*

*The attiſſe
of Emilius into
Sclauonia.*

*The Towne
of Sclauonia
reuealed to the
Romane obſeſſe
ace.*

*The warlike
policy of Emilius.*

The victory of
the Romans
on the Sicans
plain.

they encourage one another, as men resolu'd to go and fight against the those which held the Hill. On the other side the Romans seeing the Sicanians approach, put themselves in battell, and charg'd them, fighting with great resolution and courage : The other part of the Army at Sea, landed, march't, and prest the enemy in the Reare. Wherefore for as much as the Romans charg'd them on all sides, and that the Sicanians were prest before and behinde, the Combate was long and cruel. Finally, the Romans had the Victory. The greatest part of the Sicanians were most miserably slain, some fawnd themselves within the Towne, and the rest fled into the Desarts A

Demetrius
a man of great
courage and
little judg-
ment.

The Towne of
Pharsala.

Demetrius the Night following fawnd himselfe contrary to the opinion of all the World, by meanes of certaine Vessells which hee had appoynted in three places for his safety, the case so happening : and retired to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, with whom hee spent the remainder of his dayes. Hee was a man of great courage and ouerweening, but of little judgement in Martiall affaires. And therefore hee ended according to the life which hee had formerly led : For when as at *Phillips* desire hee had begunne to besiege the Towne B of the *Messenians*, hee was most shamefully slain by the Enemy. But wee will speake of his great and ouerweening boldnesse. But wee will speake of the sefings more particularly, when wee shall come unto that time. When as *Emilius* had so sudainly gotten *Phare*, hee razed the Towne to the ground. And haing within few dayes reduced the rest of the Townes of *Sicaonia* to the *Romane* obedience, and decided all the affaires of the Prounce as hee had resolu'd, hee returned to *Rome* in the beginning of Autumne : where hee was received with wonderfull great glory, triumph, and good esteeme of all men, to haue done not onely like a wife and discrete man, but like a resolute.

C But when in the meane time newes came to *Rome* of the razing of *Sagunt*, some haue written, that the Lords of the *Romane* Counsell were not of opinion to make Warre, and they alledge causes and reasons which held them in suspence. But what can bee spoken more vnireasonable ? How is it likely, that they which yeere before had signified Warre unto the *Carthaginians*, if they entred the *Saguntines* Countrey, should now growe doubtfull, whether after the taking of *Sagunt*, they shold make Warre, or not ? But is there any thing lesse worthy of credit, to say, that the Senate on the one side was wonderfully heavy and afflicted, as if all D had beeene vtterly lost : On the other side that the Fathers brought all their Children to the Senare, so as they were aboue twelve yeeres of age, and that being partakers of the Counsell, they neuer reculed, or made knowne the secrets to any ? Without doubt these things are neither true nor likely, ynaesse the *Romans* haue that gift of nature, to bee wise from their Cradles.

We haue discoursed sufficiently of these writings which are of *Cherea* and *Sallust*; neither haue they so much fawne of a History, as of old wifes Tales :

Tales : and are like unto those which they vsually tell in Barbers shops. The *Romans* then after the newes of the taking of *Sagunt*, and the murther of their Allies, sent presently an Embassie to *Carthage*, to let them understand two things, whereof the one seemed to bee of consequence, for ignomy and losse of the *Carthaginians*, and the other had a shew to draw their Empire in hazard. For they deauarded, that they shold either deliuer *Hannibal* to bee punished for the breach of the publique Faith, or else they shold hold themselves assured of Warre. When as the Embassadors were come to *Carthage*, and that the Senare had giuen them audience, they deliuered their Commission : which was not without the indignation of the *Carthaginians* : who made choice of *Hanno* to debate their Right, who at the first made no accompt of *Ashdrabs* treacie, as haing never beeene made with the *Romans* : and if it were so, the *Carthaginians* were not bound vnto it, for that *Ashdrab* had exceeded his Commission, and had done it without the authority of the Senate or people of *Carthage*. Whereunto hee alleaged in the like case, that the *Romans* had beeene of opinion, that the accord made in *Sicily* by the Consull *Lutatius* shold bee broken, for B that it had beeene made without the authority of the people of *Rome*.

*Roman Embas-
siers* (not to
Carthage)
Hanno's answer
*to the Roman
Embassadors*

Finally, hee insisted still vpon this accord whilst his Speech continued, and reade it often, laying that there was no mention made of *Ebro*, and that the Allies of the one and of the other were onely referred : and that moreover, it did nothing concerne the *Saguntines*, for that at the time of the accord they were not allied vnto the *Romans*. The Embassador repuls'd with great words this contentiion concerning the right of the accorde, as a thing which concernes the honoure of the people of *Rome* : saying that the quarrels might C bee decided, if the *Saguntines* were in there entire. But now that *Sagunt* is razed, and that the faith and accords are wickedly broken, they shold either deliuer the Author of the Crime to the *Romans*, to the end that the whole World might know, that *Sagunt* hath not beeene overthrowne and ruined with the consent of the *Carthaginians* : Or if they will not, but confess that the Towne hath beeene destroyed with their consent, that they shold prepare to Warre. Thus ended their discourse, which they held more amplly and in generall.

I haue held it most necessary not to passe ouer this particular infelice, to the end the truth may not bee hidden to those which deale in publique affaires, or which haue cause to consider exactly of these things : Or else haue a desire to know whether they ere, being deceaved by the ignorance and softinesse of Historiographers, for want of knowledge of the treaties which from the first *Punique* Warre, vnto our times haue beeene made betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*. The first then was made betwixt these two Nations, immediately after that the name of King was chafed out of *Rome*, *Lucius*, *Innius*, *Brutus*, and *Marcus* Valerius

The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.
Valerius being Consuls, vnder whom also a Temple was dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, eight and twenty yeres before the first voyage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*: the which wee haue interpreted with the greatest diligence wee could possibly. Beleue me, the *Romane* tongue hath beeene so changed since that time vnto our dayes, as they which are the best instructed in *Antiquities*, vnderstand not much of it, but with great difficulty.

The Romans & their Allies.
The first accord betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*.

This accord contains in a manner thus much: The people of *Rome*, and the *Carthaginians* shall live in Amity and Friendship: The like shall their Allies doe. The *Romans* and their Allies shall not saile beyond A

Mercure, in Africke, where the Citie stands.
I conceive that this Promontory is that which they call the Promontory of *Affricke*, where the Citie stands. If any *Romane* arrives in *Sicily*, where the *Carthaginians* are Lords, they shall doe him no wrong. The *Carthaginians* shall doe no outrage to the *Arde*, *Bates*, *Anciates*, *Arrenitins*, *Circins*, *Tarracensis*, nor the other *Lajins* which are subiect to the *Romans*. And if there bee any other City which is not subiect, it is not comprehended. If the *Carthaginians* take any one, they shall restore it entire to the *Romans*, neither shall they build any Fort in *Italy*. And if they be entred into the Province as Enemies, they shall not stay a whole night. Behold in a manner what the first Treatie contayned. You must understand that the Promontory of *Beauty*, is right against *Carthage*, hauing his affect to the North. Beyond the which towards the South, the *Carthaginians* would not suffer the *Romans* to saile with any shippes of Warre.

The Peemontry of Beauty.
The reason was as it seemes, for feare they should come and discouer the places which are about the Banks of *Barbary*, which the *Carthaginians* call the Merchants Country, by reason of the fertility thereof. And therefore if any one driven by a storne, or prest by the enemy, cast himselfe vpon that Quarter, it was not lawfull for him to take any thing but what was necessary to repaire his shippes, or to sacrifice: Being likewise forced to weigh Anchor, and let saile the fist day. As for *Carthage* and the other Countries of *Affricke*, which are on this side the Promontory, and as for *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, whereas the *Carthaginians* were Lords, it was lawfull to sayle thither for traffike: For the effecting whereof the *Carthaginians* had sworne to obserue and keepe it.

But it seemes that in this treaty, that the *Carthaginians* make mention of *Affricke* and *Sardinia*, as of their owne Provinces, holding other termes of *Sicily*, which adde the Countrey wherein they are obeyed. The *Romans* also doe the like for the Countrey of the *Lating*: and as for the rest of *Italy*, they make not any mention, for that it was not yet subiect vnto them. Afterwards there was another treaty made,

in

in the *Carthaginians* comprehended the *Tyrrenis* and *Bisarthus*: There was also added to the Cape of *Beauty*, *Mafia*, and *Tarsend*: Without which it was not lawfull for the *Romanes* to pretend any Countrey, nor to purchase or build any new City. Behold the Contents: The *Romanes* and their Allies, the *Carthaginians*, *Tyrrenis*, and *Bisarthus*, and their Allies, shall live in friendship. The *Romanes* not their *Allies*, or *Tarsion*, to rob and spoile, nor to Traffike, nor to build any Towne. If the *Carthaginians* take any Towne in *Italy*, which is not subiect to the *Romanes*, they shall haue spoile, and restore the Towne vnto the *Romanes*. If they haue taken any of the free people, which were Allied to the *Romanes*, they shall not bring them vnto any Port which belongs vnto the *Romanes*. And if they bring any one thither, and he be knowne to the *Romanes*, they shall be set at liberty. The like shall be done vnto the *Romanes* in thof Townes which are subiect to the *Carthaginians*.

The second Accord.

If a *Roman* refreshes himselfe with Water and Victuals, the *Carthaginians* shall do him no wrong, with whom they haue concluded a peace and friendship, and if they do it, the outrage shall be held publicke. And as for *Sardinia* and *Affricke*, the *Romanes* nor their Allies may not Traffike nor haue any Towne, or buy any thing but what is necessary, for Sacrifice or the repairing of their shippes. And if any ship be cast vpon that Coast by Tempest, they shall fer Saile within the fifth day. In regard of *Sicily*, the *Romanes* may Traffike where the *Carthaginians* are obeyed: The like they may do at *Carthage*, and vse like cafe the *Carthaginians* obserue. The which in the same right which the *Carthaginians* obserue. In this Treaty it seemes that the *Carthaginians* shew that *Sardinia* and *Affricke* were wholy theirs, and that they would deprive the *Romanes* of the right of Port. But as for *Sicily* of that part only which they hold.

It was also Articulated, that the *Carthaginians* should not make Warre against the *Araianis*, the *Aniates*, the *Circins*, *Tarracensis*, nor against the *Lating* Region. As for the rest of *Italy*, there was no mention made. Since there was a third Accord made, at such time as *Pyrhus* King of the *Epirotes* past into *Italy*, before the beginnig of the Punicke Warre. Wherein were comprehended the same Articles, adding moreouer, that if they agreed with *Pyrhus*, they should give succour one vnto another in the Country that was assailed: And if ey. Ships awell for the passage, as for the Combate, either of them paying Sea, and no man should be forced to Land his men. But as I haue vnderstood, the oath of the fist Treaties was made in this manner.

The *Carthaginians* sware by the gods of their Countrey: And the *Romanes* by the Stone, according to their ancient Custome, calling thereunto the powers of *Mars* the Warlike. Behold the manner which they obserued to sweare by the Stone. The Herald of Armes, after the manner of Swearing of the *Romans* & *Carthaginians* in their treatises

Other Articles past betwixt the *Romans* & the *Carthaginians*.

the Treaty of Peace was concluded betwixt the two Nations, hauing the Stone in his hands, vied these Words. I pray vnto the gods that all things may come successfully vnto me, if this Accord and Oath which I take, be done justly and without fraud. But if I do or thinke otherwise that I may die alone, as this Stone shall fall out of my hand, all the rest being found and late in their owne Country, their Lawes, Housles, Temples, and Sepulchers, and without speaking any Word more, he let the Stone fall out of his hand.

As these things are true, and are at this day to be seene, grauen in Tables of Brass, in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinum*, where they are A carfully kept by the *Educes*. Who will not wonder at the Historiographer *Philinus*, not for that he knew it not (for without doubt many ancient *Romanes* and *Carthaginians*, I say of our time, and which have beene very curious of such things, do not know it;) But for that he hath dared to write things quite contrary; saying that in these Accords was contained that the *Romanes* should quit all *Sicily*, and the *Carthaginians* all *Italy*? Wherefore the *Romanes* had broken their faith and promise, at their first Voiage into *Sicily*. And yet this is not found Written.

Philinus hath written this Discourse in the second of his Books, the B which relating lightly in the first Booke, we haue referred to this place, to the end we may debate it in particular: holding it necessary, least some one might stray from the Truth, following the error of *Philinus*. It will not be happily without reasoun, if some one will hold the Voyage of the *Romanes* into *Sicily* worthy of blame; for that they had received the *Adamertins* into friendship, and presently sent forces after in their extreme necessity, considering that a little before they had spoilt *Messina* and *Ragusa* with great cruelty, beeing two of the richest Townes in *Sicily*. But this were to judge like an ignorant man, that in passing into *Sicily* they had broken their faith and promise. After C that the Warre of *Sicily* was ended, there was another Accord made, whereof this is the Tenor. That the *Carthaginians* should not only voide out of *Sicily*, but out of all the Islands which are betwixt it and *Italy*. And the Allies of the one and the other should haue no Rule in neither of their Countries; nor should make any Forts, nor draw forth any Souldiers, nor make Alliance with either of their Allies; and that the *Carthaginians* should pay thirteeene hundred and twenty thousand Crownes within ten years: Whereof six hundred thousand should be prelenty pait, and that moreouer they should deliuer all the *Romanes* Prifoneis without ranfone.

Besides all this the *Romanes* declaring Warre vnto them, when they were much troubled and afflicked in *Affricke*, they forced them to make a new Treaty: Where it was sayd, that the *Carthaginians* should leaue *Sardinia*, and pay (besides the summe agreed vpon,) seauen hundred thousand Crownes. After all these Treaties, the last was made in *Spaine* with *Astrarbal*, where the *Carthaginians* were forbiddon to passe the Riuers of *Ebro* or *Iberus* in Armes. Behold all the Treaties which the people of *Rome* and *Carthage* made, from the first Punique Warre unto

Another accord
made betwixt
the *Romanes* and
the *Carthaginians*.

Another acc.
cord.

Another acc.
cord made with
Astrarbal.

vnto the second, which the *Carthaginians* managed vnder the Conduct of *Hannibal*. But it is doublets, that we haue shewed that the *Romanes* did not breake their faith when they past into *Sicily*, as doth plainly appeare: So afterwards they declared Warre against the *Carthaginians* without reason: when as they made the Treaty for *Sardinia*: for truly there can be no reason found therein. Contrariwise we see plainly that besides all the agreements, the *Carthaginians* left *Sardinia*, and payed a greater summe of mony, being forced by the malice of the time. And as for that, wherewith the *Romanes* sheltered themselves, that they were forced thereto, for that they had outraged their Merchants at Sea: This had beeene formerly decided, when as the *Carthaginians* delivered the Prisoners without Ransome. These are things whereof we haue spoken, when in the precedent Booke we haue related that which was to be said in particular. Let vs now come to the caufes of the second Punique War, and let vs see which of the two Nations is to be blamed.

The *Carthaginians* obiect those caufes which we haue related. In regard of the *Romanes* they brought none for the prefent, for the indignation they had for the razing of *Saguntum*. Yet behold those which B they and others do vially obiect. First there is no comparison betwixt the Treaty which *Astrarbal* made and that of *Luctatium*, although the *Carthaginians* will haue it so. For it was sayd in that of *Luctatium*, that it shoulde hold good if the people of *Rome* consent vnto it. And as for that of *Astrarbal*, there was no such condition: Where it was expressly sayd, that the *Carthaginians* shoulde not passe beyond *Ebro*. And it was sayd in the other, that the Allies of either part shoulde liue in peace: Under which termes were not only comprehended those which then were not Allied: For it would haue beeene Articulated, that the one nor the other should make any new Alliance; or that they which C should newly enter, should not be comprehended, whereof there is nothing Written. For with that whereof formerly they had given order that none of those which should enter newly into Alliance, should be wronged: Who will beleue that cyther of these powerful Nations would restraine himselfe from receiving those he shoulde think good into Alliance, or to defend those that were received? In truthe I conceine that in making their Treaty, their chiefe intent was, that their Allies shoulde liue in safety, and that it shoulde not be lawful for them to receive the Allies of the one and the other into alliance: and it was provided that the new alliances might not draw Souldiers out of the others Provinces, nor beare any rule there; and that they shoulde all liue in peace.

Matters standing in these Termes, it is manifest that the *Saguntines* were allied vnto the *Romanes* long before *Hannibal*: The which is so probable as the *Carthaginians* cannot deny it. For the *Saguntines* for a mynuty which grew in their Towne, sent not vnto the *Carthaginians* although they were their Neighbours, and held the greatest part of *Spaine*; but retired to the *Romanes*, by whose meanes the fedition was pacified and supprest. If they lay that the razing of *Saguntum* hath beeene the

The caufes pro
pounded by
the Romanes
the Warre.

The *Saguntines*
Allied long
time with the
Romanes.

the cause of this Warre, they must likewise confess that the *Carthaginians* had no reason to make Warre against the *Romans*, awfull by the Treaty made with *Luctatius*, wherein it was contained that they should do no outrage vnto the Allies, as by that which was made by *Astrarab*, by the which the *Carthaginians* were restrained from passing the Riuere of *Ebro* in Armes. Likewise if they will say, that the *Carthaginians* had taken this Warre to heart, for *Sardinia* which had beeene taken from them, and for the summe of money which they had payed: I make no doubt that they were not to bee blamed, if attending the opportunity of the time they sought to reuenge: Yet I con-
A ceue there wilbe some, who not duly considering heeroef, will imagine it idle and to no purpose, that I examine these reasons so diligently.

The opinion of Polybius in the diligence of a History.

For my part I am of opinion, that if a man be so well furnished with all things necessary, as he needes not any assistance, yet the knowledge of things past wilbe pleasing vnto him, and it may be necessary. If likewise any one dare not relie vpon this, awfull in priuate affaires as publicke, considering he is a man: and that he knowes well that this present felicity may be lost, considering that the Fortune of men is fraile and without continuance: Then I say that the knowledge of things past is not onely pleasant but necessary. But how may a man finde aide and succours to defend himfelfe, being wronged in his owne Countrey? Or draw all the VVorld vnto his owne opinion, making a new enterprise? Or assiure the hearts of his men when Fortune fauours him, if hee haue not a true particular knowledge of the deedes of his Ancestors? Believe me by this means he shalbe ready and instructed in present affaires to be able to say, and doe things, whereby all enterprizes shalbe discouered, and the Truth understood. For things that are done and past, are good instructions for those that shal succeed and come after, shewing vs the C meanes, aduise, and policies, whereby we may purchase grace, helpe, and comfort: Or contrariwise, procure harred, malice, or indignation, and so mooue to Justice and reason. All which are of great Consequence vnto a man; awfull for his priuate affaires, as for the publicke.

And therefore I am of aduise, that Historiographers and they which giue themselues to read Histories, should not so much respect the Actions, as their Consequence and that which goes before. For if you take from a History which mentions but the deeds, how, nor wherefore it hapned, and what the end was, that which shall remaine will haue no instructions, and will be but a kinde of Contentions: Although happily it may seeme at the first sight something pleasant, but for the future they shall reape no profit. It is true, some will lay that it is no easie thing to recover such a History, and that they cannot well finde it for the greatnessse and number of Bookes. Believe me, they doe not understand how much more easie it is to haue, and to read forty Bookes made with good order, whereas the deedes and actions of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Affricke*, from the voyage
of

Polybius hath made forty Bookes.

of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, vnto the taking of *Carthage* are comprised: And as for those of the other parts of the World, from the flight of *Cleomenes* vnto the Warre which the *Romans* had against the *Acheans*, neare vnto the *Isthmus*: Then to make prouision, or to reade so many Bookes of so many particular Histories: For as they excede ours in greatnessse and number, so it is a difficult thing to comprehend any thing certaine. First, that all write not of the same things, and omit those which haue beeene done at the same time: the which if they were confert together, would the better discouer the truth.

A Finally, they cannot attaine to that which is necessary to the History, which are the things which precede the actions, and concerne the causes. For our part, wee will consider the Warre of *Antiochus*, as hauing taken its occasion from that of *Philip*, and that of *Philip* from the *Punique Ware*, and the *Punique* from that of *Sicily*: Whereas all the accidents which haue happened in the meane time, and may bee referred to one beginning, are diligently obserued. All which things may be easily vnderstood by him that hath written a general History: the which is impossible by them which speake of particular Warres, as of the *Perisque* or *Philippique*: vniuersall perchance B some one holds opinion to be able to understand a whole Ware by the knowledge of one Battell: which is impossible. And therfore our History ought to be more esteemed, than that of particular Warres, for that it is more excellent to haue learned some thing perfectly, than to haue onely heard of it.

But to retorne from whence wee strayed, when the *Roman* Embassadours saw that the *Carthaginians* disguised matters, they speake no more.

But the most ancient among them: taking vp the skirt of his Roabe, and shewynge it to the Senate, behold saith hee, wherein I bring you Ware or Peace: take which you please. Wherunto the Chiefie of the *Carthaginians* answered, deliuer which you will. And when he had spoken, he deliuered them Warre, many of the Senate

cried out, that they accepted it. Upon this discourse the Embassadours and Senate retired.

Hannibal wintering at *Carthage*, had giuen leauie to his Souldiers to returne into their Countrey, if happily there

were any that desired to see their Kinsfolkes and Friends: To the end that haung endure so much toile, they might fortifie their bodies and mindes, to endure new labour. Moreover, he instructs his brother *Astrarab* by what meanes (if hee were forced to part out of the Province) he should defend and gouerne *Spaine* against all

D the attempts of the *Romans*. Then hee sends a great Garrison into

Affricke of men which drew out of *Spaine*: for hee had caused Souldiers to come out of *Affricke* into *Spaine*, making cunningly this diuision of his men: to the end that the *Africans* being there, and the *Spaniards* in *Affricke*, they should grow better by mutuall obligations.

They which past into *Affricke*, were *Thersties*, *Mastianes*, *Orites*, *Spaniards* and *Olcades*: hauing appointed the number of them to be twelve hundred Horse, and thirteene thousand eight hundred & fifty Foot: and besides

The Roman Embassadours signifie Ware vnto the Carthaginian.

The order which Hannibal gaue for the defensio[n] of Spaine

The equipage
of Warre as
well as Seas
La d. left in
Spain by Hon-
nibal, to Af-
dwall his Bro-
ther.

The number of
Hannibals Ar-
my in a Table
of Copper
seen by Poly-
bius.

The Oration
which Hannibal
made to his
Souldiers.

besides these eight hundred and fifty Slingers of *Maurique* and *Mi- norgue*, called *Balleares*, with their land, by reason of the vse of the Sling. He commandes they should lodge the greatest part in *Affricke*, and that the rest shold remaine at *Carthage* for its strength. He doth also leauy foure thousand Foote, the choice of the youth within the heart of *Spaine*: the which hee caufeth to march to *Carthage*, not so much to fortifie it, as to lerte for Hostages. Hee also left in *Spaine* to his Brother *Afribulus* fifty Quirqueremes, two Quadri- remes, fve Triremes, and among the Quinqueremes thirty two ar- med and furnished, with the fve Triremes. Hee also left him about A foure hundred and fifty *Liberphenes*, which is a mixt Nation of *Phenicians* and *Africans*: and thre hundred *Iergetois*: Eighteene hundred *Nugidians* and *Moores*, bordering upon the great Sea: Eleuen thousand eight hundred and fifty Foote, *Africans*: Three hundred *Geronii*: fve hundred men of *Maurique* and *Mi-norgue*: and one and twenty Elephants. No man ought to wonder at our diligence in this description, If I so obserue it in the affaires of *Hannibal* in *Spaine*, than cuen they which practisht it, could hardly obserue: Nor blame vs for that after the manner of lyars, we relate I know not what pert- ty triuall things, the more easly to give credit unto our writing. For B when I had seene at *Langumum* a Table of Copper, which *Hannibal* had left there, when as he ouer-ran *Italy*, wherein this number was contain- ed, I thought fit to give credit unto it; and therefore wee haue fol- lowed it heere.

When as *Hannibal* had prouided for *Affricke* and *Spaine*, hee re- spected the returne of such as hee had sent to moue the *Gaules*, by whose Country he was to passe his Army. You must understand that he had sent men to winne them by Prefents, and to view the passages of the Mountaine, for that he was aduertised that this Region was very fer- tile, and very well peopled with resolute men, and good Souldiers, and mortall Enemies to the *Romans*, for the Warre which they made against the *Gaules*, expecting that his Warre should be only in *Ita- ly*, if hee might passe his Army safely by the streights of the *Alpes* with their heipe. After the returne of his men, and that he was ad- uertised of the expeciance and desire of the *Gaules*, and that the pa- sages of the Hills were rough and painfull, not altogether inaccessible, he drew his Army together in the Spring. It is true, that the newes which at the same time hee received, of that which happened at *Carthage*, inflamed his choller the more against the *Romans*, ha- uing thereby a confident hope of the fidelity and affection of his Na- D tion. When as all the Army was drawne together, *Hannibal* made an Oration, not to any one part, but publickly to all the Souldiers, by diuers meanes perswading them to imbrace the Warre against the *Romans*: and how that hee and the other Capraines of *Carthage* had bene demanded of them for to be put to death, for the taking of *Sagone*. Hee acquaintes them likewise of the fertility of the Province whither they made their voyage, making great esteeme and respect of the Friendshippe and alliance of the *Gaules*. After which speech, seeing them

them all resolute, and that they demauded nothing but to parte, he comandeon their good will and proweesse. And after he had told them the day when they shold trusse vp their baggage, he dismisseth them. In the meane time, when he had made all necessary preparations for his Voyage, hee dislodg'd suddenly, when the day of parting was come, with fourecore and ten thousand Foote, and twelve thou-

The number of
Horse and Poo-
r which were in
Hannibals Ar-
my at his pas-
sing from
Spaine.

Then within few dayes, hee brought vnder his obedience the *Illeger- tins*, the *Bargusins*, the *Eruinsins*, and *Andolisins*: the like they A did to all other Townes vnto the *Pyrene* Mountaines, razing some. And as hee performed this sooner than any man could conceiu, so he did it not without many cruell battels, and great losse of men. He settled *Hanno* Gouernour of this Countrey, and made him likewise Lord of the *Bargusins*: for that hee did not greatly trust those people, for the Alliance they had with the *Romans*: and hee gaue him ten thousand Foote, and a thousand Horse for the guard of their Countrey, leauing with him all their baggage which march't with him. Hee sent backe the like number of *Spaniards* to their houses, partly for that hee vnder- stood they were grieved with the length of the Journey, and the diffi- cult passages of the Mountaines: and partly to give hope vnto others, to returne sometimes into their Country: and that they which hee left in their houses, should march more willingly into *Itali*, if hee needed succours. Hee march't then with the rest of his Army, which amounted vnto the number of fifty thousand Foote, and nine thousand Horse.

The number of
men which
Hannibal left
to *Hanno* for
the guard of
Spaine.

*Hannibals Ar-
my at 50,000
and 9000
nine thousand
Horse*

And passing the *Pyrene* Mountaines, he drew neare vnto the mouth of the Riuier of *Rhone*, not so well accompanied with great numbers as good men, who had beeene alwayes victorious. But to the end this may not seeme too obfcur by the ignorance of places, wee haue C thought it fit to shew in few words, from whence *Hannibal* parted, and whar great Countries hee passe, and into what parts of *Italy* he entred. It is true, wee haue not set downe the names of the places, as many His- toriographers doe, thinking that all will the better bee vnderstood, if they haue the knowledge thereof: For my part, I am of opinion, that the relation of the names of places, whereof we haue knowledge, are of great profit, for the more easie understanding, and more certaine memory of things. But where the places are vnowne, their names are like vnto that manner of voice, which besides the hearing, signifies nothing. By this meanes it happens, that seeing our vnder- D standing doth not comprehend any thing by the name, and the which knowne, cannot breed any great profit, that the relation is altogether fruitelesse. And therefore wee must finde meanes, by the which speaking of places that are vknowne, we may make the truth to be understood by the Readers with all our power.

The first and principall knowledge, common to all men, is the Diuisioun of this World wherein wee are contained, by the which wee know (euen Ideots) the East, West, South and North. The second is by the which attributing to every one of these parts the parties of the world,

The diuision
of the World in
three parts.

World, wee come in some sort to the knowledge of places which we haue never seene. But as the round Circle of the Earth consists of many parts, whereof some are inhabitable, and others in scituacion opposite to ours, inhabited by the *Anisopodes*: Wee must for the present speake only of the scituacion of the Countrey which wee inhabite. And for that it is diuided into three parts, and hath three names, whereof they call the one *Asia*, the other *Affricke*, and the third *Europe*. It is a diuision which the Riuers of *Tanais* and *Nile* make, ioyning to the streights of *Hercules* Pillars. *Asia* is seated betwixt *Nile* and *Tanais*, taking its extent towards the East and South. In regard of *Affricke*, it is seated betwixt the *Nile* and the Pillars of *Hercules*, taking its extent vnder the South, and towards the Hernal west vnto the Equinoxiall, and to the streights of *Gibellar*. Finally, these two parts seeme to hold more the Countrey vnder the South, from the East following our Sea then towards the West.

And as for *Europe*, it is limited drawing towards the North, and continuing from the East vnto the West: whose greatest extent lies towards the North, betwixt the Riuers of *Tanais* and *Narbonna*, which is not farre from the Countrey of *Marcellus* towards the West, and the mouthes of the Riuer of *Rhone*, which lose themselves in the *Sardinian Sea*. The *Gauls* hold all that Countrey, from *Narbonna* vnto the *Perine Mountains*, the which extend themselves from our Sea vnto the Ocean, and as for the rest of *Europe* from the *Perine Mountains* vnto the West, I meane vnto the Pillars of *Hercules*, it is enironed on the one side by our Sea, and on the other by the maine Ocean. The Countrey about which our Sea doth flowe, vnto the Pillars of *Hercules*, is called *Spanie*. And as for that which hath its aspect to the Ocean, it hath not yet any knowne name that hath come to our knowledge: although it bee fully inhabited by Barbarous people, of whom we will speake particularly when we come to their Rauke. For as the Region which is neare vnto *Ethiopia*, whereas *Asia* and *Affricke* roynes, is at this day vnknowne, whether it be firme land continued towards the South, or inclosed by the Sea: So likewise the Countrey is at this day vnknowne, which betwixt *Tanais* and *Narbonna* drawes towards the North: so as they dreame which speake or write any thing.

It was necessary to make this digression, to the end that the deeds which we are to relate, might not be altogether obscure to those which know not the places, and that they might come the knowledge of the truth as much as is possible, by the Regions of Heauen and Earth. For D we haue beene alwaies accustomed to turne our face continually to that which they teach vs by reasoun and example: The understanding must alwaies haue regard to those Countries which are interposed in the relation. Leaving then our discourse, let vs returne to the continuance of our speech. The *Carthaginians* at that time held all the *Affricaine* shore, whereas our Sea flowes, from the *Philomene* Altars, neare vnto the Bankes of *Barbary*, vnto the Pillars of *Hercules* (this containes about sixteen thousand Furlongs) and in passing that little Sea which is betwixt

What the *Carthaginians*
held in *Affricke*.

betwixt *Affricke* and *Europe* they had Conquered all *Spanie*, vnto the *Perine* mountaines, which diuide that Province from *Gaul*. From the which vnto streights of *Gibellar*, where stand the Pillars of *Hercules*, there is about eight thousand Furlongs: And from the streight vnto the new Towne, which some call *Carthage*, from whence Hannibal parted to go into *Italy*, three thousand furlongs: And from *Carthage* to *Ebro*, two thousand six hundred furlongs: From thence to the Empories, sixteeen hundred: And from thence to the mouth of the Riuer of *Rhone* sixteeen hundred furlongs. Behold the measure of A those places which the *Roman*s haue made with great diligence. From the passage of the *Rhone*, following the Bankes towards the Spring, vnto the passage of the *Alpes* into *Italy*, thirteeen hundred furlongs; and the passage of the Mountayne is held to be twelve hundred. After which they come into the Champion Countrey which is about *Poe*. And therefore Hannibal was to march nine thousand furlongs, from *Carthage* vnto the entry of *Italy*. And if we will obserue the way, he had already past the one halfe: But if we will consider the difficulty of the Country, he had the most troublesome taske to performe. *Hannibal* endeauoured by all meanes to passe the *Perine* Mountains, not without some feare of the *Gauls*; least knowing the passages, they should interrupt his voyage into *Italy*.

In the meantime newes came to *Rome* of that which had bee spoken and done at *Carthage*, by the Embassadours, and that *Hannibal* had past the Riuer of *Ebro* with his Army, much sooner then they expected, making hast to go into *Italy*; for the which the great men of *Rome* were nor a little amazed: Considering that bee would moue the Nation of the *Gauls* against them, being always desirous of Warre. Wherefore after the election of the *Consuls*, the diuided the Provinces: Whereof *Spanie* was for *Publius Cornelius*, and *Affricke* with *C* *Sicily* for *Titus Sempronius*: To whom they appointed six Legions for that year, and as many Allies as they shoulde think good; and as great an Army at Sea as they could make.

Whilst they louised men at *Rome*, and that the Army at Sea and Munitions were preparing, and all the necessary Equipage for the Sea, they laboured to people their *Colonies*, which they had lately in *Gaul* neare vnto the *Poe*. There were *Cirties* newly-built, and *Citizens* enioyned to be there within thirty dayes, to either *City* six thousand men: whereof the one which was on this side the *Poe*, was called *Plaisance*, and the other on the further side *Cremona*. The *Soldiery* discontented herewith, and remembred the ancient quarrels, abandoned the *Roman* party, being aduertised of the Descent of the *Cannabians*, leaving the *Holloges* which they had given in the former Warre, whereof we haue made mention in the last Booke: And taking Armes sudainly, they sollicited the *Aliianos* to do the like, making a tumultuous hurly-burly in the Countrey assigned to the *Cannabians*, so as all the people terrifiied fled to *Modena*, with the three Deputies which were come to diuide the Land: Whom the *Boloniens* pursued, and besieged the Towne. The siege continuing sometyme,

A diuision of
the Provinces
to the Consuls.

The building
of *Plaisance*
and *Cremona*.

The result of
the *Boloniens*.

Modena besieged
by the *Gauls*.

A Surprise
made by the
Boloniens vpon
the Romans.

The parting of
the Roman
Armies.

they made a shew to parley of Peace : And when as the Princes of the *Gauls* had caused some Embassidours to come vnto them, they staid them contrary to the Law of Nations, refusing to send them backe, if their Hostages were not deliuered.

When the newes of this accident was come vnto them, *Lucius Manilius* the Pretor, who was then present with an Army, inflamed with Rage, makes haft to succour the Besieged, whereof the *Boloniens* being aduertised, they layd an Ambush in the Forrest neare the way, and surpizing their enemies at their comming, they slew a great number of the *Romans* : The rest with great difficulty recovering the fields, laued themselves : Where although the Souldiers assur'd themselves for a time, yet finding that the *Boloniens* pursued them in the Rearre, they fled to recover the Towne of *Cannes*. When the newes came vnto *Rome*, the *Roman* fearing that their Army would be indangered by a long siege, they appointed *Atilius* the Pretor to succour the Besieged with the Troupes prepared for the new Levy of the Confult, enjoyng him moreouer to make a Levy of others: Behold the estate where in the affaires of the *Gauls* stood vntill the comming of *Hannibal*. In the meane time the Consuls hauing made ready all their necessary Equi-page, parted from *Rome* : whereof *Publius Cornelius* bese his course to *Spaine*, with threecore vessels of warre, and *Sempronius* into *Affrike* with a hundred and three score *Quigueretnes*, taking the Warre to heart, as he made so great a preparation at *Lylbeum*, that it seemed he shoulde presently besiege *Carthage*.

As for *Cornelius*, he tooke his way by the Country of *Tuscany* and the *Genesia*, and arrived on the fift day at *Marcelles*, and entred with his Army at the first mouth of *Rhone*, for it passeth into the Sea by many mouthes. And although he were aduertised that *Hannibal* past the *Pyrene* mountaines, yet he made his accompt that hee had a long way to go, awell for the difficultie of the Country, as for the multitude of the *Gauls*, those parts being very well peopled. But *Hannibal* made haft daily to passe the *Rhone* with his Army, neare unto the shore of the *Sardinian* Sea, with incredible diligence, after that he had pacified the *Gauls* partly with gifts, and partly by feare. The which the Confull hearing, and believeng but in part this suddaine arriuall; desirous likewise to know the truthe, he Lands, to refresh his Men wearied with a torment at Sea. Then he acquaints the Tribunes with the places, by the which they must go to encounter the Enemy, and sends three hundred choise Horse before, vnder the Conduct of *Provincials*, and some succours of the *Gauls*, to discouer the Enemies enterprize.

Hannibal being now neare the *Rhone* with his Army, and within fourre daies journey of the Sea, makes haft to passe it with all possible speed. And therefore he eals all the inhabitannts thereabouts, and wins them by Presents, from whom he buies Skiffs and small Boates which they ordinarily vse, and whereof there were at that time a great number, by reaon of the Faires for the Trade of the Sea: And he causeth others to be made in making hollow the bodies of Trees.

The

The which the Souldiers likewise did, being mooued with the abundance of stiffe and the facility of the Worke : So as in lesse then two daies, there were so many Boates and Skiffs, as they were sufficient to passe : Every man striuing not to be at the mercy of his Companion or Comrade, but to passe himselfe and his baggage into his owne Skiffe

In the meane time there were an infinite number of men drawne together vpon the further Banke of the *Rhone*, to hinder the *Carthaginians* passage. The which *Hannibal* perciuing, and knowing well A that he could not passe the Riuere by force, for that the Enemy held the other Banke, nor stay there long, but he shoulde be iniurioned by the people of the Country, at the setting of the third Watch of the night he sends *Hanno* sonne to King *Bomilcar* with a part of his Army, to whom he gaue some guides of the Country ; who mounted vp the Riuere two hundred furlongs, stayng aboue an Iland, about the which the *Rhone* did runne : Where by reaon of the Ford it seemed good, for that the Riuere diuided it selfe in two. They suddenly cut downe wood, and made floates sufficient to passe the men, and other things necessary. By this meanes they passe the *Rhone* without danger or impeachement. B Afterwards they recovered a place strong by nature, where they refreſht themſelues a day, for the toile which they had taken, awell for their march by night, as for the paines they had indured, being all at tentiue to affect their enterprize in time.

Hannibal likewise made haft to do the like, with the rest of the Army. But he was troubled to passe the Elephants, being thirty leauen in number. The night following, they which had passe the *Rhone*, marching along the Riuere side, at the breake of day appraoched neare vnto the *Barbarians*, who as we haue sayd were there assembled. *Hannibal* on the other side, having his men ready, commandes them all to be C reolute to passe, and that they shoulde put the Herte-men prepared for the Combat in Boates, to the end that being passe they might serue if necessary required : And that the most actiu and nimbleſt foot men shoulde enter into the Skiffs. And to the end they might passe with more ease and safety, and might the better breake the vhemency of the Waves, he placed Boates aboue the Riuere to breake the Violent and ſwift courſe. He alſo cauſed three or fourre Horſes to be tyed to the Poole to ſwim it ouer, and there were two men ſet of either ſide of the Poole. By this meaneſt the greateſt part of the Horſes had bin passe in the firſt Voyage.

D The which the *Barbarians* ſeeing, they came out of their Fort, and runne vnto the ſhore in a great throng and without order, as if they ſhould eaſily defeat the Enemies. But after that *Hannibal* had ſtayd a little, and ſeeing his men approach by the ſmoake that they caſt according to his appointment, he gaue a ſigne to his whole Army to passe, the which the *Carthaginians* ſeeing, they laboured with all their power to passe the Riuere with great cries, and to breake the Violence of the ſtreame, ſo as every one laboured to passe firſt. When as the *Carthaginians* held the two Bankes, and passe the riuere with great noife,

The Gauls
daure to flog
Hannibal past
the *Rhone*.

Hannibal cauſe
ſet his Army
to passe the
Rhone.

the

Hanno char-
geth the Gauls

Hannibal Vic-
to r over the
Gauls.

Remonstrances
of the Gaulish
King vnto the
Carthaginian
Camp.

Hannibal's speech
vnto his Soul-
diers.

the *Gauls* endeavouring with great fury to resist them, crying, and singing after their manner. The Charge was terrible for the time, and the Combat horrible to see. All the *Gauls* were run downe vnto the Riuier, and had left their Tents. *Hanno* arriues presently with his Troupe, whereof one part falle vpon their Campe, and the other Charges them in the rear. The *Gauls* being amazed at this suddaine accident, recover a part of their Campe, to keepe it from the Enemies; the others were no lesse attentive in the Combate. When *Hannibal* saw his enterprize succeed so happily, he incouereth his Souldiers, putting them in minde of their auncient proweſſe, and persuadeth them to repule the Enemies couragiously. Whereupon they fall vpon them with great fury. Finally, the *Gauls* retired into their Villages with a shamefull flight, for that they had begun the battell without order, and had bin terrifiéd by the surprize which *Hanno* made with his Legion.

When as *Hannibal* had at one instant, vanquished the Riuier and his Enemies, he caufeth the rest of his Army to passe at leasure. And being all past in a hort time, he planted his Campe without feare of the *Gauls*, and spent the night in peace vpon the Riuier side. Three days after he was aduertised of the entry of the *Roman* Consull, *B* with his Army at Sea into the mouthes of *Rhone*. Wherefore he sent fiftie hundred *Namidians*, to discouer the Enemies, to view their numbers, and to learne what they resolued. In the meane time he giues order vnto the maisters of the Elephants to be carefull to passe the *Rhone*. And hauing drawne his men together, he caufeth the Kings to be called, who were come vnto him from *Gaule* which lyes beyond the *poc.* Who speaking vnto the whole Campe by an Interpreter, aduised them to passe the Mountaines, promising that both themselves, and the rest of the inhabitants of *Gaule* should give them both aide and assistance: That the waies were safe, and well furnished *C* with all things necessary: And that moreover the mountaines were not very difficult to passe, and they should finde the places where they were to goe, abounding in all things. Besides, they should finde such Allies, whose Courage in times past was not a little feared by the *Romans*. After these or the like words, the Kings presently re- tired.

Then *Hannibal* entring into the Assembly, he shewes them first their Actions past, wherein following his Councell and opinion, they had bin alwaies Victorious: And that Fortune had never bin auerle vnto them. Moreover he intreates them to be of good courage, being assured that they had ended the greatest of their Labours, hauing past so dangerous a Riuier, considering the good affection of their Allies, who were ready and prepared. Finally, that they should lay the burthen of affaires vpon him, shewing only their Obedience, where it should be needfull, with a remembrance of his Vertue and Prowesse, which he had performed with so great resolution. His speech being ended, seeing the ioyfull Countenance of his men, carrying the shew of resolution, he commended them all. Then hauing made his prayers

vnto

vnto the gods according to their manner, he retir'd, and sent them away to feed, giving them charge to be ready to part the next day.

The Company was scarce dismisse when as the *Numidians*, who as we haue sayd, had beeene sent to discouer, returned, defeated and brooke by the Enemy: for as they encountered neere vnto their Campe, the *Roman* Cauallery, whom *Scipio* had sent for the same cause, they charged one another with such fury, as there were slaine seauen score Horſe as well *Romans* as *Gauls*, and aboue two hundred *Numidi-*

ans. The *Romans* purſuing the *Carthaginians* vnto their Campe, ^A where hauing diligently obſcured all, they returned to the Confull, and reported certayne newes of the Enemy, and of the Combat they had with the *Numidians*. Which things being heard, *Publius Cornelius* ſeeing that his ſtay there, would bee of no great moment, im- barks his Baggage: and parting with all his Troupes along the Bankses of *Rhone*, and makes haſte as if hee would giue battell to the Enemy.

B Three dayes after that *Hannibal* had made his Oration to the Soul- diers, at the breake of day hee ſets all his Horſemen vpon the Sea- shore, as it were for a guard: and caufeth the Foote-men to march a slow pace, being parted from their Campe: viſing the greateſt diligēce he could poſſible to paſſe the Elephants: For the effecting whereof hee tooke this aduice. Hee made prouifion of many floats, and tied two together from the Land vnto the Riuier, being fifty foote broade: to the which they added two others on the ſide of the Bankses: The which they tied fast vnto Treſes which were vpon the Bankses, to the end they might ſwimme ſafely: their length being *C* of two hundred foote.

Finally, they tied vnto theſe laſt two other long floats gethely, to the end they might bee eaſily vntied: to the which were fastned cer- taine Cords, wherewith they might drawe the Boats to the other Banke, after they ſhould bee vntied from the other floats. Finally, they couered them all with Earth, to the end that the Elephants might march vpon them without feare as vpon the Land. This E- quipage being prepared, they brought the Elephants, who had beeene accouſtomed to obey the *Indians* in all places, but vpon the water, by the meanes of two Females which marcht before vpon the floats as vpon the firme land, which after they had paſt vnto the laſt, which pre- ſently were vntied, and were drawne by the Boats without any feare whileſt they were all together: But when as the laſt floate was ſepa- rated from the reſt, and that they ſaw themſelues carried vpon the water, they made ſome ſhew of affrightment, for the feare which they had of all parts, for that the laſt flied from the water: yet this feare made them quiet, for that they ſaw nothing but water about them. When the firſt were paſt, they went to fetch the reſt, and paſt them. Some of them tormenting themſelues with feare, fell into the Riuier, and were retireſt ſafe, although their Maſters were ſlaine: For in marching ſlowly, and finding alwaies footing, they recovered the other ſide of the Banke: for that their weight kept them firme, and by rea- ſon

^{The meanes to}
<sup>paſſe the Ele-
phant.</sup>

^{The feare of}
^{the Elephant}
^{vpon the Rhone.}

son of their greatness they had their Tropcks alwaies aboue the River, wherewith they might cast out the water if they had drunke any: and so recover their breath.

The Spring of
Rhone.

The Elephants being past, *Hannibal* marcheth with them, and all his Cauallery along the *Rhone* towards the firme land, drawing all his prouisions in the meane time from the Sea. The *Rhone* comes from three heads of Fountaines aboue the Sea of *Venice*, taking their course towards the West, and bending at the foote of the Mountaine something towards the North. Then it enters into the Lake of *Geneva*, where it is not so violent: and passing through the middest of A it, it tends to the Hyuernall West, diuiding the *Gardes* in some sort: and then taking its course towards the South, it enters into the *Sardinian Sea*. The *Valesian Gauls* inhabite that part which tends towards the North: and on the South side is enironed with the Mountaines which bend towards the North. And as for the Plaines which are about *Poe*, whereof wee haue formerly spoken, the *Alpes* separate them from the *Rhone*, which beginning at *Marseilles*, extend vpro the Gulfe of *Venice*. The which *Hannibal* then past about that Countrey which lies neare vnto the *Rhone*, and came into Italy.

Hannibal pas-
seth the *Alpes*
along the *Rhone*

B Some Historiographers seeking in this passage to terrifie the judgement of Readers, doe not obserue that they fall into two strange errors, contrary to the reason of the History: For they are forced to write lies, and actions quite contrary, shewing *Hannibal* (whom they will haue intititable, as well for his knowledge in Mariali affaires, as for his great courage) to be wholly voide of sense and reason. And in the end when they cannot free themselves from their lies, they haue recourse vnto the gods, for their History made at pleasure. For in making the passage of the *Alpes* so great and difficult, so as not onely the Horse-men, Baggage, nor Elephants could not passe, neither yet the Foot men lightly armed, and that moreover, there is so great a Desart, that if God, or some Angell had not guided the Army, without doubt it had perisched in the Caues and hollow places: they fall directly into two grous. First, where shoud you finde a Commanduer more senselesse then *Hannibal*, who hauing the charge of so many troupes, and of so great an Army, wherein consisted all his hope to preuaile in his enterprize, knew neither the passages, nor the places, as they say, nor whiche way hee shoud passe, nor against whom? For their meaning is, that with so great a hope, and with such a triumphant Army, he shoud doe that which others after many Combats doe not attempt, but through extreme despair. But what can be spoken more vnyreafonable? And whereas they say the places are desart and rough, they shew themselves apparent liars. They doe not

Polybius his re-
monstrance a-
gainst Historio-
graphers.

C The *Gauls* in-
habiting along
the *Rhone* haue
often past into
Italy.

say how the *Gauls* inhabiting the banks of *Rhone*, before that time haue past into *Italy*, nor once nor twice: Nor how in times past, they haue past the Mountaines with a great Army against the *Roman*s, to succour and helpe the *Cisalpin Gauls*: nor how that those Mountaines are very well peopled: But as men ignorant hereof, they say, that

that I know not what *God* appeared to *Hannibal*, and shewed him the way. By this meanes they seeme rather *Tragedians* than *Historiographers*. For euē as they which write *Tragedies*, doe many time their Plays with the gods, or some other invention, for that they haue taken a false and stunge beginning: Euē for these kinde of *Historiographers* are in the like paine: For that taking false beginnings, they are forced to fly to some gods, or *Heroes*.

But how can it bee that from a false beginning the end shoud bee true? Without doubt *Hannibal* hath not carried himselfe as they imagine, but contrariwise like a wile and politique Capraine; for hee duely considered the fertility of the Country whither he went, and the hatred of the Inhabitants against the *Roman*s. And he had to passe the Mountaines (which is a hard and difficult thing) the people of the Country for his guides, whom he had already wonne against the *Roman*s. This we haue learned from those which were at that time imployed in affaires, and wee our selues haue bee purposely to see the *Alpes*, and therefore we haue written it the more boldly.

Three dayes after the *Roman*s departed from the Banks of *Rhone*, *Bibulus Scipio* the *Roman* Comull being come to the Enemies Campe with a resolution to fight, hee stood for a time amazed, seeing the place vidoie: For he made his accoupt that the Enemy shoud never take that Countrey to passe into *Italy*, as well for the difficulty of the way, as for the multitude of *Carthaginians* which held it. But after he had well weighed the great courage of the *Carthaginians*, hee prelyently recouers his saiy, and drawes his Army together: Then he sends his Brother into *Spane* with parte of his men, to the end it shoud not be vurnished of Forces, and himselfe takes his course towards *Italy*, to encounter *Hannibal* at the descente of the Mountaines with more eas and safetey.

C Four dayes after *Hannibal* arrived at *Lige*, a rich and fertile Countrey: The which was so called, for that the Riuers of *Saone* and *Rhone* falling from the Mountaines, embracing a little quantity of Land, runne together and make a land like in figure and forme to another that is in *Egypt*, called *Delta*. It is true, that that in *Egypt* hath on the one side the Sea, with the whiche two Riuers ioyne: But this hath rough and stony Mountaines, which in a manner is inaccessible. Where *Hannibal* being arrived, hee found two Brothers in quarrell for the Kingdome, and their Armies fronting one another. But being called by the eldest, and intreated to D restore him to his Fathers inheritance, he obeyed him, thinking it would assist him much in his Enterprize. And when hee had chafed away the younger, and put him in possession of his Realme, hee had not onely store of victuals, and abundance of all things for a recompence: But moreover they were furnished with all sorts of Armes and other furniture, whereof the roughnesse of the cold Mountaines forced him to make prouision. His Army, and him selfe were likewise conducted safely by the King and his forces, through the *Savayards* Countrey into the Mountaines, which was a great benefit to him,

Lige made by
the riuers of
Saone and
Rhone.

Delta in *Egypt*

When he in ten daies after his departure from the *Alps*, had marcht about an hundred miles, he began to ascend the Mountains, where he was in great danger. It is true, that whilest the *Carthaginians* past the *Plaine*, the *Lords of Savoy* suffered them to go, on quiet, partly fearing their Horse-men, and partly the *Gauls* forces, which did accompany them.

But when as they were retid to their houses, and that the *Carthaginians* began to ascend the rough and steepe Mountains; then they drew together in great multitudes, and lay'd vpon the passages, by the which *Hannibal* must of necessitie goe: And if they had layed snare, ring ambushes in the *Valleys*, and had hang'd them suddenly, without doubt they had made a great slaughter of the *Carthaginians*. But being discovered by *Hannibal*, they did not so much annoy the Enemy as themselves: For when he found that they held all the passages, he caueth his Army to stay, and lodging among the Rocks and hollow places, betwixt somme of the *Gauls* that were with him, to visite the places, and to discover the Enemys intention, and and preparations. Being aduertised by them, that the Enemy stayed there only in the day, and that by night every man retid to his house, to a Towne which was neare by, he vist his intention. At the break of day hec B recouers the Hills with his whole Army, as if he had no intent to force through the Enemy. But when he was neare unto them, he left his Campe, and fortid himself.

And when hec C found the Villaines of the Mountains had retid themf. luce from their Hills, he makes many fires in his Campe, leauing the greatest part of his Army there, and stales through the streights with the best and abilitien men of his Army, laying vpon those Hills which the Enemy formerly held. This done when the Villaines of the Mountains saw, it at the break of day, they made a stand for a time. But finding that the baggage and the multitude of Horse-men disordered the Army in the streights: thinking likewise that the least amanement were sufficient to defeat them, they charge them in divers places by the inaccessable Rocks. Then the *Carthaginians* were not so much annoyed by the Enemy, as by the difficulty of the place: for that the Horses and baggage made a great spoile of men and goods: For as the streights were of either side steepe and like a *Gulfe*, many Horses fell with their burthen a wonderful hight. The Horses being strucke or hurt, were wonderfully troubled, the way being narrow, falling partly for feare, and partly for the griefe of their hurts. The which *Hannibal* seeing, and that there was no hope in flight, after the D losse of his baggage, he descendes with great fury from the place where he had remained all night. And although he gaue a great defiance to the Enemy, yet he few many of his owne: For the motion increasing on either side, many fell.

Finally, after that the *Savoyards* had beeene slaine, some in fighting, and some in the route: *Hannibal* past the rest of his Horse and baggage with great paine and trouble. And haung drawne together the rest of his Army, hee marcht to the City from whence the *Savoyards* had fallen,

*The Savoyards
binder Hanni-
bal and his Ar-
my.*

*Hannibals pol-
icy:*

*They of the
Mountaines
charge the car-
thaginians.*

*Hannibals
victory against
the Savoyards.*

fallid, the which he tooke without resistance, finding no man in it. It was a great reliecte vnto him for all things necessary, not onely for the present but for the future: for he carried away a great number of Horses and Prisouers, and vnuallid his Army for three daies with Corne and Catell; Amazing the other Inhabitans of the mountaines, who durst not make the like attempt: Which was a thing more to be esteemed.

He staid there one day, and parting with his Army, he marcht but little the two daies following, and on the fourth he was againe in well peopled with Inhabitants, who altogether had Conspired to deceiue the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore they go to meet *Hannibal*, carrying Garlands of Flowers: which is a signe of friendshipe and peace among the *Barbarians*, like vnto the *Caduceus* among the *Grecians*. *Hannibal* did not thinke it fit to give creditt easily vnto them, and inquires what their will and intent was: Who answered, that they did like well of the taking of the Towne and the deafeate of the *Gauls*, who were Enemies vnto them: And as for themselves they would obey his will, and would not do, nor suffer any outrage; promising to give him Hostages for the assurance of their promises. And altho that *Hannibal* was long in suspence what to do, yet he considered that he might hapily pacifie the *Barbarians*, if he accepted these Conditions, and if he refused them, they would declare themselves his Enemies. Wherefore in giving them a gracious answere, he makes shew to receiue their Alliance.

And when they had not only given him Hostages, but furnished him with abundance of Victuals, and put themselves into his hands: *Hannibal* had so great Confidence in them, as he made no doubt but to make vse of them for Guides in difficult places. When they had C marcht two daies, and were come vnto a straignt Valley, haing the Mountaine on one side, the *Carthaginians* were in danger to be wholy defeated: For that the *Barbarians* fallid from all sides out of their Ambushes. If *Hannibal* (who had not yet so great confidence in the *Gauls*, and who fore-saw future things,) had not put the Elephants and Horse-men in the forward, and had followed in the Reare with the force of his foot-men, hauing an Eie ouer all. By this supply the losse proou'd the lesse, yet it was great both of Men, Horses, and Baggage: for the danger was so great, as *Hannibal* was inforced to continue a whole night there with halfe his Army, without his Cauallery or Baggage: For that the Enemy held the top of the Mountaine, which was very neare vnto them, rolling downe pieces of the Rocke into the Army, and sometimes casting stones.

The day following, when the *Gauls* began to grow cold, he recouered the Mountaine, ioyning with his Horse and Baggage: Then the *Gauls* presented themselves no more to Battell, charging like Theeues, sometimes in the forward, sometimes in the Reare, as time and place gaue them opportunity. The Elephants were very yefull to the *Carthaginians*; for wherelover they marcht, the place was afliu.

*Conspiracy of
them f. the
Mountaines,
with colour of
friendship.*

*The Treason of
the Barbarians
against Hanni-
bal.*

assured from Enemies, for that they durst not approach neare them, having not bin accustomed vnto them: On the ninth day they came vnto the top of the *Apes*, and there they planted their Campe two daies, partly to refresh the Souldiers which were weary with tolle, and partly to retire those that were affraid. During which tyme, many Horses freed from their burthenes, and following the Rout of the Army recovered the Campe. Those places were then full of Snow; for it was in November: Whereby the Souldiers grew in a manner into despaire, being tired and vexed with so many Crosses. The which Hannibal perceiving, he drawes them together, resoluing to make a Speech vnto them.

Hannibal makes a Speech vnto his souldiers.
For the effecting whereof he had but one occasion, which was to shew them Italy so neere, and the fertillity thereof. In truth it is so neere the foot of the Mountains, as if it be well obserued, the Hills seeme to serue as Rampiers to Italy. And therefore he shewed it them from a high Hill, from whence they might see the whole Extent: The like he did of the plaines about Po, lying at the foot of the Mountains, relating vnto them the friendship of the *Gaules* inhabiting those Countries, and the Territory of *Rome*: wherewith he reuiued their spirits. Three dayes after he began to dislodge, the Enemy making no attempt against them, but after a Theeuing manner: Yet he had no lesse losse at the descent of the Mountains by reason of the bad Country, and the coldnesse of the Snow, then he had at the ascent by the attempt of his Enemies: For they which did stumble in any sort, fell presently into a Gulfe, considering that the place was narrow and rough by nature: And all the Country newly couered with Snow, so as there was no shew of any path, neither could they hold their footing. It is true the men accustomed vnto so many miseries, did easilly endure this Trouble.

In the meane time they came to another Rocke, where as neither the Elephants nor Horse could passe: for a late fall of the ground, had streightened the Way two hundred paces, which had formerly bin as large. Here againe the Army began to be troubled and tormented. Hannibal in the beginning laboured to lead his Army by vneough and vnownknown places, whereas never soule had bin: But for that the Snow hindred them that they could not passe, he defistid from his Enterprize. There had Snow fallen newly this yere vpon the old, which was yet whole and entire, vpon the which they had firme footing, for that which was newly fallen was soft and not very thick. But after that it had bin trodden and beaten by so many men and horses, D no man could keep his footing: As it happeneth to those which go vpon places which are slippery with durt, where their footing failes them: For that they marche vpon the Ice, and vpon the Snow that was moultien.

Morouer the men (which was more miserable) falling back-wards (for that they could not keep their footing in those slippery places) tumblid downe into the Caves and hollow places, where they laboured to rise vpon their Hands and Knees. The Horses of burthen fell sometimes,

times, brake the Ice and could not stirre: for that they were laden and could not retire their feete out of the Ice. Then Hannibal frustrate of his former hope, for that the men and Horses laboured in vain, planted his Campe vpon the top of the Mountaine, hauing cleansed the place of great difficulty. Then he Commanded them all to leuite the way vnto the Rocke where they were to passe: The which was done with much tolle. When as the way was made in one day for the Horses and Sumpsters, he caused them presently to passe, leading his Campe in those places that were without Snow, and there to feed. A In the meane time he giues charge to the *Numidians*, to make a way for the Elephants: The which was effected with great difficulty, they being in a manner dead for hunger; for the tops of the Mountains are without Grasse or Trees, for that they are continually couered with Snow. It is true, that the Vallies of either side of the Mountains, hauing goodly Pastures and Trees, and places which are very well in-

B When as Hannibal had drawne all his Troupes together, he began to pursue his course: and hauing passe the Rocke abobe mentioned, in his course,

B Hannibal goes
the number of
men which
Hannibal had
remayning af-
ter he had past
the Alpes.
His Army, atwyl by the Enemy and Ribers in his way, as by the roughnesse of the Mountaine in passing them, and not only men, but also Horses and Carriages. Finally, hauing recoverid Italy in this manner, ffe moonths after his departure from *Carsilage*, and passe the mountaines in fifteen daies, he enters boldily into the Countries about Po and *Atilian*, hauing yet remaining about ten thousand, two hun- dred foot *Africans*, eight thousand *Spaniards*, and sixe thousand Horse at the most. This he refistis in a pitie where the whole number of his Army is set downe at *Launymin*. At the same time *Publius Cornelius Scipio* the Coniull, hauing sent his brother into *Spaine* to C make head against *Afrabal*, he faild to *Pysa* with few men, taking his way through *Tuscany* where he receiveth the Army of the Pretors *Manlius* and *Attilius*, which they had against the *Bellonius*, and marcht directly to the Riuer of *Po*, to fight with the Enemy before he had

D Seeing we haue turn'd our Discourse to the Warre of Italy, and to the Commanders of these two people, we haue thought it good to deliver in few words some things which are not vnfiting for a Historiographer, before we come to those which haue bin acted in that Province. It may be some one will demand of me how it happens, that seeing we haue handled the Affaires of *Lybia* and *Spaine* at large, yet we haue not spoken of *Hercules Pillars*, nor of the Arme of the Sea which diuides *Affricke* from *Euroope*, nor in like manner of the great Sea or Ocean, nor of those things which depend thereon, nor of the Islands of *England* & *Scotland*, nor likewise of the abundance of Tinne, Gold, and Silver wherewith *Spaine* abounds. It is certaine, that the auncient Historiographers haue spoken many things and divers, being of contrary opinions. It is true we haue not omitted them, as thinking that they were not fitting for a History, but we haue done it

*Polybius his
Excuse.*
to

to the end that our Relation might not be diuided, nor divert the Readers often from the order of the History : Being of opinion that these things should be deliueryed with all possible truth, in time and place, and not out of season. And therefore no man ought to mariale, if in the following Bookes we passe on, when we shall come to these passages, for we do it of purpose and for the reasons aboue mentioned. If there be any one that desires to heare them at every passage, he may well be compared to a Glutton, that is invited to a Feast: for as tasting of all the meates, as soone as heis set at the Table, he shall receiue little pleasure or profit for the future, confidering that he hath no per. A feit taste, and that all being put together into the Stomacke, it hinders digestion. They in like manner which do the like in reading of Histories, haue not pleasure for the present, nor profit for the future. It is apparent, that a History among other things hath need to be corrected in this, awfull for other reasons, as for that the auncient Historiographers, who haue laboured to describe Countries, and the Nature of Regiones to the remotes parts of the World, haue in many places straited from the truthe.

Finally, we must speake against them, not by hazard and rashly, but with reason, nor reprehend their ignorance, but rather to command them and correct them: Who no doubt would haue repaired their error, if they had liued in these times. For there are few men found among the Grecians, which in former times could haue gone to search out the extremities of the World, for the danger and tediousnes of the way: For that there are many, and in a manner innumerable dangers at Sea; and if any through necessity, or of his owne free will, had gone to the extremities of the World, he could not easily haue found out the scituacion of places, nor those things which are worthy to be sought after: For that the greatest part was inhabited by Barbarous nations, and some Desart and inhabitable: Besidies that, for the diversitie of C Tongues, the enterprize was much more difficult, for there was no meanes to inquire, nor to learne, for want of understanding one another. It was no lesse difficult to relate truly those things which they had seene, for that every man was giuen to augment, and to make things seeme more admirable.

Seeing then it was not only difficult, but in a manner impossible, to haue a true History of these things before this time, we must not blame the auncient Historiographers, if they haue forgotten or committed some Errours, but rather we ought to wonder and commend them that they haue bin able to make any search. It wilbe therefore necessary to D make a true and diligent search of those things, which our Predecessors knew not: for that in our times all the passages are open, awfull by Sea as Land, by the means of Alexander of Macedon his Forces into Asia, and of the Roman Empire ouer the rest of the World: And likewise when as people were no more troubled with Warre, nor with any desire or ambition of publicke Affaires: So as they had great opportunity to search out the truth of these things. For the effecting whereof we will striue by all meanes, as soone as we shall find an opportunity.

tunity. There is nothing that was more pleasing unto me, then to know that they which desire to understand these things, come unto the truthe by our meanes; and that wee haue not taken so much paines, nor vndergone so great dangers, to visite Affricke, Spaine and the Gaules, by the meanes of the Ocean, but in repairing the errours of the ancient Historiographers, & make shole Countries knowne to our men. Let vs now returne to our Discourse of the Warres which A are in Italy, betwixt the Romans and the Carthaginians.

Wee haue formerly related the number of men which Hannibal had remaining after hee had past into Italy, who planted his Camp at the foote of the Mountaines to refresh his Army: for it was toiled and wearied, not onely with the passage of the Mountaines which was very difficult, but also for want of victuals: Besides, it was continually afflicted with diseases, misery and pouerty: The greatest part were dead of famine, and their insupportable toyle: for it was impossible to carry things necessary for so great an Army, in a Country that was rough and difficult: And if they carried any thing, the greatest part was lost with the Horses.

B By this meanes it fell out, that although a little before hee had parted from the Riuier of Rhone with thirty eight thousande Foote, and eight thousande Horse, hee had scarce then halfe his Army entire: and yet by the reasoun of their continual labour and toile, they were in a maner become wilde. The which Hannibal perceiving, hee not onely laboured to cheere vp the bodies and hearts of the Souldiers, but likewise to refresh their Horses. After which hee marched with his Army, and laboured by all meanes to procure the Friendship of the Turinotis, which wasthe nearest Nation, and were at that time in Warre with the Allasses, and seemed to have no great trust and confidence in the Carthaginians. Who seeming not much to regard him, hee assaultes one of their strongest Townes, the which hee takes vpon the third day: where putting all vnto the Sword that would not follow his party, hee so terrified and amazed the Barbarians which inhabited there-abours, as presently they yeelded themselves into the hands of the Carthaginians.

C It is true that the other Gaules inhabiting along the Riuier of Po, would willingly haue ioyned to Hannibal as they had resolued, if attending an opportunitie to doe it, the suddaine comming of the Contull had not prevented them. So as they stirred not, and some of them ioyned to the Roman Army. The which Hannibal perceiving, he resolued to make no longer stay, and that he must attempt some good enterprize, to make the rest more bold to follow his partie. Being carefull hereof, he had newes that Publius Scipio had past the Po, and that he was not farre off: the which at the first hee scented not to regard, as a thing not likely: For he remembred that hee had lately left him at the mouth of Rhone, and vnderstood that the passage from Marcellis vnto Tuscany was long and inaccesible, and the way from the Tuscan Sea which leads to the Alpes through Italy, was rough,

Miseries com-
mon among
Souldiers.

A decesses of
Hannibal At-
my.

where an Army could not passe. But vpon divers aduertisements of the certaines newes, hee was amazed, wondering much at the Consuls industry and diligence. The Confull in like manner wondred no lesse. For where as he thought that *Hannibal* would never presume to passe the Mountaines with an Army consisting of strange Nations : And that if hee attempted it, hee would dye by the way, hee wondred much at his great courage and boldnesse, when as hee found that hee had not onely past safely, but had also forced some Townes of *Italy*. A

At the same time the *Roman*s were full of affaires. It is true, that the last newes they had received, was of the taking of *Saguntum*: wherefore they called an assembly, and made choice of two Consuls, whereof one was sent into *Affricke* to make Warre against *Carthage*, and the other into *Spaine* against *Hannibal*. But when they had sudaine newes of the comming of *Hannibals* Army, and that he held some Townes of *Italy* besieged: they were so amazed, as they preuently countermanded *Sempronius* from *Lybia*, aduertising him of the descent of the Enemy into *Italy*, and that leauing the affaires of the Province, he shold make haft to succour his Countrey. After which newes, *Sempronius* preuently sends backe the Army by Sea, giuing them charge to faire directly to *Italy*, and he gaue the conduct of the Army by Land to the Tribunes, appointing them a day when they shold come to *Rimini*. It is a Towne seated vpon the Adriaticke shore, at the end of the Plaines which are about *Poe* towards the South. By this meanes matters being altered, and that all seemed to fall out contrary to the hope and opinion of the World, every man vied diligence to prouide for the future. The two Armies were now opposite one to another, whereof the Commanders for the time they had, laboured to give courage vnto their men. C

The policy of
Hannibal to
his Souldiers.

Hannibal strikynge to encourage them vied this meanes, putting into the middest of the Army assembled together the Prisoners of the Mountaines, who were in Chaines: The which by their continual toile, and partly by his commandment were growne leane and feeble: for (the better to attaine vnto his intention) hee had caused them to haue great fetters, and had in a manner starued them, and finally, had commaunded that they shold bee cruelly beaten naked.

Hauing drawne them into the middest of his Army, he caused armes D to be laid before them after the manner of the *Gauls*, and such as Captaines vse to arme themselfes with when they fight single Combats: he also gaue them Horses, and Caſſocks made with great Art. Then he demanded of the Prisoners, which of them would fight man to man, propounding to the Victor the aforeſaid gifts, and to the vanquished that by death he shold be freed from his preuent miseries. And as they all cried out that they were ready to fight, *Hannibal* causeth Lots to be cast, and makes two men to enter the lift arm'd, vpon whom the Lot had fallen. The which the prisoners hearing, they lifted vp their

their hands to Heaven, praying vnto the gods, that they would bee pleased to choose them for the Combate. As soone as the Lot was cast, they vpon whom it fell, were wonderfulliy joyfull, and the rest remained sad and penſive. But when as the Combate was ended, the other Prisoners did no leſſe commend the fortune of him that was defeated, then of the Conqueror: Conceyning that hee was freed from the great and many miseries, wherewith they were tormented living. The like thought the *Carthaginians*: for in making comparison of the misery of the suriuours, and of those who fighting died valiantly, they found the fortune of these men good, and that of the others moued them to pity.

When as *Hannibal* saw his Army moued to pity at this ſpectacle, he preuently came into the middest of the assembly, ſaying, that hee preſented it vnto them, to the end they ſhould make vfe of the example of another mans fortune, to coadiufer of their owne: for that they were to vndergoe the ſame Combate, and that Fortune propouned vnto them the like time, and the like rewards: for they muſt of neceſſity liue or dye, or fall into their Enemies hands aliuie. If they vanquished, their ſpoile ſhould be more then a Horſe or a Caſſocke, being the happiſt men in the World, after they had conquered the good fortune of the *Roman*s. And if in fighting they died like braue men, they ſhould end their liues with good hope, free from all miseries and calamities: But withall they muſt expect all miseries and pouerie, if being vanquished, they ſhould ſlie, with a deſire of a longer life, or with a reſolution to fecke ſome other meaneſ to liue: and that there is no man ſo violeſ fence, which thinkes (if hee flies) that his ſafe returne into his Countrey is poſſible, if hee will rememb̄ the length of the way, with the multitude of Combats which C muſt be maintained during the Voyage: If hee likewife conſideris the narrow ſtreights, and ſo many troublome Riuers which were to paſſe.

Wherefore it was needfull for them, that in laying aside all hope of fight, they ſhould vfe the like pity to themſelues in their affaires, as they haue ſhewed lately in the example of other mens fortunes: For as in the others they commanded the fortune of the Victor and the vanquished, and held those which remained miſerable: ſo they muſt judge the like of themſelues. And therefore they muſt goe reſolute ly to the Combate, to get an vniſpeakable Victory; or else to dye like braue men in batell, if aueſe fortune deny it them: and that they muſt not expeſt that being vanquished, they ſhould finde any meaneſ of ſafety.

Finally, if they march to the field with this reſolution, there is no doubt but the Victory and their ſafety is in their owne hands: for there was neuer any man that haue fought with this intention, or with a reſolute courage, or forced by neceſſity, but hee hath preuented ouer his Enemies. And that this is very eaſie to doe, when as all these things concurre together contrary vnto the Enemy, as it happens this Day vnto the *Roman*s: For as their flight hath a manifest and an apparent ſafety in their houses which were neare them,

so the courage of desperate men will be found insupportable. And when as after this Oration (together with the example) the Soldiers hearts were much inflamed to Warre, and that their Generals comparison was pleasing vnto them, Hannibal commanding them, sent them away, and commannded them to bee ready at the breake of day.

But after that the Consull *Publius Scipio* hauing past the *Poe*, had caused his Army to march to the Riuers of *Tesim*, he commanded a Bridge to be made by such as were skilfull, and made a Speech vnto the assembly according to the opportunity of the time. In the beginning he spake many things concerning the Maiestie of the people of *Rome*, and the prowele of their Ancestors: But concerning the present affaires, this was the substance. They must of necessity (sayd he) hold the victory certaine, although they had not yet tried their valour with the Enemy: But onely for that they were to fight with the *Carthaginians*. Neither must they expect that they would dare to come to Battell against the *Romans*, hauing in the last Wares so often beaten them both by Sea and Land, to whom they had also so long payed tribute: and whose power they had so often tried. And to the end I forbear to speake of the times past, why should men of judgement doubt of the future, seeing we haue some experience, that they dare not looke vs in the face?

It is certaine that when lately the *Roman* Horse-men encountered the *Carthaginians* in *Gaule*, on this side the Riuer of *Rhone*, they not onely returned safe, but they beaten them backe into their Campe: and that presently, when as Hannibal and the *Carthaginians* Army found the *Romans* to be so neere, they steale away in manner of a flight, and passe the Mountaines otherwise then they had resolute, in feare and amazement. Now behold Hannibal, who in passing the *Alpes*, hath lost two parts of his Forces. And the rest is so tired and broken with toile, hunger, cold, and pouerty, as they can hardly support themselves: and the remainder of his Horses (if any be escaped) are so worne with labour, and the tedious wayes, as they could not make vse of them. Finally, it sufficed the *Romans* onely to present themselves, and that moreover, his presence shold with reason make them more resolute, seeing that he had not left the Army at Sea, nor the affaires of *Spaine*, nor had not transported himself thither with such speed, going so great a circuite both by Sea and Land, if he had not knowne it necessary for the Countrey, and the victory to be certaine. The Army being inflamed with this Speech, and making shew of a resolution to fight, *Scipio* commanding their good will, sent them away, and gave them charge to feed, and to be ready, and in Armes at the sound of the Trumpet and Drumme.

Three daies after, the two Commanders marcht with their Army along the Riuers, on the side of the Mountaines. The *Romans* had the left hand, and the *Carthaginians* the right. And when as the day following they were aduertised by their Spies of their approach one vnto another, they stayed. The third day after, the two Commanders fronted

*Scipio his
Speech to his
Army.*

fronted one another with all their Horse, *Scipio* being moreover accompanied with men that cast Darts, chosen out of the bands of footmen: The which they did to discouer the number of the men, and what they were.

But when they came to affront one another, and the dust beginning to rise by reason of the Horses, they preuently prepared themselves to Battell: *Scipio* puts in Front the Gaulish horse-men, with those that Darts, and appointed the rest to second them marching a slow pace. In regard of Hannibal, he makes his point of the strongest of his horse-Wings. But when the two Armies began to enter the Combat furiously, they had scarce begun the Crie but the Darters fled, without any fight, and passing through their supplies, they recovered the Battell. They were in truth amazed at the violent charge, fearing to be ouerthrowne by the encounter of the Horse-men. In the meane time the Combat was great betwixt the Horse-men; for both the one and the other fought with great courage, which made the Battell to continue long in suspence. There was fighting both on horse-backe and on foot, for that many had left their horses in the Battell. And when as the *Numidians* in turning about, had fallen vpon the rear of the Darters, who in the beginning had fled from the fury of the Horse-men, they were inuironed by them, and defeated in great Troupes. They received great losse of their men, and slaine many of their Enemies, in the end they gae backe, for that the *Numidians* charged in the reare. Some were dispersed here and there: others returnd to the Campe in a strong, fasing the Consull (who was wounded) in the middest of the Troupe, from thence *Scipio* Commanded his men to follow him without noise, and marcheth with his Army to the Bridge which he had made vpon the *Poe*, there to passe without tumult or danger; but when he saw the fields about the *Poe* so great and spacious, and that the *Carthaginians* were stronger in horses, and being moreover troubled with the Wound which he had receivell, he held it the safest course to passe his Army before the Enemy should pursue him.

Hannibal made his account that the *Romans* would fight sometime with their foot-men, but when he was aduertised of their flight, and that abandoning their Fort they had past the *Poe*, by a Bridge which they had made, he pursues them with speed. The end of the Bridge was already broken and the guard was yet remaining; of the which he D prefeftly tooke about sixe hundred. Hannibal aduertised that the rest of the Army was not farre off, hee returns to his Fort, seeking carefullly for a place fit to make a Bridge: The which two daies after he found with great difficulty, and then effected it, ioyning many floats together. Afterwards he gave the Charge to *Afdrubal*, to passe the *Gaules*, whilst that he busid himself to hear the Embassie of the *Carthaginians*, which were come vnto him from divers neighbour Countries; *Carthaginians*, all the neighbour *Gaules* made hast to ioyne with Hannibal

*A Combat of
the Horse-men
twixt Hannibal
and Scipio.*

*The restresse of
Scipio.*

nibal, as they had formerly resolued, and to give him succours, and to go to the Warre. After he had giuen them a good reception, he past his Army beyond the *Poe*, and takes his way along the Riuers, hoping more easilie to ouer-take the Enemy. When as *Scipio* had led his Army to *Plaifence*, (which was a *Roman* Collony) he had a care to cure those that were Wounded, and thinkē of a place whither he might lead his Army.

The third day after that *Hannibal* had past the *Poe*, he puts his men in order before *Plaifence* in view of the Enemies, and presented them Battell. And when as no man offered himselfe, he Camp'd having A found a convenient place within sixe miles of them. The *Gaules* who had come to succour *Scipio*, seeing better hopes with the *Carthaginians*, resolued among themselves to abandon the *Romans*. And when at mid-night they found all men asleep, they being in Armes in their Tents, they part, and kill'd most of the *Romans* they met in their way, cutting off some of their heads. Finally they retired to the *Carthaginians*, to the number of two thousand foot, and two hundred Horse. Being graciously received, and inflamed with hope of good, *Hannibal* sends them home to their Houses, to the end they might make those things knowne, and induce their Country to seeke the Alliance of the *Carthaginians*. He saw plainly, that of necessitie they would leue the *Roman* party, considering the foule crime which their men had committed. Moreover there was an Embassie come from the *Boliviens*, delivering vnto *Hannibal* the Triumvir who (as wee haue formerly said) had bin sent by the *Romans* to diuide the Lands being taken by Treason.

Hannibal commanding their good affection, makes an Alliance with them, and restores vnto them the Triumvir, to serue them as a meane to retire their Hoffages, as they had formerly resolued. *Scipio* being troubled, not so much for the Treason of the *Gaules*, and the C slaughter of his men, but for that he fore-saw that all the *Gaules* Country (which had bin a long time Enemy vnto the *Romans*) would revolt, which made him study how to give order in time for his Affaires. Wherefor the night following about the breake of day, he dislodg'd without noise, and seated his Campe neere vnto the Riuers of *Trebia*, on the highest Hils of the Country, relying vpon the situation of the place, and the multitude of their Allies inhabiting thereabouts. *Hannibal* being aduertised of his Enemies flight, he caueth the *Nomidians* to march first, and thenall the Cavalry, and soone after he follows with the rest of his Army.

D The *Nomidians* turning to the Campe abandoned by their Enemies, they set it on fire, to the great benefit of the *Romans*: For if they had not staid in the Campe, they might haue pursued them in the Reare, and haue made a great slaughter of the *Roman* Army. But whilst they looke time in burning the lodging, the greatest part of the Army past the Riuer in safety: Some of the Reare-ward were surprised by the *Carthaginians*, who were either slaine or taken Prisoners. In the meane time *Scipio* made chiose of the Hils, which were neere vnto the Riuer,

The treason of
the *Gaules* a-
gainst the Ro-
mans.

An Embassie
from the *Bol-
iviens* to *Han-
nibal*.

The Riuer of
Trebia.

Riuer, for that they seemed fit to make a Fort. The which being introyded with a Ditch and a Pallisado, he attended vnto this difficult returne of his Companion *Tyberius* from *Sicily* with an Army, causing his Wounds to be carefully looked vnto, to the end that their enemies being in so great danger, he might be a peraker. *Hannibal* seated his Campe, within five miles of the Enemies Fort, whom the *Gaules* did furnish abundantly, not only with Victuals, but with all other things necessary, and were very ready to undergoe any danger with the *Carthaginians*.

A The newes came to *Rome* of the defat of their men. And although they would neuer haue thought it, yet the *Romans* made to these as haue hapned, not so much by the Prowesse of their Home-men to by the ouer-wielding of the Commander, and the Treason of the *Gaules*, who had yeilded themselves to *Hannibal*. Finally, they were in good hope of their Warre, seeing that the Bands of foot-men were yet entir. Wherefore *Sempronius* being returned, and passing by *Rome*, they all perwaded him publickly to giue Battell to the *Carthaginians*. *Sempronius* at his coming vnto *Rome*, receiveth all the B Troupes which were come from *Sicily*, according to his commandement. From thence marching to *Trebia*, he dyvines with his Companion, where he refresched his Army, to illd with the redoubtednes of the way, haing march'd forty daies together comming from *Camerina* to *Rome*. He also vied diligence to prouide all sorts of munition. Moreover he consulred with *Scipio*, inquiring of the actions past, and conser-

At the same time *Hannibal* tooke the Towne of *Claffidium* by Tre son, corrupting *Brennus* the Captaine of the Garrish, where as the *Romans* had lodged a great quantity of Corne, whereof he made vte C in his necessity, and sent away the Souldiers infiracie, to the end that by the fame of his Clemency, others might yeild more easilie into the *Carthaginians*. He extended his bounty also vnto him that berried it. And being aduertised that the *Gaules* inhabiting that little Country which lies betwixt *Trebia* and the *Poe*, and had made an Alliance with him, had fought the friendshipe of the *Romans* by Embassie. To the end that during the trouble of these two powerfull Nations, they might haue the grace of an uncertaine fauour. His souldiers (being aduocated with rage and despight) two thousand foote, and about a thousand *Nomidian* Horse, with some *Gaules* intermixt, to spoile the Country. The

D which having performed and taken a great Booty, the Inhabitants sent presently an Embassie to the Consull to require succours. *Sempronius* preferently imbracing this occasion to giue Battell, which he had long desired, sends a great part of his Cavalry, with a thousand foote with Darts, beyong the Riuer of *Trebia*, who charging the *Gaules*, and surprizing them in disorder, for that they were in contention rounching the division of the Booty, they put them into a great confuson, and forced them to retire, killing and chasing them into their Fort: Whereby the sally of the Troupes which guarded the Campe, the

Claffidium ta-
ken by Hanni-
bal.

The *Gaules*
Retire.

the *Gauls* resuming Courage, they were forced to turne head, and to repose their Campe. At which *Sempronius* perceiving, he sent a partie of all his Horfe with the Darters, and forced the Gauls to retire into their Fort. But for that *Hannibal* was not then ready to give battell, he was not of aduise to undertake it without great consideration, nor to hazard all vpon all occasions. And therefore like a well aquainted Capteine, he caused a Retraite to be founded, and retires his men into the Fort.

And when as the *Roman*s had skirmished with their enemies in vain, they returned to their Campe, having lost few of their men, and made A a great slaughter of the *Carthaginians*. *Sempronius* growing ioyfull and proud of this good Fortune, had a will to give Battell only for the deuise of glory, whil'st that his Companion was weake and infirme. And therefore he discouers himselfe to *Scipio*, to whom the time did not seeme conuenient to dooir, but rather to deferte the Battell, to the end that the *Roman* Souldiers being yet fresh and greene, might gaine experience, and that in Temporizing, the *Gauls* as people light and without faith, might abandoun the *Carthaginians*, and that finally he might be present, for that his Wound at that time made him vnprofittable. Although that *Sempronius* knew well that *Scipio* spake the truth, yet mooued with ambition, either that *Scipio* shold not be present, or that the Warre shold not be prolonged vntill the cominge of the other *Consuls*, for that the time of the election was come, he refolued to give Battell alone. B

Hannibal being of the like opinion with *Scipio*, was carefull how to finde an occassion to fight, whil'st the *Gauls* faith was firme, and the Enemies Souldiers of little experiance, and *Scipio* unprofitable to vndergoet the danger: But especially he feared to looke time: For seeing he led an Army in a strange Country, and had a great enterprize in hand, there was no other meanees of safety, then to keepe his Allies. Wherefore seeing the desire of *Sempronius*, he prepared himselfe willingly to battell. C

There was betwixt the two Armies a plaine Champaigne, but very convenient to lay an Ambush, having a deepe Riuere, with high Bankes, and Thickets and Bulthes round about it: Which *Hannibal* hauing viewed, he refolued to lay an Ambush. It is true, that the *Roman*s fled the Forrest, by reason of the Ambushes which the *Gauls* often layd for them, trauelling onely in a Champaigne Country: Being ignorant that a plaine is more fitting then a Forrest, for the couering of an Ambush: For they may see the Enemy come farre off, and hate D sometimes fit meanees and opportunity to couer themselfes, so as when they finde a Riuere with low Bankes, the Reedes, Flagges of the Marishes, Bulthes, and such like things doe couer the foote, and many times the Horfe-men, if they bend downe their Helmets which are apparent. *Hannibal* after he had acquainted his Brother *Mago*, with his refolusion to give battell, and being both of this aduise, he caused him to be called whil'st the Souldiers supp'd: His brother *Mago* was a young man, of a braue Spirit and Resolute, and had bin alwaies bred

A plaine is sometimes the occasion of an Ambush.

Mago Brother to *Hannibal*.

vp in the Warre. To whom he gaue a thousand Horfe, and as many Foote chosen out of the whole Army, whom he called vnto his Tent after supper, and made a speech vnto them according to the opportunity of the time, declaring vnto them what he had refolued. Moreover, he gaues every one of them charge, to choose out of all the Troupes nine others like themselfes, and that they shold repaire to a certaine place in the Campe. These preffently obeyed the commandement of their Generall. Thus *Mago* accompanied with a thousand Horfe, and as many Foote, and with a guide, came to the place of A his Ambush, being well instructed by *Hannibal* what hee was to doe.

At the breaké of day *Hannibal* calls the *Numidian* Horfe-men able to beare labour: to whom when he had made a speech, and promiséd great rewards, if they carried themselves like braue men, hee discouers his Enterprize. Hee gaues them charge to passe the Riuere of *Tribus*, and to runne vnto the Gates of the Enemies Campe, and to draw them forth to fight with their Darts, desiring much to surprize them in disorder, and to fight with them before they had taken any repast, the which he did much esteeme. He also gaues charge to all the other Captaines appointed for the Combate, to feed their men and their horfes, and commands them to be ready armed, attending the sound of the Trumpet. But when as *Sempronius* saw the Enemy approach, he first sent out all his Horfe-men, and after them sixe thousand Darters: Finally, he drawes all his Troupes to field, as if hee meant that day to make an end of the Warre; and whō (for the good great number of his men) was in hope to get the Victory. It was by chance in Winter, and did snow that day with a vehement cold. Moreover, the Souldiers were come forth in confusione with the Horfes, and had no great heat, neither had they fed. And therefore altho' in the beginning they were ready and resolute, yet being entred into the Riuere, they came forth wet vnto the brech: for that the snow which had fallen in the night, had made the Riuere swell, so as they began to be so afflicte with cold and hunger, that as the day came on, they were scarce able to hold their Armes. In the meantyme the *Carthaginians* oyld and warm'd themselfes at fires neare vnto their Tents, hausing their Horfes ready after they had fed well.

When as *Hannibal* (who had an eye euery where) saw that the Enemies had past the Riuere, he sets before the Ensignes the flingers of D *Maiorque* and *Minorque*, and those that were lightly armed, to the number of eight thousand men, and puts the rest of his Army in Battalion. When he had marcht about a Mile, he sets vpon the wings twenty thousand Foore, *Spaniards*, *Africans*, and *Gauls*: the like he did of his Horfe-men, who with the Allies that the neighbour Townes of *Gaul* had sent him, were ten thousand men. After them on either side were placed the Elephants. Then *Sempronius* caused a retreate to be sounded, to call backe the Horfe-men, left pursuing the *Numidians* inconsiderately, they might be suddenly incloſed by them, for their customs

An Ambush
laid by *Hannibal*
but for the Ad-
versary.

Hannibal puts
his men in Bat-
tale.

The manner of
the Numidians
fighting.

Sempronius put
his men in bat-
tale.

custome is to flie here and there at the first charge, and to stay suddenly when they thinke good, recharging the Enemy with incredible courage and resolution. Then hee ordered his Foote men after the manner of the Romans. Among the which there were about sixteeen thousand Romans, and about twenty thousand Latins their Allies : for when they were to undergoe any great Warre, and that the two Consuls were ioyned together, the perfect number of their Army was of so many thousands. Then hee placed three thousand Horse-men vpon the wings. When he had thus disposed of his men, hee marcht in battale a slow pace, scarce moving.

The two Armies being neare one vnto the other, those that were lightly armed began the fight, wherewith the Romans were sudainly opprest. All things fore-told good vnto the Carthaginians : for the bodies of the Roman Foote were growne feeble with hunger and weariness, and numm'd with cold : Being moreouer slaine by the multitude of Darts which the Numidians cast. For their parts they had abandoned their Darts, as vnprofitable by reason of the continual humidity : The Horse-men suffered the like with the whole Army. Contrariwise the Carthaginians being in their force, in good order and fresh, were diligent and ready at need. Wherefore when as they had made way for their forlorne hope to retire, and that the Armies had charged one another : the Carthaginian Horse-men fell vpon the Ennemis wings, and quite defeated them. It is true, the Romans were weake in their numbers of Horse : and the Souldiers were tired with labour and hunger.

A defeat of
the Roman
Horse-men.

After the rout of the Horse-men, the Foote resisted more with the equality of courage then of force : But the Numidians besides the Ambush which the Army had past without discouering them, shewing themselves vpon the Reare, put them in a great amazement, yet the Battallions stood firme for a time, although they were inuolued with so many miseries. But in the end when as the two wings were prest, having the Elephants in front, and that those which were lightly armed, had compassed them in, they fled directly to the neare Riuere. This done, when as the Romans which fought in the battell, saw their supplies broken, they were partly enuironed by them of the Ambush, and partly defeated and slaine : Others past through the Battalion of the Gaules, where were many Africans, making a great slaughter of the Enemies. But when as they could neither succour their men, nor get to their Fort, as well for the multitude of the Enemies Horse, as for the swelling of the Riuere and the raine, they recouered Plaisance, to the number of ten thousand men : the rest for the most part were slaine along the Riuere by the Elephants and Horse-men. Some few Foote and Horse flying dispersed over the Fields, drew to Plaisance, following the route of the Army. The Carthaginians having pursued them to the Riuer of Trebia, returned to the Campe, for that they could not proceed any farther by reason of the raine : being very ioyfull of the victory, whereas the losse of Spaniards and Africans was small, and that of the Gaules great. But they were so tormented with raine & cold that all

The Victory
of Hannibal
against the Ro-
mans.

the Elephants except one, and the greatest part of the carriage-horses, with many men and horses died.

After this action Sempronius desirous to couer and conceale so great a losse, sent men to Rome, to let them understand that the violence of the raine had depryted them of an absolute Victory : the which the Romans did easilly belieue. But when as within few dayes after, they had newes that the Carthaginians held their Army in strength, and that all the Gaules held for them, abandoning their party, and withall that their Army kept the Towne, for that it was not well al-fired within its Fort, and that they drew victuals from the Sea by the Riuer of Po, they grew into so great a feare and amazement, as they thought Hannibal would come a Conquerour to Rome. Wherefore they leuied a new Army, and sent supplies into Sicily and Sardinia, fortifying Tarentum and the other Townes in Italy, by sea and land. They likewise prepared an Army at Sea of fifty Quinqueremes : Finally, they were wholly attentive to Warre,

At that time Cneus Servilius, and Caius Flaminius were chosen Consuls, and a new leue of men was made, and succours required from the Allies. One of them led his Troupes to Rimeni, and the other into Tuscany. They had resolued to lead their Armies into Gaule. They had besides sent to Hieron to demand succours, who sent them fifti hundred Candios, and a thousand men which bear Targets. Without doubt the Romans at that time drew all the Forces they could possible against Hannibal : for the feare was not onely generall, but every mans in particular.

During these accidents in Italy, Cneus Cornelius Scipio (who as we haue formerly said, had beeene left by his Brother in Gaule with an Army at Sea) parting from the mouth of Rhone, arrived at Ebro, ^{Scipio arrives at Ebro, and co-queas vnes Cories.} And beginning there, hee made all the Asaritana Country vnto Ebro subiect to the Romans, renewing the ancient leagues with some, and making new with others. When hee had pacifi'd the Sea-coasts, and had left Garrifons where neede required, he led his Army vp into the firme land. Hee had now drawne together some Companies of succours from the allied Townes. By this meanes he takes some Townes, some by Composition, others by force. The which Hanno perceiving (whom Hannibal had left for the defence of Spaine) he resolued to encounter the Enemies, and planted D himself right against them, neare vnto a Towne which the people of the Country call Cisse.

Hanno; Scipio in like manner did not hold it fit to deferre the Battell. And therefore after hee had gotten the Victory, and taken the Enemies Fort, hee recovered great store of Treasure : For all they which went to the Warres of Italy vnder Hannibal, had left all their wealth with these men, left the Baggage should bee tedious and troublesome vnto them. Afterwards Scipio made a league with all the Inhabitants which were within the Riuer of Ebro, and made them Allies and Friends. There were two Commanduers taken alive, whereof the one was Hanno, who had the leading of the

King Andubal taken.

A defeate of some Romans by Afrubal.

Hannibals speech to the Prisoners that were allied to the Romans.

Hannibal politely to keep himselfe from killing by treason.

*Carthaginians, and the other Andubal, King of a Region which lies in the heart of Spaine, who had alwayes held the party of the Carthaginians. Afrubal hearing the newes, passeth Ebro, marching with his Army against the Romans : who vpon the way had newes that the Souldiers and Sea-men wondred the fields vp and downe, being confident and carelesse with the ioy of their Victory. Wherefore hee marches thither speedily with eight thousand foote, and a thousand Horse, where killing a great part, he forced the rest to recover their ships : yet hee durst not stay long, but repasse the Riuere of Ebro. And when hee had put Garrisons in necessary places, hee A went to winter at *Carthage*. *Cneus Scipio* aduertised hereof, drawes his men fuddainly together, and goes vnto his Sea-army, punishing such as had beeene the cause of the defeate, after the manner of the Romans. When hee had drawne his Army both by Sea and Land together, he went to winter at *Taracona*, where he diuided the spoile, so as hee purchased the loue of them all, making them more resolute for the future Warre. Behold the estate of the affaires of Spaine.*

Flamininius marching thorough Tuscanie, came to Arezzo. As for *Seruilius*, hee attended (after hee B had brought his Army to *Rimini*) when the Enemy would dislodge. And whilst that Hannibal spent the Winter in *Gaule*, hee kept the Romans that were Prisoners straightly fetter'd, and poorely fed, intreating the Allies courteously from the beginning : and afterwards causing them to assemble, he made many remonstrances vnto them, telling them that he was not come to make Warre against them, but to fight with the Romans for their liberty : and therefore if they were wife, they shoulde imbrace the alliance and friendship of the Carthaginians : and that he was there to set the people of Italy at liberty, and to restore those whom the Romans had outrageously chafed from their houses, their Townes, and Countries. When hee had vsed these, or the like speeches, hee sent them all away without ransom, desirous by this meanes to winne the hearts of all the people of Italy, and to make them abandon the Romans party, and to encourage those whom they had deprived of their Townes and Countrey. It is true, that while hee wintered, he was many times in dangers by the Gauls, the which he prevented by an African tricke, C for that the Gauls discouered it as lightly vnto him, as they had given their consent : so hee caused periwigges of divers ages to bee made with great art, the which he vsed, changing his apparell often : so as he was not only vnknowne to them which had never seene him, but also to his familiars. By this meanes he was in safety, they not knowing whom to assault for Hannibal. Moreover, when as the Gauls were discontented, that their Countrey was made the state of the Warre, making a shew to be desirous to fight, to the end it might be transported to some other part, Hannibal resolute to goe the sooner to field, and to lead his Army to the Warre which he desired.

The

The Spring time approached, when calling vnto him those which knew the wayes, he inquired of the passages, which went into the Enemies Country. And being aduertised that all the wayes were long and knowne to the enemy, they discouered vnto him one that was shorter, but troublesome, which would leade him through the Marshes of *Tuscany*, whereby he might passe his Army, vnknowne vnto the enemy : But when the newes came into the Campe of their Voyage by Marshes, the apprehencion discouraged them, fearing the Quagmires and Pooles. Yet he took this way with his whole Army, A causing the Spaniards and Africans to march before, with the ablest of his men and their Baggage, to the end that if they were forced to plant a Campe, they shoulde not want things necessary. It is true, that well that the Carthaginians shoulde not want any thing if they were vanquished ; and if they won the Countrey they shoulde not likewife want. Next he caucht the Gauls to march, and in the Reare the horse-men, whereof he gaue the charge to his brother *Mago*, to the end that by their helpe, the Gauls by their basenesse shoulde not turne head, being discontented with the toyle. The Spaniards and Africans marching B through the Marshes, came vnto the end without any great toyle, as inured to paines, and accustomed to such miseries. Contrariwise the Gauls went with great difficulty, as men amazed, falling into the Quagmires of the Moares, and carrying this misery with griefe and discontent, like men vnaccustomed to such calamities, the Horse-men kept them from returning.

Finally the whole Army was in great trouble and paine ; and they languished the more, for that they had watch'd fourte daies and three nights, going through the Waters. But amongst all the rest the Gauls were most tormented. Most part of their carriage Horses falling into the Mire, dyed, seruing the tyred Souldiers, to rest themselves vpon and the baggage, lying downe vpon them in the Water, so as they took their necessary rest some part of the night. Many Horses also lost their hooches, by their continuall going in the mire. Hannibal could hardly escape the moares, but that he was carried vpon an Elephant ^{Hannibal too.} which was only remaining : Who by a great paine in his eyes, which *ichan Rye.* had hapned by the bad condition of the Ayre, in the end hee lost an eie, for that he had neither time nor place to prevent it.

After that he had passe the Moares contrary to the opinion of all the World, and was aduertised by his Spies, that Flaminius was about the D Wals of *Arezzo*, he planted himselfe neare unto the Marshes, partly to refresh his army being tyred with so great toyle, and likewise to leare the Resolution and forces of the Enemy, with the sciruation of the Country and Wayes. But being aduertised that among the Regions of Italy, that was very fertile, and that the Champaigne betwixt *Arezzo* and *Felsula* was very rich in Corne, and all other things necessarie ; and that moreover the Consull was a proud man, affecting the applause of the people, but without experiance of Warre, and relying much vpon Fortune, he thought it fit, that in leauing the enemy on the

The Way and Order which Hannibal held to passe into Italy.

The duty of a
good Captain.

the left hand, he should drawe towards *Pesula*, to spoyle the Country of *Tuscany*: being conceited that the *Consull*, for the naturall desire he had to purchase the fauor the people, would never suffer the Country to bee spoild: Nor attend his Companion, as desiring him not in things well done: But contrariwise would follow him wherefoever he went without feare, hauing a desire to fight. By this meanes he fore-saw good opportunities to giue Battaille, making therin a wise and politique discourse of future things. Beleeue mee he is deceived, that thinkes any duty greater in a Captaigne, then to discouer the opinion and Nature of the enemy. For as you must obserue in a Combate betwix man and man the place where you meane to strike, and consider diligently where he lies open and discouered: So in a great Warre, you must seek the Enemy, not so much to understand where the parts of the body are naked, but by what meanes you may discouer the Nature and proceedings of the Generall.

There are many which not onely forget the publicke Affaires by a dulnesse and negligence, but also many times those which concerne their priuate Liues. Others subiect to Wine, cannot rest vntill they be drunke, and some giuen too much to women, not only ruine Townes and Common-weales, but also their Liues with infamy. Moreover, **B** Cowardize and feare in priuate men is full of Reproach and disgrace, but in a Commaunder, it is sometimes the cause of great losse. Ouerweening rashnesse, Choller, and vaine bragging is prejudiciale, and profitable to the Enemy. Beleeue me, such kind of men, doe easilly fall into the Snares and Ambushes of their Enemies. And therefore if any one hauing discouered the Vices of the Enemy, findes some occasion whereby he may circumuent the Generall, he may easilly preuale over the rest: For as an Enemy doth easily boord a Shippe when it is without a Gouvernor: So if any one during the Warre, defecates a Commaunder by his Judgement and good aduise, hee will soone be matter **C** of the rest of the Army.

The Country
Spoild by
Hannibal.

As *Hannibal* had made this Discourse of the *Roman Consull*, so he was not deceived in his opinion; for parting with all spedee thorough the *Pesulan* Country, leauing the Enemy behinde, he began to put all *Tuscany* to fire and Sword. The *Consull* inflamed herewith, thinking that the Enemy made no account of him, holding it a great dishonour to suffer the Goods of their Allies to bee thus spoild ar d carried away before his face, could not take any rest. And therefore although that many aduised him not to pursue *Hannibal*, nor to fight with him, but to keep his Horse and foote entir, vntill the comming of his **D** Companion, to the end that both Armies being ioyned, they might mannage the Warre by a common Councell, hee woud not do any thing, giuing them no other answere, but that they shold consider what the people of *Rome* would say, seeing the Enemy Camp'd in the middest of *Italy*, and march directly to *Rome* without resistence, they sleeping in *Tuscany* at his backe. Hauing vied this Speech, he began to pursue the Enemy, after that he had suddenly drawne his Tropes together, without consideration either of time or places, desiring only to

to fight, as if the Victory had beeene certaine. He had put his whole Army in hope of winning the Battaille, so as there were more which charged themselves with chaines and fetters, and such like things, then with armes to fight.

Hannibal marching directly to *Rome*, spoil'd all the Champaigne Country, which lies betwix the Towne of *Cortone*, and the Lake of *Perone*, vng all manner of cruelty to draw the enemy to fight. But when he had newes of *Flamininus* pursuite with his Army, seeing the place conuenient to lay his Ambushes, hee began to prepare himselfe A for a battaille. There was a large plaine enironed round about with high Mountains ioyned together: hauing within it a lesser Hill, which was painfull and difficult, and behind lies the Lake of *Perone*, betwix the which and the Mountaines, there is a narrow passage, whereby they enter into the plaine.

Hannibal gaines their first Hills, planting his *Camptethere*, and lodgeth with the *Spaniards* and *Africans*, laying behind the Mountaines, the Soulidiers of Maiorque and Minorque, with others that were lightly armed. He doth also place in the streight, the Horse-men with the *Gauls*, to the end that as soone as the *Romans* should be entred, they B should be wholy enironed by the Lake and Mountaines, oppoſing the Horse-men in Front. And hauing thus disposed of his men in the night, he went to take his rest. *Flamininus* pursuing his enemy with great heat, came vnto the Lake before the Sun setting, and the next day early began to lead his Army through the streight. The day was thicke and misty, by reason of a Fogge which came from the Lake, and the Neighbour mountaines. When as *Hannibal* saw the greatest part of the Army entred into the Plaine, and that the fore-most approached neare vnto him, hee then gaue his men a signe of battaille. Which done, they fall vpon them that were nearest. The *Romans* C were amazed at this suddaine surprize, for that the mist hindred their sight, and with all the Enemies charg'd them on all sides at one instant, so as they could not put themselves into battaille, nor make vse of their Armes, nor scarce know what had beeene done, being assaile by some in front, by others in the Reare, and likewise vpon the Flanks. So as many holding on their way, they were slaine like sheepe, for that they could not succour one another, and they were sooner defeated, then they could consider what they had to doe. *Flamininus* himselfe, when there was no more hope, was enironed and slaine by certayne **D** *Gauls*. There were slaine in this battaille fifteen thousand men, who for the most part stood firme vnto the end, after the manner of the *Romans*, neuer abandoning their rankes: The others incloſed betwix the Mountaines and the Lakes by reason of the narrow passages, and out of hope, were slaine basely or rather miserably: For being forced in the Lake, some were drowned striuing to swimme in their Armes: Others going into the Water as farre as they could possibly, continued for a time in that estate. Finally, when the enemies horse were entred, they were slaine without pity: Although that lifting vp their hands, they humbly begged to haue their Liues sau'd, or taking courage kil'd

An Ambush
laid by *Hannibal*.

The Romans
Surprized and
Defeated.

The Battaille of
Perone.

Flamininus slayn
in the battaille.

Six thousand
Romans taken
in a Burrough
by composition

kild one another. There were about sixe thousand of the fore-ward, which forcing through the enemies, escaped this passage : Although it were in their power to inclose them, and to succour their friends, yet not knowing what was done behind them, they marcht on still, doubting to make some encounter, before they had gotten the top of the Mountaines. And having made a stand vpon a little Hill, and seeing (the Mist being past) the great slaughter of their Souldiers, they hastily got vnto a neare Burrough, like men which had no more hope of safety, for that they saw the enemy to hold the whole Countrey. The bataile being won, Hannibal Commaunds Maheral to pursue them, A who parting with the Spaniards and the Souldiers that were lightly armed, besieged the Burrough. The Romans being brought to extremity, in the end left their Armes, and after they had concluded to haue their Liues saued, they yeilded to this African. Behold how that famous bataile past, which was given bewixt the Romans and the Carthaginians neare vnto the Lake of Perouze.

After this Hannibal calls for those which Maheral had taken, and for all the rest being aboue fifteeene thousand, telling them at the first that Maheral had no power to contract with them for their liues without his consent : And after he had vfed proud speeches vnto the Romans, B he distributed them among the Souldiers to be carefully kept in chaine, sending away the Allies without Ransome : Telling them that hee was not come into Gaul to make Warre against the Latin Nation, but with the Romans for their Liberty. Afterwards he sent them home to their Lodgings, and Commaunds to bury the bodics of those which were of molt note, being about thirty : For hee lost of all his Army onely fifteeene hundred men, whereof the greatest part were Gauls. Hee then held a Councell with his Brother and other friends concerning their affaires, who were growne so glorious for this Victory, as they held nothing impossible.

CThe Newes of this great Defeate was now come to Rome, and the Senators could not long conceale it from the Common people, nor dissemble the greatness thereof : So as assembling the Court, they were forced to relate it vnto them in particular. As soone as the Praetor (being set in his Chaire) began to say, we haue lost a great bataile ; the amazement and trouble grew so great, as they which were at the bataile and there present, report that the terror was greater then in Rome, then it had bene in the fight. And it is likely ; for it is not possible that they which for a long time had not felt any great disaster, neyther in Word, nor Deede, should patiently endure so great a losse. Yet the Senate made a good shewe, as it was fiting, aduising what was to be done, and what Commanders they shoud chooze, and with what Troupes they shoud resist the Carthaginians.

Whilst these thing past in Tuscany, the Consull *Seruilius* aduertised that Hannibal was past, hee resolued to ioyne with his companions Army. But for that it was a difficult thing, to passe so great a number of men together, he sent *Caius Centronius Proprator* before with four thousand Horse, to the end that if any occasion were offered, they should

The greatest
amazement
which was at
Rome for the
bataile lost,

should doe that which his Companion should commaund him. Hannibal hauing gotten this Victory, and aduertised by his Spies of the comming of the Enemy, hee sends Maheral to meeete them, with the best of his Foote, and part of his Horse-men, who being met, they defeated the greatest part at the first charge : the rest retiring to the first Hill, within thre daises after they were taken aliue. When as the newes of this defeate came to Rome, three daises after the other, wherewith their hearts were much afflited, then not onely the people, but also the Senators were in so great distresse and miserie, as all the City was in teares. Wherefore leauing the Annal Magistrates, they had recourse to the election of a Dictator ; for that the condition of the time, and the affaires then required a Commander, which shoud haue soueraigne power. And although that Hannibal were very glorious for the good successe and fortune of his affaires, yet hee did not hold it fit to goe vnto Rome. Wherefore putting the Prouince to fire and sword, and passing by the Dutchy of Spoleto, and the Marquifat of Ancona, hee came within ten dayes to the Region which is neare vnto Adriatique Sea, so rich and abundant in all wealth, as the Army was not able to carry B it away.

DFinally, hee made a great slaughter of men in his journey : for he caused a Proclamation to bee made in his Campe, that they should kill all those that they found carrying Armes, as they had commonly done in Townes that were taken by assault. Hee carried so great a hatred to the Romans, as there was no cruelty that hee omitted. And after they had found a fit and convenient place along the Coast of the Adriatique Sea, abounding with all sorts of commodities, hee laboured by all meanes to refresh his men and horses : for both the one and the other were fallen into diseases and the Scuruy, which they had gotten as well by the extreme cold in the Winter which they had endured in Gaul, being alwaies in field, as by the continuall tolle which they had lately suffered in passing the Marshes, and the continuall sweat and filth, by reason of their harness.

In the meane time hee inures the Africans to carry Armes after the manner of the Romans, wherof hee had gotten abundance, considering the great spoiles of the Enemies. Moreover, hee sent newes to Carthage of his Victories by Sea. This was the first time that hee approacht neare the Sea, since his first comming into Italy. The Carthaginians being ioyfull at this newes, were wholly attentive vnto the affaires of Italy and Spaine. The Romans made choice of *Quintus Fabius Maximus* for their Dictator, a man of so great virtue and prudence, that for his proweesse hee purchased and obtained the name of Maximus, the which his family retaines vnto this day. The Dictator differs from the Consull in this, that the Consull hath but twelve Axes before him, and the Dictator hath foure and twenty. Moreover, the Coufull must referre many things to the aduise of the Senate : but this other hath a soueraigne and free power, vnder whom all other Magistrates cease, except the Tribunes. But this shall

A defeat of
the Roman
men by
Maheral.

A Dictator
created.

Himinations
along the
Coast of the
Adriatique Sea,

The cruelty of
Hannibal.

Quintus Fabius
chosen dicta-
tor.

The difference
between a
Dictator and
a Consull.

shall be for a larger discourse. Moreover, they gaue vnto the Dictator *Marcus Minucius* for a Constable, or master of the Horse, which is a Magistrate subiect to the Dictator, and supplies his place, when as the necessity of affaires forceth him to be absent.

In the meane time *Hannibal* marching along the Coast of the Adriaticque Sea by small iournies, fed his Army in a rich and fertile Prouince, causynge the Horse-feet to be wash'd with old Wine, whereof there was great abundance, the better to cure them of their Scabs. *Hee* also caused the Souldiers which had beeene wounded, to bee carefully looked vnto, and fortified the rest for future affaires. Having past the Countries of *Preturian* and *Adrian*, hee ruined the Country of the *Marrucins* and *Franquenille*: Moreover, he bent his course towards *Iapygia*, diuided into thre, whereof some are called *Damniers*, and the others *Messapiens*. *Hee* first ouer-runnes *Dannia* beginning by *Lucerna*, a Colony of the *Romans*, thunders ouer all the Country. Then setting his Campe at *Iborium*, he falls vpon the *Astins*, and vtterly ruines all *Dannia* without any restance.

At the sametime *Quintus Fabius* hauing taken his charge of Dictator, and performed the accustomed Sacrifices, parts from *Rome* B with the Master of the Horse, and four Legions leuied in haaste: And within few daies came to *Appulia*, whereas receyving the Army from the Confull *Cneus Servilius*, being come from *Rimeni*, he sent him to *Rome* with some troupes, giuing him charge to raiſe an Army at Sea at *Hoszia*, and to defend the Coasts of *Italy*, if the *Carthaginians* should attempt any thing by Sea. Finally, he marches with all his troupes, and plants himselfe in front of the Enemy, neare vnto *Aigues*, and within six miles of them. *Hanniball* aduertiseth of the comming of *Fabius*, and meaning to amaze them suddainly, drawes his Army to Field, and presents it in Battaille before the *Romans* C Fort: But when he had stayed some time, hee retired to his Campe, seeing that no man came forth to fight. You must understand that *Fabius* had refolued from the beginning not to hazard any thing, nor to fight, thinking it would bee very beneficial to the *Romans*, if he might defend their Townes from the Enemy. *Hee* was constant in his opinion, so as at the end hee purchased the reputation of a flacke man, and Coward, as if hee fled from danger onely for feare.

But soone after hee forced the World to confesse, that they could not make choice of a Capaine that was more constant, nor wiser to mannage the Warre, the which appeared soone after in their affaires. Beleue mee, this wise Dictator vnderstood well what great difference there was betwixt the *Carthaginians* Army, and that of the *Romans*: Considering that the others had from their Youth frequented the Warre, hauing a Commender which was bred with them in the Campe, in the raine and winde, and who from his very Cradle had learn'd the trade: hauing gotten so many famous victories both in *Spaine* and *Italy*, against the *Romans* and all their

Marcus Minucius Constable.
Many Countries ruined by Hannibal.

Hannibal pre-
fents Battaille
to *Fabius*.

The constancy
of *Fabius*.

their Allies: and who moreover, distrusting in all things, put their onely hope of safety in the Victory: the which would proue contrary to the *Romans*. Wherefore he was not resolute to fight, fearing the *Numidians*, for that hee was too weake in Horse: so as retiring for his advantage with good consideration, he stayed, and led away his Army. The aduantages which the *Romans* had, were abundance of munition and victuals, and a great Army. And therefore hee led it alwaies by the hilly Countries, following the Enemie neare, yet giuing him no meanes to fight, being alwaies well victualled, and neuer suffering the Souldiers to goe forth, but kept them alwaies cloſe together. By this meanes his men were alwaies in safety, and beat the Enemy, if at any time they went from the Army for pillage, so as many times there were some taken, and others slaine. This he did to the end that by little and little hee might weaken their forces, and encourage the Souldiers by these petty Victories, being amazed with their former losses, nor to distrust their Forces, or Fortune. Moreover, they could not perswade him to come to a Battaille. But *Marcus Minucius* discontent with his temporizing, blamed him of cowardise and feare. *Hee* was a proud and rash man, who found nothing more tedious and troublesome then to bee absent from a Battaille.

The *Carthaginians* after they had ruined the former Countries, and had past the *Appenie Hills*, they goe to *Samsium*, which is a very fertile Country of *Italy*, and which for a long time had not felt any Warre: There they found so great abundance of all things, as they could not consume the Bootie, neither in vsing it moderately nor wastefully. From thence they spoiled *Benevent*, a Colony of the *Romans*: They tooke the Towne of *Telsia* which had strong walles, was well victualled, and furnished with all things necessary, the *Romans* followed the Enemies still within a daies iourney or two. When as *Hannibal* saw that *Fabius* fled from all occasions of fighting, and verdid not abandon the field, but followed him still by the hilly Country, hee refolued to goe speedily into the Countries of *Capua* and *Falerne*, thinking that of necessite one of the two would happen: either that the *Romans* would come to a Battaille, or that the World would soone see that the *Carthaginians* camp't, and that the *Romans* kept themſelues within their Forts. By this meanes he did hope that the Townes of the Prouince being terrifid, they would yeeld vnto the *Carthaginians*: For vnto that day not any one had fallen vnto them, although the *Romans* had lost two great Battailles, and there were many to whom their perſuasions were very vpleasing. Whereby wee may fee of what authoritie and power the maiestie of the *Roman Common-wealth* was with their Succours and Allies.

Certainly *Hannibals* conceit was not idle: for the *Capna* is an excellent Country, for abundance of wealth, fertility of land, and on the Country of the *Capna* trey of *capna* whither infinite number of people come from all parts of the World dia.

to Italy. Moreover, the noblest Townes of Italy are situated there: for vpon the Borders of the Sea, stand the *Switzers*, the *Camans*, the *Potolos*, the *Neopolitan*, and at the end the *Nucerians*.

And towards the North vpon the same land, are the *Callenians* and *Teanins*: towards the East and South are the *Dauinians* and *Nolains*: and in the mid'st of the Region *Capua* stands, the richeft of them all, whose Lands are famous amongst the fabulous Poets, which they call *Phegrees*: and it is likely that the gods haue spoken principally of them, by reason of their wonderfull beauty and excellency. Moreover, this situation is strong by nature, and in a manner impregnable. For on the one side they are inclosed by the Sea, and on the other they are wholly enironed with Mountaines. There are onely three entries which are narrow and painefull: the one is at *Sannium*, the second at *Eriban*, and the third among the *Arpines*. The *Carthaginians* made a shew to goe into these Countries, as into a Theater, to amaze them all: and thereby to fyfe from the Enemy, and then to camp alone.

Wherefore *Hannibal* moued with these reas ons, leades his Army by *Sannium* to the streights of Mount *Eriban*, and plants his Campe neere vnto the Riuers of *Vantour*, which diuides the said Champaigne B from *Rome*. Then the most pleasant Countrey of Italy was ouer-runne, and the Villages put to fire and sword. And although that these things were very troublesome to *Fabius*, yet he continued constante in his resolution. But *Marcus Minucius*, and all the Tribunes of the Horse, were of opinion not to temporize any longer, but to fall vpon the *Carthaginians* with all their strength and forces, not suffring the spoile of so goodly a Countrey in the view of the Roman Army. *Fabius* dislodging more suddenly then he had bee accustomed, seemed to make hafte to preferre the Countrey of *Capua* from spoile: But when hee came to *Falerna*, hee did but shew his Army vpon the Mountaines, left the Allies should thinke he held not a Campe. Yet he would never drawne downe into the field, fearing to fight with the *Carthaginians*, as well for the reas ons which wee haue formerly mentioned, as for that he was the weaker in Cauallery.

When as *Hannibal* had often attempted in vain, to drawe the Enemy to fight, in the end he studied of a place to winter in, hauing ruined all parts of the Countrey, and taken a wonderfull spoile: hauing no intent to lose his Pillage, but to transport it to some place where he might passe the Winter: to the end his Army might not want any thing, as well for the present as the future. *Fabius* knowing well that the retурne of his Enemy would be by the same streight by the which he had entred, hee imagined that this paſſage would be beneficall to the Romans: and placeth about fourre thousand men within these streights, intreating them to carry themſelues like braue and valiant men, when occasion should require, making vſe of the aduantage of the place. For his part, hee recovered the next Mountaine with the rest of the Army, looking earnestly about

The Riuers of
Vantour.

The meanes
which *Fabius*
hooke to stop
Hannibal's paſſage.

about him what was to be done, and from whence and by whom the Enemy should be Charged, holding himselfe affir'd to defeate their whole Army, or at the leaſt to make them abandon the Booty which they carried. But *Hannibal* law that *Fabius* fought with his owne weapons: and hauing duly considered thereon, he disappointed his enterprize with an excellent stratagem, causing many Faggots of dry ſticks to be drawne together, and bound to the hornes of Oxen, and Bugles, whereof he had to the number of two thouſand, and gaue charge to *Aldrubar*, that in ſetting fire to the ſticks at a certayne houre he ſhould X A chafe the Troupe to the next Mountaine, which was betwixt the Camp and the ſtreight they were to paſſe, and thatas loone as they ſhould fee a ſigne which hee would giue, they ſhould force the Oxen againſt the Mountaine, until they had gotten the top. When as all things were ready, he makes them to feed and to take ſome reſt. About mid-night hee cauſeth them to march which had the charge to tie the Torches to the hornes of the Oxen. This being ſuddenly done by reaſon of the multitude of affiſtants, he giues order to kindle them all, and to chafe them to the top of the Mountaine. Finally, hee giues charge to them that were lightly Armed, to follow them to a certayne place, commanding them that as ſoon as the Troupe ſhould begin to runne furiously through the Mountaines, they ſhould recover the places of aduantage, whereby they might ſuccour his men in paſſing, and annoy the enemy if they encountered any. In the meane time hee diſlodgeth with his Army, and marcheth directly to the ſtreights, ordyng in Front the Soldiars that were best armed, and after them the Horse-men, then the Baggage, and in the Reare the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*.

The *Romans* which had been appointed to guard theſe paſſages, thin-
king that *Hannibal* came where they ſaw the fire on the toppe of the
Mountaines, abandoned their places, retiring to the highest Hills.
C And when at the firſt they encountered ſome of theſe Oxen ſeparated
from the reſt, they made a ſtand, ſeeing their heads on a flaming fire,
wondring as at a miraclē. But when the Souldiars were diſcouerd,
they entertained one another with casting of Darts. And when in the
end the Oxen came on, they all made a ſtand on the top of the mounta-
ines, expeſting day with great deſire to be more certainly informed
of the buſineſſe. *Fabius* aduertised of this noife, conceiuing it was
ſome Ambuſh, and flying the battaile as they reſolu'd, kept his men
within the Fort. In the meane time *Hannibal* (to whom matters ſuc-
ceeded according to his deſire) paſt his Army by the mountaine, and
carried away all his Spoiles without any obſtacle. Then ſeeing at the
breake of day the *Romans* in front againſt his men, and to bee stronger
in number and in their kind of Armes, he ſent them a band of *Spaniards*
to feſon them: Who after they had flaine about a thouſand at the
firſt Charge, they brought their men ſafe backe vnto the Campe. *Han-
nibal* being freed by this policy from the ſtreights of *Falerna*, from
ſeeking where he might Winter, greatly terrifying the Townes and
people of Italy.

The course
which *Hannibal*
took diſloſing
the ſtreight
kept by the Ro-
mans.

During these actions, many taxed the Dictator of Cowardize, for that he had suffered the enemy to escape so easily, being incloseth within the streights; but hee continued still constant in his opinion. Some few daies after he was called backe to *Rome* for the Sacrifices, and left the Government of the Army and all other affaires to the Constable, giuing him charge that he shold not study so much to offend the Enemy, as to defend his owne men. But *Mancinus* (whom the Dictator aduised in vain) had no other care but to fight.

Afdrubal having repaired thirty good ships, which he had received from his brother *Hannibal*, adding thereto ten others, parts from *Carthage* in the beginning of Summer, and giues the charge to *Imilcon*, who ran along the Coasts, and *Afdrubal* led the Army by Land neere the shoure, hoping to meete at one instant at the mouth of the Riuier of *Ebro*, with the Army by Sea. *Cneus Scipio* aduertised that *Afdrubal* was gone to field, hee was first of the same opinion, but afterwards he resolued to fight rather by Sea then Land, by reasoun of the bruite of their new succours, and preparation for war. Wherefore after hee had prepared an Army at *Sea* of fiftie and thirty Vessels, he made choise of the ablest men of his whole Army, and most active to fight at *Sea*. The which being imbarqued, he set saile to encounter the enemy: and three daies after hee had saile from *Tarraconae*, to places neere vnto *Ebro*, hee comes vnto Hauen ten miles distant from the Enemy. From thence hee sends two Vessels of *Marceilles* being very swift to discouer. This was a people which had a great League with the *Romans*, and had held their party, during the time of the second Punicke Warre. But as soone as these Scouts had made Relation, that the enemies Army at *Sea* was in the mouth of the Riuier of *Ebro*, he weighes Anchor and sayles towards them, being desirous to surprize them vnprovided.

Afdrubal had bee aduertised of the comming of the *Roman* army, by a signe which was giuen him from a Beacon or watch-Tower; and therefore after he had ordred his Army by Land along the shoure, and caused his Rowers to imbarque, hee puts all into armes. When the *Romans* not onely approacht, but also put their shippes in battaille, they gaue warning to fight. The *Carthaginians* assayling them resoluteley, had for a time some shew of Victory. But afterwards Fortune began to turne, for they which were vpon the shoure, gaue not so much courage to their men to fight, as hope of safety for those that would flye. And therefore the *Carthaginians* got to Land, after that two of their ships had biu taken and foure sunke. But when as the *Romans* pursued them with all their forces, the *Carthaginians* fled to shoure, abandoning their ships, and retired to their Army which was there in Battaille. Finally having followed them with great spedee, they towed away with Ropes all the Vessels which floated: And after they had vanquished their Enemies they parted joyfully as being masters of the *Sea*: and of the forty shippes they tooke fiftie and twenty. Being therefore proud of this Victory, they were afterwards more carefull of the affaires of *Spaine*.

The Romans
Victory at *Sea*,
against the
Carthaginians.

The

The *Carthaginians* aduertised of this misfortune, sent three-score and ten Vessels, Rigg'd sooner then they could imagine, vnderstanding well of what consequence it was to be masters of the *Sea*. Who sail'd first to *Sardinia*, and afterwards to *Pisa* in *Italy*, to the end they might ioyn with *Hannibal* if it were possible. But when as the *Romans* were aduertised of the comming of the *Carthaginian* Army, they so terrified them with sixe score Quinqueremes which they sent, as they prethenly returned to *Sardinia*, and from thence to *Carthage*. *Cneus Scipio* The *Romans* Commander of the Army at *Sea*, had them long in chace; but when as he heard there was no hope to ouer-take them, he came vnto *Lylibeum* with his Fleet. From thence foone after he sailes vnto the Iland of *Cercinotes*, where taking siluer of the Inhabitants not to ruine the Country, he turns backe, and takes the Iland of *Coffyon* in passing: Where after he had put a Garrison into the Towne, he returned to *Lylibeum*, where lodging his Vessels in the Port, within few dayes after he went to the Army at Land.

In the meane time the Senate hauing newes of *Cneus Scipio* his Story at *Sea* in the mouth of *Ebro*, they not only held it fit, but also necessary to pursue the War in *Spaine*, and to annoy the *Carthaginians* B with all their power both by *Sea* and *Land*. And therefore they presently prepared twenty shippes of War, and sent them to *Publius Scipio* Supplies sent in *Spaine*, continuing his authority after his Consulship was ended, to from Rome ut *Spaine*. might be maneged by their common Councell. For the thing which the *Romans* feared most, was, that the *Carthaginians* prevailing in *Spaine*, would be masters of the *Sea*: So as afterwards they might draw into *Italy*, and furnish and supply *Hannibal* easilly with men and Treasure.

Publius Scipio going into *Spaine*, ioyned with his brother; after which the War was governed by their common Councell. Wherfore present-ly they past the Riuier of *Ebro*, the which before they never durst at-tempt. Then Fortune began to smile on the *Romans*. And after they had made subiect those which dwelt in the paſſage of *Ebro*, finding no resistance, they came to *Sagont*: Where being within fiftie miles of Cape *Decrux*, they camped in a place safe from the Enemy, and convenient to draw Victuals from the *Sea*. Soone after that their Army at *Sea* arriued; whereas this accident hapned. You must understand that *Hannibal* at his going into *Italy*, had taken the Children of the nobleſt Families in *Spaine*, and had left them in guard at *Sagont*: For that the place was strong, and they which kept it, confident to the *Carthaginians*. There was at time within the Towne a certaine *Spaniard*, whom they called *Acodux* of a noble house, and as honest a man as any other *Spaniard*; and among the rest very loyal to the *Carthaginians*: *Acodux* or *Abilox*. But at that time after the manner of most of the *Barbarians*, hee changed his faith together with his Fortune. This *Spaniard* leeing the *Romans* to prosper in *Spaine*, had a desire to deliuer the Hostages; hauing a conceite that it would be a great meanes to purchase their fauour. When he had well considered of all the meanes to bring his enterprize to

Boscar Chiefe
of the Cartha-
ginians.

to an end, he goes to *Boscar* Chiefe of the *Carthaginians*. *Aesdrubal* had sent him into *Spaine*, to keepe the *Romans* from passing the Riuere. The which not daring to attempt, he feated his Campe beyond *Saguntum* vpon the Bankes of the Riuere. He was a mild man, and (contrary to the nature of the *Africans*) not very politike : He drawes him a part, as a man which held his faith assured to the *Carthaginians*, and lets him understand the estate of the affaires. The *Carthaginians* say he, haue held vnder their obedience vnto this day, the people of *Spaine* by cruelty, for that the *Romans* were a far off : But now the Enemies Campe hath passed *Ebro*, so every man hath thereby occasion of a new A enterprize. And therefore it is necessary to bind thole by benefits and fauours, whom they could not retaine by feare : Moreover, that the *Romans* were neere vnto *Saguntum* in Armes, and furnished with Armies both by Sea and Land, so as the Towne was in danger : For this cause he was of opinion that hee shoulde send backe all the Hostages to their Townes : The which if hee did, hee shoulde first of all frustrate the *Romans* of their hope, for that they did chiefly besidghe *Saguntum* to haue them : And that moreover, he shoulde purchase the loue and fauour of the *Spaniards* to the *Carthaginians*.

He likewise thought that it would be for the safety of the Hostages, B and that if hee woulde give him the charge to carry them backe, hee woulde do him no small seruice to winne their loues, and that he shoulde not only bind their hearts by the sending backe of the Children vnto their Parents, but he shoulde set before their eyes, how much the kindnesse and Clemency of the *Carthaginians* was to be esteemed. Moreover he propounded vnto him the expeciance hee shoulde haue of their gifts and presents, to whom he had sent the Children, and that there was not any man woulde forget so great a benefit.

After he had held this kind of Speech and others to the same end, he returned to *Saguntum*, as soone as he had perswaded *Boscar* to that which he desired, appointing a day when hee shoulde ioyne with thole which should carry backe the Hostages. The night following he goes to the Enemies watch, and hauing spoken to some *Spaniard* Souldiers of the Allies, they lead him vnto the Capitaines : Where hauing vled much speech, what profit it woulde be for the affaires of *Spaine*, if the Hostages fell into their hands, in the end hee promiseth to deliuer them. The *Romans* giving a willing eare vnto him, weighing the greatness of the action, take his faith, & promise him theirs with great rewards. And after they had aduised of the place and day, when they shoulde attend to receiue the Hostages, he returns. Afterwards he takes with him such as seemed fit for this busynesse, and goes to *Boscar* : Where receiving the Hostages, he goes out of *Saguntum* as it were to sli the enemies Watch : But hauing past their Campe a little, hee leads them all into an Ambush which they had prepared, as not knowing any thing. The *Romans* gave great rewards to *Aedux*, and made vse of him to carry backe the Hostages to their Townes, as he had resoluied with *Boscar*, sending men with him to make them fauourable. *Aedux* went with them, and by this perswasions caused many to enter into League with the

Aedux con-
spires with the
Romans.

the *Romans*, by the meanes of these hostages : laying before their eyes their mildnesse and great courage, and derteining the iealousies and crueltie of the *Carthaginians*, propounding himselfe for an example. *Boscar* after the losse of the hostages by the aduise of a Childe repented too late. And then the season of the yeare forced both Armies to goe and winter, after that fortune had fauoured the *Romans* in this enterprize of the hostages. Behold the preuent estate of the affaires of *Spaine*.

Hannibal being aduertised by his Spies of the great prouision of A Corne within *Lucerna* and *Geryona*, and that moreover *Geryona* there. And passing the Mountaine of *Lyturma*, hee drawes to those places. Being come to *Geryona*, fife and twenty miles from *Lucerna*, hee began first to summon the Inhabitants to yeld, vsing faire pro- *Geryona taken* by assault. *Hannibal* being his time hee besieged the Towne, the which hee tooke presently, and slew all the In- habitants, preserving the greatest part of the houses to serue him for Garners : then hee planted his Camp close vnto the Towne, being well ditched and pallisadoed. This done, hee sends two parts B of his Army to gather in the Corne, and continued in bataile with the third part, as well to guard the Campe, as to prevent all oppresion of thole which gathered in the Corne. They brought in dayly a wonderfull quantity, for that the Region was very large, and the number of the people in a manner infinite, and haruest was now at hand. But *Marcus Minucius* Commander of the *Romans*, in the beginning followed the *Carthaginians* by the Mountaines, hoping hee shoulde sometimes encounter the Enemy in some bad

C But being aduertised that they gathered in the Corne, after the taking of *Geryona*, and had seated their Campe neare vnto it, hee goes into the plaine and recouers a high Hill vpon the way, where hee planted his Campe : and there hee staid by what policy hee might fall vpon thole which were in bataile. But when as *Han- nibal* found the *Romans* to bee fo neare, hee sent only the third part of his Army for Corne, and kept the two other parts in the Campe.

After which he plants himselfe nearer vnto the Enemy, about two miles from *Geryona*, to the end hee might seeme to bee carefull to defend thole which gathered the Corne, if they made any attempt against them. In the meane time there was a little Hill be- D twixt the two Campes, which was very fit and conuenient for the *Carthaginians*, if they could take it, and dangerous for the *Romans*. *Hannibal* sent *Nomadicans* thither in the Night, who tooke it. But when as *Minucius* at the breake of day, saw that they held it, hee puts forth thole that were lightly armed, and giues an assault vnto the Hill.

The Combate for a time was very fierce and cruell : but in *The Carthaginians* defeated by force : whither presently the whole Army retired. *Hanni-* *bal* *upon Hill,*

Hannibal continued for some dayes within his Campe, for that the Romans were still in front. But soone after necessity forced him to send some to feed the Horses for the Baggage, and others to the Haruest, to the end that as hee had resolued, he might not consume that which hee had gotten, but might draw together some great quantity of Corne to Winter, hauing alwayes a great care the Army shold not haue neede of any thing in that time, especially the Horses and sumpters, for that all his hope and confidence was in the Cauallery.

Minucius seeing the Enemies dispersed, and wandring vp and downe, hee drawes his men to field, and marching directly against their Campe, putteth them in battaile, and sends the Horse-men with the best Foote-men against the Forragers, giuing them charge to kill all, and not to receiu any to mercy. *Hannibal* surprized with this suddaine accident, durst not put his men in battaile, neither could hee succour those that were dispersed. The Roman Foote-men with those that were lightly armed, made a great slaughter of their Enemies thus scattered. They likewise which were with *Minucius*, grew so resolute and courageous, as they durst in a manner force the Enemies Fort, and besiege them. *Hannibal* finding himselfe destitute of counsell and helpe, kept himselfe within his Fort, which hee guarded with great difficulty, whenas *Ashdrabal* gathering the Souldiers together which fled to the place where their Campe had formerly beeene, neere vnto the Walles of *Geryona*, came to succour him with about four thousand men. Then resuming a little courage, he comes out of his Fort, sauing his Army from that present danger with great difficulty. *Minucius* having made a great slaughter before the Enemies Fort, and not much lesse in the field, he retired with a wonderfull hope for the future. And threedayes after hee lodged in the Campe abandoned by the Enemies. For *Hannibal* fearing lest the Romans by night shold lodge in the Campe which he had left neere vnto *Geryona*, and so get all the spoiles, he returned thither with speed with his whole Army.

After this defeat, the Carthaginians were more wary how to forrage and goe for Corne, and contrariwise the Romans more hardy to vndergoe dangers. In the meane time the newes of the victory was (according to the vifull manner) made farre greater then it had beeene: so as all the World reioyced. First for that they imagined that after so many losses, this was the beginning of a better fortune; and judge thereby, that the slacknesse and cowardize which had seemed to bee in their Army, was not the fault of the Souldiers, but of the Dictator. And therefore all the World contemned *Fabius*, and held him to bee dull and a Coward. Contrariwise they did so highly exroll and praise *Minucius*, as they gaue him equall power with the Dictator, the which had not beeene formerly seene, hoping that hee would soone make an end of the Warres of Italy. Thus there were two Dictators at one time, and in one Army: which was a new thing.

Two Dictators
at Rome at one
instant.

Minucius

Minucius much more proud then it is credible, as well for his good fortune as the peoples fauour, grew so glorious as if the Enemies were already defecated and vanquished. *Fabius* fainted not, nor lost his courage, for the injury they had done vnto him, but returned to the Campe alwaies constane in his opinion. But when hee saw that his Companion was much troubled to finde an occasion of fighting, fearing lest hee shold commit some folly, he gaue him the choice, either that one of them shold for a certayne time, or every other day, or for a longer space, haue the Government of the Campe, or else they shold diuide the Legions betwixt them after the manner of the Consuls, and that either of them shold doe with his Army what hee pleased. Wherefore they parted their Troupes, and had their Campes separated about a Mile and an halfe distant one from another.

When as *Hannibal* was aduertised not only by the Fugitives, but also of their actions, of the hatred betwixt the Commanders, and of the ouerweening of *Minucius*, thinking that this would further his intention, he fought occasion to fight with him: hoping hee should easily abate his fury and presumption. There was a little Hill betwixt *Minucius* Campe, and that of the Carthaginians: whereon whosoeuer seized, it would prove very prejudicial to the other. And when as *Hannibal* made haste to get it, being certaine that *Minucius* would come to prevent him, as hee had other times done, he vied this stratagem. First of all the whole Plaige betwixt them at the first fight seemed vsit to lay an Ambush, being void of woods and bushes: Yet there were about it many turnings and hollow Rocks, where they might easily hide Souldiers. Hee sends by Night to these hollow places, according to the capacity which hee knew to bee in them, two hundred, and three hundred, and fio hundred Horse together with fio thousand Foote. And to the end they should not bee discouered by the Forragers, hee sent at the breake of day, some that were lightly armed, to take this Hill. The which when *Minucius* percieved, contempning so small a number, he marcht with his Army to repell the Enemy from thence. Fift hee sent those that were lightly armed, commanding them to charge: then the Horse-men. Finally, hee followes with those that were compleatly armed, not changing the order which hee had held in other encounters.

The sunne was now risen, and all the World looked vpon this Hill. D The Ambushes were conered: *Hannibal* sent succours continually to his men, and afterwards followed with all his Cauallery. Finally, A Combate betwixt the two Armies fought with all their Troupes: and in the end the Roman Foote-men that were lightly armed, were forced by the Horse-men to retire to their Companions that were better armed. Then the Ambush brake forth, and charged on all sides with great cries, so as they not only distressed and afflicted those that were lightly armed, but likewise the whole Army. The which *Fabius* percieving, and fearing that the Roman Army might be wholy defeated,

Y 2

parts

Fabius recu-
rreth to the
Campe.

The diuision of
the Roman Au-
my betwixt the
two Dictators.



Hannibal,

The policy of

Fabius succours Minucius. parts from his Campe and succours his Companion : At whose coming the Romans rejoyced, and retired prently to their Ensignes, although they were broken and scattered here and there, with the losse of many Souldiers that were lightly Armed, and diuers others of the Legions.

The great Reputation of Fabius. Hannibal seeing the Enemies re-inforced with Succours, and that they march directly towards him, he caused a Retreat to be sounded. Then all the Romans which were in the fight confessed publickly that the Virtue and Wisedome of *Fabius*, had sau'd the Roman Empire, which the ouer-weening of *Minucius* had lost and ruined. When as the newes came to *Rome*, all the World knew plainly, what difference there is betwixt the ouer-weening and ignorance of Souldiers, and the judgement and aduise of a wife Capitaine. From that time the Romans contented themselves with one Campe, and all obeyed *Fabius*. The which I find related after this manner by another Author.

Minucius his Speech.

Vhen the two Armies were returned to their owne Campes, *Minucius* hauing his Souldiers about him spake vnto them in this manner. I haue often heard say, losing Souldiers, that hee is most Wise who can give good Councell, and tell what is to be done in his difficult Affaires : And hee is nexte Wiser who can obey him that giueþ good councell; but hee can neyther give good councell himselfe, nor obey other mens councell, is of all others most ignorant and foolish. Seeing that *Forstine* hath denied vs the first of shes Gifts, let vs keepe the second, and whilst we learme to Rule, let vs propound vnto our selues to obey them that be Wise. Wherefore let vs sayne our Tentis with *Fabius*, and when as you shall heare me salute him as my Protector and Father, you likewise shall salute his Souldiers as your noble Patrons, by whose strength and resolution you are preferred this day. Whereupon they prently remoued their Tentis, and went to *Fabius* Campe, wherat hee maruaileth much. There *Minucius* submitted himselfe and his men to the protection of *Fabius*, resigning the authority of the Empire into his hands.

Lucius Emilius and Gaius Tarrenius chosen Consuls.

The Carthaginians thought to accomodate a place to passe the Winter hauing inuironed it with Ditches, betwixt the Hill and their Campe, and fortified the top of the Hill with men and Pallisadoes. In the meane time the day of the Election of Consuls was come, where they deposed the Dictators, and made choice for Consuls of *Lucius Emilius*, and *Caius Tarrenius Varro*. And when as *Emilius* had created for Pro. Consuls, the Consuls of the precedent Army, *Cneus Servilius* and *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, who had beene subrogated in the place of *Flamininus*, they tooke the charge of all the Troupes that were in the Campe, manning all the Affaires of Warre. The Consuls make a new Levy of men to furnish their Army : and giue charge vnto the Pro. Consuls, that they shold not dare to fight a Battale with the Carthaginians, but entertaine their Souldiers with light skirmishes, and iuare the YOUTH to hardnesse and labour for the time to come : for that they imputed the defeats past vnto the ignorance and slacknesse of

the

the Souldiers. *Lucius Postumus* was created Praetor, and sent into Gaul with an Army, to do the like vnto those Gaules which were in *Hannibals* seruice: They also prouided Rowers for the Vessels which were at *Lylleben*: And they sent whatsoeuer was necessary to the Captaines that were in Spaine. During these actions at *Rome*, *Cneus Servilius*, and his Companion *Attilius*, following the Commandment of the Consuls, did not any thing worthy of memory, but make lighte of skirmishes, both by reason they were forbidden by the Consuls, and for the roughnesse of the Weather : Finally, they managed the affaires in view one of another.

*Hannibal dislodged in the beginning of the Spring, and leaving Ge-yona, (for that he had resolued so to presse the Romans, as they should be forced to come to a battaille,) he takes the Fort of Naples, well furnished with Corne and all other munition: For the Romans had drawne thither a great quantity of Corne from *Camplum*, and other neighbour Countries, wherewith the Campe was vsually victualled. This done they were in great perplexity, not so much for the losse of the munition, as for that the whole Country was left in prey to the enemy. They send men to *Rome*, to acquaint the Senate therewith, and that they might aduise what was to be done: For that they had resolued to giue battaille if the Enemy approached: Seeing there was no meanes of flight, and that the whole Province was ruined, and their Allies wa-tered. The Senate sent them word that they shold not attempt any wards commauded to depart. All the World had their eyes fixed vpon *Paulus Emilius*: They had their hope in him, aswell for his Wife. *Sclavonian*.*

Lucius Postumus Praetor.

The Fort of Naples taken by Hannibal.

Ceing ready to depart, I fide it Written that *Fabius* stlayed him for marcht with a Companion like unto thy Selfe, or if thou wert like unto thy Fellow, then were my Speech in vaine, which I will now make for you both, for being good Consuls you would worke effectually for the common wealth, although I shold be silent. But if you were both bad, then shold you neither heare my words, nor admit of my Councell. But knowing thy selfe halfe awaile the Common-wealth, through the folly of thy Companions: So as the Common-wealth doth halfe, andis halfe lawe; wherfore euill tends, fore-telling I bee that thou halfe haue as much Warre with thy fellow *Tarentius*, as with *Hannibal*: Neither doe I know which of them will be a more deadly enemy unto thee. For thou halfe not onely fight with *Hannibal* in the field, but with thy fellow thou shal haue continuall Warre in all places, and at all times. With *Hannibal* thou halfe fight with thy Horses and foote-men, but *Varro* will assaile thee with thine own men. I pray thee remember *Gaius Flaminus*, who being Consull and hauing his men about

Lucius Emilius
Liu.

about him in his Campe, beganne to grow mad. This man (before hee was made Consull, and now being Consull, even in the Senate-house, before hee sees his field or his enemy,) is already mad. And hee that thus talketh among the Senators, what thinke you will he doe when hee shalbe in the field among a number of fresh young Souldiers, where as one word speaking, all the matter shalbe decided. But in case he make haste to fight, as hee saith he will, either I know not what belongeth to the Warre, or else we are like to suffer greater losse, then we did at Trasimenum.

A There is but one way to mainstaine warre against Hannibal, the which I have fore-seene, and none will be found so good to make him wary of Italy. A We are in our owne Country, having Citties and faithfull Allies ready to assist us at all times with Horse, Armes, Victuals, and all other necessaries. Hannibal is in a strange Country among his enemies, farre from home, he looketh for no peace both by Sea or Land: Hee hath no Citties to receive him; he hath nothing but what he Stealeth, and taketh by rapine: he bath scarcely the shird part of his Army left, which hee brings over Iberus: more are dead by famine then with the Sword; and here hee can hardly feede those that are living. Wherefore doubt not but in sitting still, thou shalt vanquish such an Army, which decaresch daily in strength, and cannot haue their wants supplied. This is the onely meane to daily and decerne your enemy.

B Varro desirish bataile, and Hannibal hath the like desira. Wherefore thou alone must wifly oppose thy selfe against them both, and regard not what they speake of thee, let not the vaine glory of thy Fellow, nor the false aspersionis which shalbe cast upon thee, moue thee to the contrary. Suff for thy Selfe to be called fearefull, slow, and unskillfull in the Warre. It is better to be feared of thy wfe enemy, then to be prased of thy foolish company. My meaning is, not that thou shouldest do nothing, but whatsoeuer thou shalt attempt, do it soberly, and according to reason, not rashly, trusting to Fortune; follow not the occasions that the enemy will give Thee: And be not ouer hasty; for hasty is blind and worketh unsafely.

To thefe and his other Words the Consull answered little, saying only that were more true then easie to be followed: But hee would professe one thing, that his desire should alwayes be, to haue things succede well: But in case it should otherwise happen, hee would rather expothe himselfe, to the danger of his enemies Weapons, then to the exclamations of his angry Citizens. With these words he parted out of the City, and went to the Campe with his hasty Companion. It was ordred that the Warres should be managed with eight Legions, D the which had never beeene done, and that every Legion should consist of fife thousand men. The Romans as we haue sayd, make a compleat Army of four Legions, every Legion being fife thousand foote, and two hundred Horse, or else of fife thousand foote, and three hundred horse, if there be any great necessity. To the which they adde as many foote of their Allies, and thrice as many Horse. All the Troupes are equally deuided betwixt the Consuls. Most comonly one Consull giveth bataile with two Legions, and with the suc-

A Legion of
fife thousand
Men, and the
manner how
the Romans
raise an Army.

cours

cours of their Allies. They seldom fight with all their Troupes. But the feare and amazement of the Romans, was then so great of the Carthaginians, as they thought it fit not to fight onely with foure, but with eight Legions together. And therefore after they had giuen faire admonitions to the Consuls, and had laied before them the consequence of the affaires which way souer Fortune should turne, they Commaunded them to goe vnto the Campe intreating them to doe the duties of good men, in the administration of the Warre, as the Roman Maiestry required.

A After the comming of the Consuls to the Campe, they mingled the new Bands to the old Army, and let many understand the will of the Senate, wishing the multitude to be of good Courage, considering the seafon of the time: Wherewith Emilius made an Oration, whereof this in a manner is the Substance.

That for losses lately made, they shold not faint like men amazed: Paulus Emilius For the losses in former Battailles had not hapned for one or two can- speech unto
ses, but for many. And if at this day they be Men of Courage and the Souldiers, Resolution, there was nothing could hinder, but they shold obtaine a good-
B by Victory. That never unto this houre, the two Consuls had fought with all the Legions together, nor with more warlike Men, nor of greater Ex-
perience. And if on the other side they haue made use of young Men, and little acquainted with the Art of Warre, and who moreover were so ill ad-
vertised of the Enemies enterprize, of the situation of places, and the na-
ture of the Region, so as many times they haue found themselves in dan-
ger, when they had scarce seene the Enemy, which was a mater of great
consequence: For they which were defeated in Gaul, neere vnto the Riuier of
Trebia, came to fight without reason, never inquiring of the enemies en-
C terprize, within three daies after their arriuall from Sicily, and they
which were neere vnto the Lake of Peronza, were defeated before they
could see the enemy, by reason of a great Fogge.

But now Companion, saith he, all things are for vs; for wee are two Consuls united in one will, and the same forces, and we haue with vs shofe of the last yere. And for your part, you haue not onely seene the daily com-
bates, the order which Souldiers obserue, and the enemies Troupes: But moreover beholde the second yere, wherein you haue had experiance of all this, in practising your selues, and fighting continually. Wherefore seeing that things are contrary to those which hapned in former Battailles, it is not likely but the end should proue otherwise. It is not credible, nay I say it is impossible, seeing that in fighting with the enemy with an equal
D number in so many encounters, you haue parted Victors, that now you should be vanquished by them with all the Troupes, seeing you haue a double Army.

Seeing then Companions that you haue the Victory in your owne hands,
you haue no more need of our Consell and care. I might make you a long
Speech, if I did hold it necessary; for this must be exprest from those
which are mercenary, or being drawne from the Allies are Commanders
of an Army, to whom nothing is more troublesome then a day of Battaille.

In

In regard of those which are like unto us, whose times are not onely in danger, but their Country, Wives, and Children, whose remembrances happily should be of more force then any remonstrance.

What man is he that would not either vanquish in fighting, or die in the combat, then to live in misery, and attend so great storme and poverty? Courage Companions, consider with your selues what a difference there is betwixt vanquishing and to be vanquished, and what follows the one and the other, and prepare your selues to battaile, so as you will remember that it is not the Roman Army that is in danger, but the Country; and moreover the head of the world. What shall the Romans have remaining after your defeat? They haue put all their forces and power into your hands, and all their hope is in you. I intreate you for the honour of the immortal Gods, that you would not frustrate their expectation. Ieeld the thankes which you owe unto your Country, let all the world know, that the losses formerly made, were not by the proesse of the Carthaginians, more then by the Romans: but for that the Roman Souldiers were at that time new, and ignorant of the Warre.

After this Speech or the like, *Emilius* dismisse the Souldiers. Three dayes after the Army marcht towards the Enemis Campe, and on B the third day they planted themselues neare vnto them. But *Emilius* seeing that the Plaine was large, hee was not of opinion to fight with the Enemy: for that hee was stronger in Horse-men, and that they must draw them into some place where the Foote-men might haue the aduantage. Contrariwise *Varro* being of little experiance in the Warre, was of aduice not to deferre the battaile, lest the Enemy should escape from them. And therefore these two Consuls were in contention and debate, which is the worst thing that can happen in a Campe.

That day (for they gouerne it by dayes) *Varro* had the Command: who dislodging from his Campe, made haste to approach neare vnto the Enemy, notwithstanding that *Emilius* opposed him selfe to the contrary. *Hannibal* marcheth against them with his men lightly armed, and his Horse-men, and assaulteth them with a fight more likely to their fore-runners, then to a pitcht Battaille. The Romans received them valiantly: Finally, the Night parted them. The Carthaginians hauing gotten little, retired to their Campe.

And when as three dayes after *Lucius Emilius* had resolute not to fight, and could not disswade the other, hee diuides the Army into three, and fortifies two parts on this side the Riuere of *Fame*, which alone diuides the *Appennine* Hills, and bending towards the Sea of *Italy*, runnes into the *Adriaticque*. The other third part hee lodgeth on this side the Riuier, about two Miles and an halfe distant from the other two, and in a manner as much from the Enemies Campe. When as *Hannibal* had found out a convenient place for his Horse-men to fight in, and thinking that the Consuls would come to the Combat, hee began to put his men in battaile: But fearing

Discord betwix the two Consuls.

A skirmish betwix the Carthaginians and Romans.

The Riuer of *Fame*.

fearing that the Army was amazed, by reason of this last Fortune, hee resolute to preach vnto them. He drawes them together, and commandes them to looke vpon the Country which was about him, demanding of them what they could desire of the Gods more beneficall and profitable then the offer of a battaile, in those places where they might make vs of their Horse-men which were invincible. And when as all had confess it freely, therefore saith hee, giue thankes first vnto the immortal Gods: for in preparing vs the Victory, they haue brought the Enemy into this place of aduantage for vs, and secondly to vs, who by our industry and labour haue forced them to come to fight. The Romans cannot flee, nor auoide the Combate, and therefore the battaile and victory is in your hands.

I hold it folly now to perswade youto performe the duties of braue men. It had bee well spoken, when you had no experiance of the Roman Forces: the which at this present time wee made knowne vnto you by words and example. But what preaching can more inflame and encourage your hearts then the workes themselves: seeing you haue obtained the Victory in three great feuerall battailes? You haue bee Masters of the Field in the Combats past, and haue had abundance of all things as wee haue promised you: So as hitherto I haue never failed of my promise. But the Combate at this day is for Townes and treasure: if you gaue this battell, you shall be Lords of all Italy.

Finally, after so many labours and dangers, being deliuered by this alone, you shall purchase the felicity of the Romans: You shall bee the Head and Imperours of all the World. For the effecting whereof, there is not any neede of words, but of effectuall. By the will of the Gods before it be long, you shall all see by experiance that I am a man of my promise. After these Remonstrances, having commended their resolution, he planted his Campe vpon the Riuier-side, where the Enemies greatest forces lay. The day following hee commandes them to treat themselves well, and to prepare themselves to battaile for the day following. And therefore at the third day he passed the Riuier at the Sunne-rising, and put his men in battaile. But *Emilius* (seeing that his Forces were not equall in that place, and knowing *Hannibal* purposed his men in battaile) came not out of his Fort.

When as *Hannibal* had stayed some time there, seeing that hee had in vaine called the Enemis forth to fight, he retired the rest of his Army to the Campe, and sent the *Nomadians* to charge those which came from the Romans lesser Campe to water: which they kept and detained from them, purusing them with great cries vnto the Fort. Whereat *Varro* disdaining much, that the Roman Campe should bee annoyed by these men, was the more inflamed and encouraged into battaile. The whole multitude wished nor desired nothing more, so much the expectance in all things is tedious.

*Hannibal's
Speech into
his Souldiers*

A great amazement at Rome.

The Romans in all time very ceremonious.

Varro offers battle, and the order which he held,

The Roman Army of four thousand five hundred and five thousand Horse.

The order which Hannibal held to put his men in battle.

The diversity of Swords between the Gauls and Spaniards.

Hannibals Army consisted of forty thousand Foote, and ten thousand Horse.

And as in the meane time the newes were come to *Rome*, that although the Armies were not lodged in a place to give battaile, yet they were one right against another, and that there were dayly encounters, all the World entred into great heauiness and care. Certainly the *Romans* having receiu'd lately wonderfull great losses, feare much the future. Every man fore-casts with him selfe what the *Romans* fortune would bee, after the deafeate of this Army : All the World poured out threats against the *Sibyls* Booke, they saw nothing in the Temples and priuate houses but prodiges and strange signes. And therefore the whole City was addisfied to Prayers, to A sacrifices to the Gods, and to Ceremonies : for the *Romans* are great obseruers, as well in publique as in priuate, in the time of Warre, neither doe they let passe any thing out of their remembrance which in reason they ought to doe.

Varro to whom the authority belonged the next day, at the Sunne-rising drawes forth the Armies out of both the Campes without the priuity of his Companion. And parting with those which were in the great Fort, hec ioynes vnto them those that were in the lesser.

Then putting his men in Battaile, he places the *Roman* Horse-men vpon the right wing, which was nearest vnto the Riuere. Next to the which continuing the order, he dispoileth of the Foote-men, with the greatest number of Ensignes, and the closest Bands : and the Horse-men of the Allies were vpon the left wing, and in Front those that were lightly armed. They were with their Allies, to the number of fourtene thousand Foote, and about sixe thousand Horse. *Hannibal* passing the Riuere at the same time, sends them of *Maiorque* and *Mino* que with those that were lightly armed before : and passing the rest of the Army at two places, he plants himselfe before the Enemy, ordyning the Horse-men of *Gaule* and *Spanie* neere vnto the Riuere vpon the left wing against the *Roman* Horse-men. After which he lets Foote-men in the midst of the *Affricans*, who were armed to prooe, and after them the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, and finally the rest of the *Affricans* : and on the right wing he lodgeth his *Numidian* Horse-men.

When he had put his whole Army in order, he placeth in the midst the Troupes of *Gaules* and *Spaniards* : he ordered them in a crooked forme, and a weake figure, meaning that the *Affricans* should undergoe the danger before them, as a safegard to the Battaile. The *Affricans* were armed in such sorte, as you would haue taken it for a *Roman* Battalion, by reason of the Armes which they had gotten at *Trebia*, and at the Lake of *Perouza*. The *Gaules* and *Spaniards* carried the like Targets, but their Swords differ'd : For the *Spaniards* were short, and therefore easie, werewith they did both thrust and strike : But the *Gaules* were long and without points. It was a strange and terrible thing to see the *Gaules* naked aboue the waiste, and the *Spaniards* attired in shitts of Linnen, wrought with purple after the manner of their owne Countrey. There were ten thousand Horse, and aboue forty thousand Foote with the succours

that

that came from *Gaule*. *Lucius Emilius* led the right wing, and *Tarrenthus Varro* the left : *Marcus Attilius*, and *Cneius Serranus* governed the Battalion in the midst. And as for the *Carthaginian* Captaines, *Asdrubal* led the left wing, *Hanno* the right, and *Hannibal* was in the middest with his Brother *Mago*. The *Romans* looked towards the South, and the *Carthaginians* to the North : but neither of them were annoyed with the Sunne.

After they had glu[n]g warning to battaile, the encounters and skirmishes were for a time equall. But when as the *Gaules* and *Spaniards* of the left wing, had charged the *Romans*, the Combate was fierce and cruell, so as they did not charge and recharge, but toyning together, they did fight Foote to Foote, and man to man, after they had left their Horsemen. There the *Carthaginians* vanquished and slew most of the *Romans*, fighting valiantly, and with great courage. In regard of the rest, they slew them retiring neare the Riuere without any mercy or compassion : And then the Foote-men received those that were aduantagiously armed, charging one another. The *Spaniards* and *Gaules* resuled the *Romans* valiantly for a short time, but being forced, they retired, breaking their Luncary order. Then the *Roman* Battalion purusing with great courage, did easily disorder the Enemies Ranks : for that of the *Gaules* was weake, as hauing fortified the hornes, being in the midst of the danger. Wherefore the hornes and the midst were not equall : so as the midst of the *Gaules* Battalion advanced farre vpon the hornes, like an halfe Moone, the crookednesse turning towards the Enemie.

Finally, the *Romans* purusing them, marcht thorough without any resistance, so as at their coming they had vpon their Flancks the *Affricana* that were best armed, who couering themselves with their Targets, charg'd their Enemies vpon the sides thrusting with their swords. So as by the prouidence of *Hannibal*, the *Romans* were inclosed among the *Clybians*, by the encounter which they had made against the *Gaules*. They did not fight by Battalion, but Man to Man, or by troupes, turning against those which charged them vpon the Flancks. And altho[ugh] that *Lucius Emilius*, who commannded the right wing, had beeine in the Combat of the Horsemen, Yet hee was safe and well, meaning therefore that in giuing courage, his deedes should bee answerable to his words, seeing that the hope of Victory consisted in the Foote-men, hee thrust into the hottest of the Battaille, where in fighting hee gaue courage to the Horsemen, the which *Hannibal* did in like manner. In the meane time the *Numidians* of the left wing with all their Horse-men, falling vpon the right wing of the *Romans*, they neither did nor suffered any thing that was worthy of memory, so equall were the two Troupes both in force and courage : yet they made the *Romans* vnonprofitable, scattering them heere and there. In the meane time *Asdrubal* went to aide and succour the *Affricans* with the Horse-men of the left wing. The which the Horse-men of the *Roman* Allies perceiving, they presently turned head. *Asdrubal* seeing this, performed the duty of a wise and discreet Capaine : and sent the *Numidians*,

The battaile of *Gaule*.

The deafeate of the Roman Horsemen by the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*.

The *Gaules* Battalion of Foote broken againe.

Lucius Emilius.

Hannibal.

Asdrubal.

*Emilius slaine
in the Battaille.*

Numidians, whom he knew were more in number, and terrible to make a chace,) to pursue them that fled, and went himselfe speedily with the Footmen to succour the *Africans*: where assailing the *Romans* in the Reare, he scrafed his owne Men, making a great slaughter of the Enemie. *Lucius Emilius* haung received many wounds, died in this Battaille: Hee was a Man who vnto his death had done good seruice vnto the Common-wealth. They write that *Caius Lentulus* a Tribune leading an empty horse in his hand as he fled, saw *Paulus* the Consull sitting on a stone, all covered with blood, to whom he said: *Lucius Emilius whom the Gods shold hold innocent of his cruell slaughter, take this bofse, whilst any strength remaynes within, and I being thy friend will lift thee vp, and keepe thee on*, lest thou make this Battaille dolefull shoroughe the death of a Consull: without the which there is cause enough of mourning and weeping. Whereunto the Consull answered, *Caius Cornelius increase thou in vertue, but beware lest whilst thou doest bewaile this accident, thou finde little time to escape thy selfe. Goe therefore and bid the Senate make strong the walls of Rome, and to forſifie it with Succours, before the Conquerour come: and tell Quintus Fabius secretly, that *Lucius Emilius Paulus* doth constantly remember his precepts, lynch in them, and will die in them. And I pray thee suffer me to passe this life, among these my dead Knights, lest by longer liuing I become an accuser of my felowe, defending my innocence by the trespasse of another, and yet at length dye being held guilty of this action.* A

*Emilius speech
to Lentulus.*

*The Romans
lose the Battaille.*

*Varro flies with
threſcore and
ten Horse.*

*Ten thouſand
Romans taken
alive.*

*Threeſcore
and ten thouſand
slaine in
the Battaille.
Hannibals
loſſe.*

The *Romans* holding still good in so long and furious a Battaille, were in the end all slaine. Among the which died the Consuls of the precedent year, *Marcus Atilius* and *Cneius Servilius*, braemen, and worthy of the *Roman* name. At the same time the *Numidians* ouertooke the horsemen which fled, whereof they slew a great number, and dismounted the rest. Some retired to *Venitum*: among the which was the Consull *Varro*, whose life was base, and his command unprofitable for his Country. Behold the end of the Battaille of *Cannas*, so famous as well for the victors as the vanquished: whereof the reaſon is, for that of five thouſand *Roman* horse, there escaped but threſcore and tenne to *Venitum with Varro*; and of the Allies about three hundred scattered here and there, who fled to the Neighbour Townes. And as for the Bands of Foote, the Enemie tooke about tenne thouſand alive, so as there hardly escaped three thouſand. The rest to the number of threeſcore and tenne thouſand were slaine in the Battaille. The *Carthaginians* got not the victory without loſſe. There were slaine about four thouſand *Gauls*, fifteene hundred *Africans* and *Spaniards*, and two hundred horſe. The *Romans* which were taken alive were not in the Battaille: for *Varro* had left tenne thouſand Men in the Campe, to the end that if *Hannibal* led forth all his Army to fight, that in assailing the Enemies Campe whilst they were otherwife busie, they might spoile the *Carthaginian* Munition. And if *Hannibal* left a ſufficient Garrison for the Campe, then his Forces would be the leſſe, for the *Romans* were stronger in numbers of Men. Behold the manner how they were taken. *Hannibal* had left a ſufficient Garrison in his Campe to guard it: But when as the *Romans* ſaw the Battaille grow hot, they go vnto the Campe D as

as they had refolued to besiege it. The *Carthaginians* defended themſelves: But for that the *Romans* charged them furiously, they were forced to abandon the place. In the meane time *Hannibal* having gotten an absolute victory, falls vpon those which affailed his Campe, and put them to flight, shutting them vp within their Forts, of whom hee slew two thouſand, and tooke the rest. The *Numidians* on the other ſide brought vnto *Hannibal* the *Roman* horſemen, who flying, were diſperſed in the Fields. Thus after the Battaille ended, neither of them were deceiued in their expectation: for preſently the *Carthaginians* were Maſters of the Province, which they call great *Greece*, ſo as *Tarent*, *Capua*, and *Naples*, came vnder their obedience, and all the Townes wauered for *Hannibal*, neither was he out of hope to take *Rome* ſpeedily.

A parent, capua
and Naples re-
duced under
the obedience
of Hannibal.

Finally, the *Romans* wholy diſpairing of the Empire of *Italy*, were in feare not only of their owne ruine, but alſo of the whole Country, expeſting hourly their cruell Enemie at the walls of *Rome*. The Cittie being thus troubled, Newes (to the end the meaſure of their miseries might be full) came from *Gaule* of the Defeat of *Lucius Postumus* the Praetor, with his Army by an Ambuſh. Yet the Senate inuolued in ſome other miseries, made a good ſhew; aduizing the people to fortifie the Cittie with Men, and to confider of their affaires with courage and conſancie. The which the things which ſucceeded afterwards did verifie, for being now vanquished by the *Carthaginians*, and leeming to acqut vnto them the glory of Armes, within ſhort time after, by the conſtanſie of the Common-wealth, and by the Councell and wiſdome of the Senate, they came (after they had vanquished and ruined the *Carthaginians*) to be Lords not onely of *Italy*, but alſo of the whole world. And therefore we will conclude this booke, and likewife the actions of *Spaine* and *Italy*, which were during the hundredth and fourtie Olimpiade. And when we ſhall come to thole of *Greece*, during the ſame Olimpiade, we will ſpeak more at large of the *Roman* Common-wealth: For I hold it not onely neceſſary for the Reader, for the knowledge of the Hiftory, but alſo profitable, to correct and gouerne a Common-wealth.

The end of the Third Booke of Polybius.

D

Z 3

THE



A

THE FOVRTH BOOKE of the History of POLYBIVS.

B



C

EE haue in my opinion sufficiently shewed the causes of the second punique warre in this last Booke, and then the descent of *Hannibal* into *Italy*: Wee haue also related many Combats betwixt the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*, vnto the Battaille which was fought neare vnto the Riuere of *Panis*, and the Towne of *Cannes*. Now wee will pursye the warres of *Greece* of the same time, deliuering in few words, the things mentioned by vs in the second Booke of the preparation of our worke, and especially of the Common-weale of the *Achaeans*: Considering that their manner of government tooke a great increafe, as well before as in our time. And therefore beginning with the time of *Tisamenus*(one of the fomes of *Oreistes*) we haue said that the *Achaeans* liued from his time vnto the Reigne of *Gyges*, vnder Kings descending from him: And that hauing chased them away, the Cittie being well aduised, gaue the government vnto the Commons: Some few yeares after the Townes and Burroughes began to fall into diſſent, by the meanes of the *Lacedemonian* Princes. Yer afterwards as we haue ſaid, the *Achaeans* reunited themſelues, which was the firſt meaneſt that all *Morea* tooke the firſtname of *Achaeans*. Wee haue moreouer deliuered their actions in particular, vnto the Defeate of *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedemonians*. And there we haue concluded our preparation, with the death of *Antigonus, Seleucus*,

D

E

Tisamenus

Cleomenes.

Seleucus, and *Ptolemy*: for they all died in one Olimpiade. It rests now, that in writing the Remainder, wee ſhould begin there. The ſubiect ſeemes good: firſt, for that the deeds which *Ariane* hath written, end at that time, to the end that to continue the Narration of the *Grecians* actions, wee ſhould prosecute (as wee haue promifed) thoſe which follow: And for that the times are ſo united, as one part hath beeene in our age, and the other in the time of our Parents. By this meaneſt we haue ſene part, and heard the reſt from thoſe which haue ſene them, I haue not held it fit to ſeekē things farre off, nor to make a relation grow- ing from heare-say or report, for that I conceiue it would not be profitable for the Reader: And therefore let vs begin with the time, when as Fortune ſeemed to haue made a new world. *Philip* the lawfull ſonne of *Demetrius*, being in his younger yeares, had taken poſſeſſion of the Empire of *Macedon*. *Achaea* Lord of all the Prouince neare vnto *Tar-*
rus, had not only the Name of a King, but alſo the Forces. *Antiochus* ſurnamed great, ſucceeded his Brother *Seleucus* lately dead, in the Realme of *Syria*, although hee were but young: and *Ariarates* had taken the Realme of *Capadoccia*. At the ſame time alſo *Ptolemy Philopator* had gotten the Empire of *Egypt*: and ſoonne after *Lycurgus* was choſen King *pure*, *Lycurgus* for the *Lacedemonians*. The *Carthaginians* likewife had choſen *Hannibal* for their Generall in the Warres as we haue mentioned. And therefore it ſeemes that there was an alteration, ſeeing that all the Potentates were renewed, which is a naturall thing, and which happened at one

The Romans and *Carthaginians* made the warre which we haue mentioned: and *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy* that of *Syria*. In regard of the *Acheans* and *Philip*, they had warre againſt the *Etolians* and *Lacedemo-*
nians. Whereof ſee the cauſes. The *Etolians* being long discontented with peace, were not content to liue vpon their owne charges, as being accustomed to liue vpon their Neighbours, for the neceſſity of their great expences, by reaſon of their Naturall arrogancie, whereunto be-
ship nor alliance: fo all things are of good prize vnto them. And although that during the life of *Antigonus*, they did not ſtirre, fearing the forces of the *Lacedemonians*: Yet after his death when as *Philip* had ſucceeded him, they began (dſpairing his youth) to ſeekē occaſions of warre with them of *Morea*: and namely, for that by an ancient custome of injuries, they had uſed to rob and ſpoile at Sea: And that moreouer they held themſelues more powerfull to make warre then the *Acheans*.

Being in this humour, ſoonne after they found this occaſion, together with the fauour and fortune of their enterprize. Dromiache Triconce was ſoonne to *Nicætrates*, who violated the affaires of the *Pamborians*: who being yet young and full of arrogancie and pride, an *Etolien* had beeene ſent by the Common-weale to *Phigalia*: It is a Towne ſituated right againſt the *Messenian Mountains*, and which by fortune was then allied to the *Etolians*. Hee let them understand that hee had beeene ſent theretherto gouerne the Towne and the Country: Although they had

The time of
the death of
Antigonus, Se-
leucus, and Ptole-
macy.

Ptolemy wife
nothing but
what he bath
done, or no
couched from
thoſe which
had ſeen them:

Philip,
Achaea,
Antiochus,
Seleucus.

Ptolemy Philo-
pater,
Lycurgus.

The cauſes of
the warre be-
twixt the *A-*
cheans and *Phi-*
lip, againſt the
Etolians and
Lacedemo-
nians.

of Phigalia.

*The Etolians
spoile the Messenians.*

*The Etolians
take Chiron by
Scalade.*

Sabylle.

Tauris.

had done it of purpose to discouer the estate of Morea. But for that in regard of the alliance, they could not viciuall their Pyratis, who wandering there abouts, retired to him to Phigalea for their Munition, and the rather for that the peace made with Antigonus continued still, he aduised them to carry away the *Messenians* Cartell, who were their Friends and Allies. The whiche they began at the first to chasse out of their limits : and afterwards as their obstatacie increased by little and little, to ruine the houses in the night standing scattered in the Fields, and to spoile and ruine the whole Country. The *Messenians* discontented herewith, send an Embassie to Dorimache, to complaine of the outrages done by the Pyratis, who at the first made no account of it, doing it partly for the benefit of the Pyratis, and partly for his owne interest, haing a share in the Booty. But being often prest by Embassies, by reason of the continuall of the wrongs, he told them that he would be soone at Messena to doe them right, for the complaints they made against the *Etolians*. Being axiued, and that many presented themselves vnto him haing bin wronged, hee sent some away with scotches : others with iniuries, and some he terrified with bigge and outragious words. During these purfuits at Messena, the Pyratis came in the night to a Burrough called Chiron, and tooke it by Scalade, and facking and spoiling it, they flewe some B of those which were found in Armes, and carrie away the rest Prisoners with the Cartell.

The *Messenians* being more incensed herewith, considering his Presence, and finally thinking that they were deluded, they cause him to come before the Magistrates. By good fortune Schiron, a man of good esteeme, and at that time Gouvernour of the *Messenians*, was of opinion, not to suffer Dorimache to part out of the Towne, before hee had restored the spoiles which the Pyratis had made, and repaired the houses in the Country, and deliuered those which had committed the Murthers. And when as all the assembly approued of the Councell, Dorimache inflamed with choller, told them they were fooles, and if in doing that, they thought to wrong Dorimache, and not the *Etolians*: And that moreover they did him great wrong, and that within a short time reuenge would be taken.

There was at that time in Messena a man of base condition, called Babysithe, so like in face, body, lincaments, and voyce to Dorimache, that if they had giuen him his Crowne and Robe, you could hardly have discern'd them. This Dorimache knew well. And when he vsed proud and audatious words to the *Messenians*, Schiron grew into choller, telling him, thinkest thou that we care for thee or Babysithe for this thy rashnesse. After which words, Dorimache thought good to strike stile, restoring to the *Messenians* all the pillage. And going then to Etolia, he tooke this speech of Schiron so to heart, as without any other cause he made warre against the *Messenians*. At that time Ariphan was chiefe of the *Etolians*, who by reason of the weakenesse of his body, growne by a long infirmitie, could not mannage this warre. Although hee were allied to Scope and to Dorimache, yet he gave the conduct to Dorimache. But he durst not openly incenze the *Etolians* to make warre against the *Messenians*:

niens : for that hee could not propound for a sufficient cause, as growing onely vpon choller for an injury spoken to him. And therefore leauing this aduise, hee adreſſeth himselfe to Scope in priuate, persuading him to oppose himselfe against the *Messenians* : being then assured of the *Macedonians*, by reaſon of the minority of their King, for that Philip had not ſeventene yeares compleate : and that moreouer the *Lacedemonians* held not the party of the *Messenians*, acquainting him with the Friendship and alliance hee had with the *Grecians*. Wherefore hee found not any man that could hinder his paſſage to Messena. Then hee propounded vnto him with an *Etolien* perſuasion, the great profitte that wold redowne thereby : conſidering that all the Country liued in affurance, and that they alone had not felt the Cleomenique Warre : and that finally the *Etolians* wold bee well pleſed, and ready to doe them honour vnto the vtmoſt of their ability and power.

As for the *Acheans*, they wold give them occaſion of Warre, if they fought to hidder their voyage : But if they did not budge, they wold paſſe eaſily to Messena : and for that the *Messenians* had made a promise to the *Acheans* and *Macedonians*, to enter into their league, B they gaue ſufficient occaſion of Warre. Haſting vſed a long Speech Warte attempt. ted by the Etolians against the *Messenians*, to enter into their league, as *hunc agitato* without assembling the people, or attending the will of the Ma- gistrates, or obſerving any order of Justice, they made Warre againſt the *Messenians*, the *Epirotas*, *Acheans*, *Acaranians*, and *Macedonians*. Wherefore they preſently ſent forth many Pirates, who encountered with the roiall ſhip of *Macedony*, laden, and carried it to *Etolia*, where they ſold the Pilots and Marineris, and in the end the ſhip.

Then they ranne along the Empire, ſpoyle all thofe which they met, being affiſted by the *Cephalonians* Veffels, to commit their outrages, taking Townes by Treafon. For in *Scarnania* they tooke Orea, and feized vpon a Castle which is in the midſt of the Megalopolitains Country, which they call *Claire*, by men whom they had ſecretly ſent into Morea : whereof making vſe afterwards for a reteate, they committed great ſpoiles at Sea. At that time Timoxenes which was Chiefe of the *Acheans*, tooke the Towne of Tauris taken by affault, the which Antigonus had taken in the time of the Warre of Morea.

You must understand that King Antigonus held Corinthe with the D good liking of the *Acheans*, as we haue ſhewed heretofore, in ſpeaking of the Cleomenique Warre : But he had not reſored *Orchomenes* vnto them, the which hee had taken by force, and had made himſelfe Lord thereof, requeſting and deſiring (as it ſeemes) not onely to haue an entry into Morea, but also to keepe the heart thereof by meaſes of the Garrison of *Orchomenes*.

Dorimache and Scope making great choiſe of the time, when as Timoxenes had not no many dayes to continue and ſtay in his Ma- gistracy, and that Arat who was to ſucceſſe him, could not execute

his office, they assembled the *Etolians* neare vnto the Mountaine of *Rhipe*: and haing prepared the *Cephalonian* shippes, they sayled to *Morea*: and in passing by the Coasts of the *Patrenses*, *Pharenes*, and *Trisenses*, they march against the *Messeniens*. It had beeene forbidden not to doe any outrage to the *Achaeans*. But who can precribe an order to a multitude, who spoile all where they come? Coming in the end to *Phigalea*, and making their attempt against the *Messeniens*, without any regard of their ancient Friendship, and with out any feare of God or Men, they ouer-runne and spoile the Countrey, putting all to fire and sword. In the meane time the *Messeniens* finding themselues too weake, kept themselues close within their Towne.

The time of election approaching for the *Achaeans*, they assembled at *Egæa*, whereas holding their Diet, when as the Embassadours of *Patres* on the one side, and those of *Phares* on the other, made their complaints for the outrages done by the *Etolians*, and that on the other side the *Messeniens* demanded Succours with great compassion, they were induced, partly by the wrongs done vnto their Allies, and moued partly with pitty, which they had of the *Messeniens*, being likewise discontented that the *Etolians* had past their Army thorow their Countrey without their priuity, they resolued to giue succours to the *Messeniens*, and thereby to accustomme the *Achaeans* to Warre: and what the *ancient* *and* *ordaine* should be obserued. *Timoxenes* cheife of the *Achaeans*, who was not yet deposid, fearing to make any attempt, as if there were no other meanes but the multitude: for that after the Warre of *Cleomenes*, when as all quarrels were pacified, hee knew well that the people of *Morea* were giuen to pleasure, and that making no more accompt of Warre, they were growne idle.

Contrariwise, *Arae* not able to endure the outrage done vnto his Allies, and incensed the presumption of the *Etolians*, remembred in like manner their ancient hatred, hee made haste to cause the *Achaeans* to take Armes, and to fight with the *Etolians*. And therefore fve dayes before hee shoulde enter into the Magistracy, hee received the Scale from *Timoxenes*, and wrote vnto the Towne, willing them to leue men, and to assemble at *Megalopolis*. But before wee proceede, I haue thought good to speake somethong of his nature and disposition.

Arae was a man perfect in all things for the Government of a City: for hee spake well, and had a good iuention; being also diligent, D and of execution: There was not his equall to endure a Ciuell dissencion patiently, nor to contract leagues and alliances. Finally, hee was a wise and discreet man in his Magistracy and charge, and to lay Ambushes for his Enemy, bringing them vnto a good end by his labour and patience. Whereof there are many proothes and testimonies, but especially for that he delievered *Sicyon* and *Maninea* to the *Achaeans*: and had taken *Pellene* from the *Etolians*. Hee likewise conquered the strong Fort of *Gorinthe*, which they call *Arcocorinthe*. Yet

The disposition
of *Arae*.

Yet if hee were to fight, he was careless to take Coluecell, and faint-hearted in the fight. Wherefore he filled *Morea*, with the triumph of the spoiles taken by him: so as Nature hath not onely startid a ^{the diuers} *Nautes* ^{men.} diversitie id mens bodies, but also in their soules: So as many times the same man doth not carry himselfe ^{only} in divers things, an able man in some, and slacke in others: But also hee doth many times in one and the same action make shew of extreme heate, and sometimes of incredible slacknesse: so as sometimes hee seemes a man of great courage, and another time very fearefull. There are no strange things, but vniuell, and well knowne viro ^{vnto} thone that doe obserue A them. Wee likewise see many men in hunting to bee wonderfull hardy against the cruellest savage Beasts that can bee found: whom if you leade to the Warre against the Enemy, would be found Cowards and faint hearted. You shall likewise finde many in the Warre, which are resolute to fight man to man, but in a pitcht Battaille are of no esteeme.

It is certaine that the Horse-men of *Thessaly* being ioyned together, ^{The nature of} the *Thessaloni-* ^{ans.} Troupes, it is easie to cut them in peeces: which is contrary in the *Etolians*. They of *Candy* are the most active men in the World, as well for Combateal Sea and Land, for Ambushes, Robberies, ^{Etolians,} Rapines, surprizes in the Night, and for all manner of deceipts: But in a pitcht Battaille, they are faint-hearted Cowards, and of no service. To whom the *Achaeans* and *Macedonians* are quite contrary: I haue delivered these things in few words, to the end that no man should maruaile, nor giue lese credit to the History, if sometimes wee shew that one and the same man hath carried himselfe diuersly in the like affaires. Let vs now returne where wee left.

After the assembly had beeene made at *Megalopolis*, of able men for C the Warre, the *Messeniens* came againe to the *Achaeans*, intreating them to helpe and affst them, being so apparently wronged by the *Etolians*: and desiring whithall if it were their good pleasure to bee received into their league, hereafter to beare the necessary charges for the presentation thereof. The cheife of the *Achaeans* make answeres, that as for the alliance, they could not hearken vnto it, for that it was not in their power and ability to receive or fauour any one without the consent of *Philip* and the other Allies: For that the accord continued yet firme, which had beeene made in the time of the *Cleomenic* Warre, vnder the command of *Antigonus*, betwixt the *Achaeans*, *Epizotes*, *Phocenses*, *Macedonians*, *Bœocians*, *Arcadians*, and *Thessalians*. And yet they would willingly give them succours, so as they will give their Children for hostages vnto the *Achaeans*: promising never to make peace, nor any accord with the *Etolians*, without the consent of the *Achaeans*. It is true, the *Laccedemoniens* had drawne downe an Army neare vnto *Megalopolis*, not so much in regard of their Alliance, as to see the event of the Warre.

An Embassie sent from Arate to the Etoiliens
When as Arate had thus concluded with the Messenians, he sends an Embassie to the Etoiliens, signifying unto them to retire their Army out of the Messenians Country, and that hereafter they should doe them no wrong, nor touch the Achaeans Country: And if they did otherwise, hee declares himselfe their Enemy. Scapæ and Dorimache hauing heard the Embassadours charge, and being aduertised of the preparation of the Achaeans, thought good to yeld vnto Arate. Wherefore they sent Letters presently into Cylene to Aristos, chiefe of the Egiens requiring shipping: and two daies after they parted, causing the Baggage to march before, taking their way towards the Elienses: a people which had beeene alwayes faithfull to the Etoiliens. But Arate thinking simply they had gone away, as they had resoluē, gaue leave to all his Bands to retire vnto their houses: and went directly to Patras, accompanied onely with threethousand Foote and three hundred Horse, which were vnder the charge and command of Taurion, to cut off the Enemies retreat.

Dorimache being aduertised, and fearing they should hinder the passage, hee sent all the booty with a good Conuoy to the ships, giuing charge to those which had the conduct, that they should come and meete him at Rhie, where he had resoluē to imbarke. When he had conducted the booty a little way, hee presently turnes head and comes to Olympia, leaving those aduertised that Taurion was about Clitoria with his Troopes, fearing that he should not be able to imbarke at Rhie without fighting or danger, hee held it best to fight presently with Arate, who had but small Troopes, and was ignorant of his Enterprise. Hee conceiuēt that hee should make his retreat safetly that way which he had resoluē, if he defeated the Enemy, in running the whole Prouince, before the Achaeans should make a new head: and if they fled the Combate for feare, hee should passe where hee pleased without danger. Dorimache moued with these reasons, seated his Campe neere vnto Methydrie, which is not farre from Megalopolis. The Achaeans aduertised of the coming of the Etoiliens, made so litle vse of those things which were visible, as they forgot nothing that might augment and increase their folly. First, in leauing Clitoria, they planted their Campe neere vnto Caphies.

And when as the Etoiliens parting from Methydrie, had past at Orychomene, the Achaeans march by the Countrey of the Caphians, being incloſed with a Riuere, as with a Rampier. The Etoiliens fearing D to fight with the Enemy according to their first resolution, as well for the difficultie of the places, (for there were before the Riuere Ditches and inacceſſible places) as for the comming of the Achaeans. They marcht vnto Oligarne in good order, being loath that any one should force them to runnne into danger. When as the Bands of Horse-men followed them vpon a Plaine neere vnto them, Arate sent the Footmen that were lightly armed after the Horse-men, vnder the conduct of Aearna, giuing them charge to fight with them, and to trie

The enimy of the Achaeans

the Fortune wherein hee committed a great error, for seeing hee had an intent to fight, he shoud not haue charged them in the Rearre, for that they were not farre from the Mountaines, but in fronte, before they shoud haue gotten the top: By this meanes the Battaille had beeene in the Plaine. Whereby vndoubtedly the Etoiliens had bene defeted by reason of their kind of Armes and order. Contrariwise Arate by bad aduise left vnto the Enemies the opportunity of the place, and of time which was offred him. When as the Etoiliens saw the Achaeans march, they vſed all diligence to gaine the Mountaines, making haste to ioyne with their Foote-men. Arates men not duly considering what had beeene done, and being ignorant of the Enemies enterprize, when they saw the Horse-men runne, they sent those that were lightly armed of two wings, thinking it had beeene a flight: and giue them charge to succour the Horse and Foote. Then Arate marched with the rest much discontented, making a long wing. The Etolien Horse-men approaching to the Foote of the Mountaines, began to march a slow pace, and called downe their Foote-men with great cries: who comming suddenly to succour them, and seeing they were not fewer in number then the Enemy, they turned head against the Achaeans Horse-men, and charged them, for that they B had an advantage in the number of men, and the opportunity of the place.

The Combate was fierce on either side, and the victory for a time was in suspence. Finally, the Achaeans were repuls'd. And when as they which were lightly armed, which had beeene sent to succour them, mett with them that fled, they were forced to doe the like being amazed with this new accident, and partly broken by them that fled. So as the defete was but of fife hundred, whereas the flight was of aboue two thousand. The Etoiliens seeing plainly what they had to doe, pursued the Achaeans with cries and ioy. Who thinking to finde their men in Battaille where they had left them, retired to Arate. And therefore their flight in the beginning was honest, and for their safety. But when as they saw them dislodge, and to come by files, and in disorder, then some flying here and there, sought for their safety: others marching directly to their owne men, disordred one another without any Enemy: Finally, they all file, and sauē themselves in the neighbour Townes: for Orchomenes and Caphies were not farre off, otherwife they had beeene all taken or slaine that day. Thus the Achaeans were defeated neere vnto Caphies.

D The Megalopolitains being aduertised, that the Etoiliens had planted their Campe neere vnto Methydrie, they assembled all with one consent, and went to Field three daies after the Battaille, to succour the Achaeans: but they were forced to bury those, with whom they did hope to fight against the Enemy. And therefore they made a great Ditch, wherein they put all the dead Bodies, and performed their obsequies after the manner of the Countrey. The Etoiliens being Victors, past through Mroea without feare of danger. At what time after they had fought diuers wayes to gaine the Pellenenses, and

A fight betwixt the Achaeans and the Etoiliens

A defete of the Achaeans

the Etoiliens

had

*Arate blamed
by the Achaeans.*

had ruined the Country of the *Sicyoniens*, in the end they retired by the freight of the *Isthmuu*. These were the causes of the warre of the Allies, whereof wee have formerly spoken: whereof the beginning was by a Decree which was afterwards made among the Allies, and confirmed at *Corinthe*: where they were all assembled for that cause: *Philip King of Macedon* consenting thereunto.

Some few dayes after, the *Achaeans* being assembled, they blamed *Arate* both in publicke and priuate, as if he had beeene the cause of this defeat and losse, and the Commons were the more inflamed, for that the Enemies league made it to seeme greater. First, it seemed hee had committed a great fault, to haue feased vpon the Magistracie before his time, and to haue made enterprizes doing another mans office: wherein hee had many times before beene vnfortunate. But it seemed hee had done worse, dissolving the *Achaeans* Army, the *Etolian* Commanders being still in the midst of *Morea*. Thirdly, that being ill accompanied, hee had giuen Battale without force: considering that hee might easilly haue returnd to the Neighbour Townes, vntill the *Achaeans* had made a new head: and then giuen Battale if hee had thought fit. Finally, that hee had carried himselfe so inconfiderately, that in leauing the Plaines (where without doubt his Men had beeene the stronger) hee had affailed B the Enemie in the Mountaines with Souldiers lightly armed: whereby the *Etolians* could haue no greater aduantage.

Yet fuddainly when as *Arate* was returned, and entred into the assembly, and that he began to deliuer the things which he had formerly done for the publique good, and had made knowne the causes of the last Defeat, and giuen them to understand that he was not the cause thereof, as his Enemies had faldly flaudred him: and that finally hee would haue craued pardon, letting them know that if hee had committed any fault, the *Achaeans* should not consider the euent of things, so bitterly nor with such rigour, but with fauour and mildeenesse, the opinion of the Commons was suddenly so changed, as where before they seem'd to be wonderfully incensed against *Arate*, they sodainly turned their choller against his ill-willers, so as from that time they followed the Councell and opinion of *Arate*. These things happened in the hundred and nine and thirtieth Olympiade, and those which follow in the hundred and fortieth.

It was then resolued by the *Achaeans*, to send Embassies to the *Epirotes*, *Paeoniens*, *Phocenses*, *Acarnaniens*, and to *Philip King of Macedon*, to let them understand that the *Etolians* had entred twice into *Achaea*, contrary to the former accords: and likewise to demand succours according to the league, and moreouer that the *Messeniens* might bee received: and that the chiefe of the *Achaeans* might leauie five thousand Foote, and five hundred Horse, and succour the *Messeniens*, if the *Etolians* did reasalle them. Finally, that he might agree with the *Lacedemonians* and *Messeniens*, touching the number of Foote and Horse, which they shold keepe ready for the common affaires of the league. After these things thus resolued, the *Achaeans* stoncking the Defeate whereof we haue spoken, did not forget the *Messeniens* affaires, nor their resolution.

*The audience of
the Achaeans
touching the
warre against
the Etolians.*

tion. The Embassadors execute their charge diligently. The chiefe likewise assemble the youth as it had beeene decreed, and agree with the *Lacedemonians* and *Messeniens*, that either of them shold furnish two thousand five hundred Foote, and two hundred and fifty Horse, to the end that the whole might amount to ten thousand Foote, and a thousand Horse. The time being come, when as the *Etolians* were to hold their Diet, they assembled the Commons, and consulted how to make a peace with the *Lacedemonians* and *Messeniens*, and with other people their neighbours, being forced partly by pouerty, and partly weakened by the *Achaeans* Allies. As for the *Achaeans*, they resolued to contract with them, if they would leaue the Alliance of the *Messeniens*: But if they would holdit still, they were of aduise to make Warre against them, which was a most idle and fenceleffe thing. For being allied to the *Achaeans* and *Messeniens*, they declared Warre against the *Achaeans*, if they contracted any Friendship or alliance with the *Messeniens*: and contrariwise a peace was confirmed, if they held them for their Enemies. And therefore their villany could not take place, by reason of the contrariety of their subtill invention.

The *Epirotes* and *Philip* hauing heard the Embassadors charge, received the *Messeniens* into the league: and although they disliked the outrages of the *Etolians*, yet it seemed they made no great accompt of it: for that they had done no new action, considering they had beene accustomed to such things. Wherefore they willingly continued a peace with them. Thus sometimes outrages growne old and continued, are sooner pardoned then those of new date. The *Etolians* vsing this course of life, in ruining Greece by their incursions, and making Warre many times before they declared it, did not vouchsafe to answere to the complaints: Many times also they made no accompt, and mockt at thoſe which demanded satisfaction, for thoſe things which they had done, or would doe. And although that the *Lacedemonians* had beeene lately restored to liberty by *Antigonus*, by meaneſ of the *Achaeans*, hauing promised to *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, not to attempt any thing against them, yet they ſent an Embaſſie ſecreſtly to the *Etolians*, and confirmed friendſhip and alliance with them.

Wheras the *Achaeans* Army was assembled, and the ſuccours of the *Lacedemonians* and *Messeniens* ready, as it had beeene decreed: *Scerdilaide*, and *Demetrius* ſayling from *Sclavonia* with fourē ſcore and ten Vefels, past to *Liffe*, contrary to the accord made with the *Romans*. And attempting firſt to take *Pyle*, they were shamefully repulſd after ſome dayes ſiege. *Demetrius* afterwards made a voyage with fifty ſaile vnto the *Cyclades*, and ſpoiles the Ilands, taking ſome by Treafon. *Scerdilaide* with the other forty, drawes towards *Nanpacte*, relying vpon the friendſhip of *Agelias* King of the *Achaens*, to whom he was allied. There an accord was made with the *Etolians*, by the meaneſ of *Agelias*, that in marching with them into *Achaea* they ſhould diuid the booty by halffes. The which being concluded betwixt *Scerdilaide*, *Agelias*, *Dorimache*, and *Scope*, they entred into *Achaea* with an Army of *Etolians* and *Sclavonians*, the Towne into *Achaea*.

of the *Sibians* being of their party. *Ariston* chiefe of the *Etolians* stayed at home, saying that he had peace and no warre with the *Achaeans*, as if he had beeigne ignorant of the Enterprize: which was a simple and idle course. Is there any thing more foolish, then to thinke long to couer with words things that are plaine and evident? This done *Dorimache* comes with his men to *Cynebe* with wonderfull speed. The *Cynethenses* were tormented with great diuisions and seditions, hauing beeigne long time *Arcadiens*: whereas many murthers had beeigne committed, with Banishments, Rapes, and Spoiles: Finally it fell out, that they which held the *Achaeans* party, had the command of the Towne. Wherefore their chiefe men, and the guards of their Towne were of *Achaea*. Matters standing in this estate some yeares before the descent of the *Etolians*, when as the banished men had sent to them of the Towne, intreating them to receiue them into grace and concord, the Gouernours perswaded by their words, sent an Embassie to the *Achaeans*, desirous to make this peace and agreement with their Councell and aduise. Wherewante the *Achaeans* consented, for that they conceiued that the affection and loue of the one and the other, would by this meane be more firme vnto them, confidirg that they which were within had all their hope in them, and that the banished men would coricicue, that they had beeigne preferred by the benefit of the *Achaeans*: The *Cynethenses* sent backe the Garrison of the *Achaeans* with their Captaine, and called the banished men into their Towne, which were to the number of three hundred, in taking their Faith with Oathes, whereby men may be most religiouly bound.

But presently after they were received into the Towne, they resolued among themselues to betray it, and to be revenged on those which had preferred them, without any consideration of the cause of this new pratiſe: So as I am of opinion, that at the time when they sacrificed, and gave their Faith and Oathes, that euen then they resolued to costemne the Gods, and vse cruelty towards those which had sauered their liues: for they had scarce set footing within the Towne, but they called the *Etolians* to deliuer it vnto them. The busynesse was manngaged in this manner. Some of the banished men, were created *Polemarches*: It is a Magistrate which hath charge of shutting of the Gates, and keeping the keyes at night, and in the day time to attende the Guard thereof. The *Etolians* having their ladders and other things necessary, attended the execution of the enterprize. The *Polemarches* lewe their Companions which were not of their faction, and opened the Gate. This done, the *Etolians* entered, some by the Gate, some by Ladders. The whole Citie being troubled by this new accident, ranne vp and downe full of feare and lamentation: for that they could not runne to the Gate, for that the Enemis cast themselues from the walls, neither could they goe to the walls, for that they came by multitudes in at the Gate. And thus the *Etolians* tooke the Towne presently, where among all the outrages which they committed, they did one act of great iuste, for they slew all the *Traytors*, and spoiled their goods. The like they did to others, taking away all their substance. Men were tormented to confess their Goods, if

Polemarches.

Cynebe taken
by the *Etolians*.

they had hidden away, and many others slaine. Hauing thus taken the Towne, and after some fewe daies leauing a sufficient Garrison, they marcht with their Army towards *Lissos*. Where approching neare to Diana's Temple, which is betwixt *Clitoria* and *Cynebe*, and is held by the *Grecians* as a place of Freedome, they had an intent to carry away the Cattel of the Goddess, and to rauest all the Treasure of the Temple. But the *Lissates* offered them part to temper their wickednesse. The which being receiued, the *Etolians* parting from thence, planted their Campe neare vnto *Clitoria*.

A At that time *Arate*, chiefe of the *Achaeans*, had sent an Embassie to *Philippi* for succours, and had assembled the choyce of the youth from all parts, and demanded from the *Lacedemonians* and *Messeniens*, the number of men, which they were to furnish by the accord. The *Etolians* inted them to perswade the *Cytoriens*, to leave the alliance of the *Achaeans* and to imbrace their party. The which being refused, they tormented them with diuers assaults, and sealing the walls, they laboured to enter the Towne: But for that the Inhabitants defended themselves courageously, they rais'd the Siege, being in despair to take it: and returned to *Cynebe*, spoiling the Sheepe and Catell of the Goddess, meanning to deliuere the Towne to the *Etolians*: Vpon refusall they resolued to keepe it, making *Europius* Captaine. But being afterwards terrified with the Newes of the succours of *Macedon*, and the preparation of the *Achaeans*, they burnt it, and taking their wyes againe towards *Rhie*, they resolued to passe there. *Taurion* aduertised that the *Etolians* marcht, and of the ruine of *Cynebe*, and that *Demetrius of Phareb*, was come from the *Cyclades* to *Cenchrea*, hee perswaded him to succour the *Achaeans*, and to hinder the passage of the *Etolians*, in transporting the shys by *Thymus*.

B *Demetrius* had parted from the Iland with profit, but with little honour, for that the *Rhodiens* came against him with an Army at Sea, hee yielded easily to *Taurion*: and the rather for that he furnished the necessarie expences the transport of the Shippes, wherefore after hee had transported them, and was aduertised that the *Etolians* were past two days before, hee sail'd againe to *Corinthe*, after he had spoiled some of the *Etolians* Coasts: with whom the *Lacedemonians* having secret intelligence (as we haue said) they deferr'd to send the succours promised by the accord, sending onely some Horse and Foot for a colour. *Arate* made shew to his people, that for the present hee would performe the duty of a Citizen, rather then of a Captaine without any trouble, for the remembrance of the losse which he had made, vntill that *Scope* and *Dorimache* were retireed, hauing ruined the whole Prouince, and what they pleased: although it were no difficult thing to defeat them in their rough and narrow passages. And although the *Cynethenses* had suffered a wonderfull losse of all their goods, and were in a manner all slaine, yet the world held them worthy of the punishment which they endured.

C And for that the people of *Arcadia* haue a certaine fame and renowne of good men, not onely for their easie kinde of life, and their good dispositions, and great hoefety towards all the world, but also for the

The Cytoriens
attakid by the
Etolians.

Cynebe burnt
by the *Etolians*.

The customes
of the *Arcadi-*
ans.

the honour and reverence they bear unto the Gods. I haue thought it good to relate in few words, something concerning the rudenesse of the *Cynethenes*, and to let the world understand (seeing they were held to be *Arcadians*) how they did so much differ from the other *Grecians* of that time, in wickednesse and cruelty. For my part I thinke this hath happened, for that they haue beeene the first and the only men which among all the *Arcadians* haue neglected that which their Ancestors had wisely invented.

Musique profitable to all the world.

It is certaine that Musique, (I meane true Musique) is profitable to all the world, and necessary for the *Arcadians*: Neither is that true which *Ephorus* (speaking without reason) writes in the Proeme of his Histories, that Musique is invented to deceiue and abuse men: Neither must wee thinke that the ancient *Sardoyts* and *Lacedemonians*, had without reason, prefer'd the Flute and Songs before the Trumpet in Warre: Neither had the ancient *Arcadians* Musique in so great honour in their Common-wealth; as they not onely caused Children to learne it, but also young men vnto the age of thirty yeares, who otherwise were rude and vnciuill. It is no vnownknowne thing, that in *Arcadia* alone, they did accustome their children from their infancies, to sing praises in Hymnes, by the which every one did vs to command the Angels of his Birth, B virtuous Men, and the Gods. And after all this doe yearlye make Games to further *Ighas*, with Songs and Dances, instructed in the Disciplines of *Philoxenes*, and *Tymophous*. And those of Children, are called the Games of Children, and the others the Games of Youth: Finally, all their life is adiected to this kinde of singing, not so much for the pleasure they take to heare the Musique, as to excite them to sing together. Moreover, if any one be ignorant in other Arts, it is held no shame: but none of them may be ignorant of Musique: for they learne it by necessity: Neither may he confess that he understands it not, for that among them is reputed infamous. Finally, the young men doe yearlye present Shewes and Games in the Theater to the Burgesses, with Songs and Dances, at the publique charge. Which things (in my opinion) were wisely invented by their Ancestors. Not for lasciuiousnesse or delights, but for that they see the continual toile of the people in manuring the land, with a rudenesse and brutishnesse of life, and more ouer with an auſteere kinde of living, which proceeds from the coldnesse and roughnesse of the Ayre, to the which of necessity we growe like.

D It is apparent that the Region of heauen, made Nations to differ in their manner of living, in their forme and complexion, and in many disciplines. Secking then to make Nature pleasing and tractable, which of it selfe seemes fierce and rude, they first propounded all those things which we haue mentioned, and afterwards common assemblies, and many sacrifices, where as men and women frequented, and finally dancēd of Virgins and Children. All which things they haue done to the end that that which by Nature was rude in the hearts of men, might be made milde and pleasing by custome. But for as much as the *Cynethenes*, after some tract of time, became to dislaine these things, which were

The occasion
of the nine of
Cynethenes.

were aboue all things necessary for them, (inhabiting in the coldest part of *Arcadia*) they grew in a short time to such a rudenesse of life, as there was not any Cittie in *Greece*, where there were more villanies and Murthers committed. The testimony of their wicked life is most manifest, for that the other people of *Arcadia* detected their manner of living: For at what time as they sent an Embassie to *Sparta*, after this great fection, in what Towne so ever they entred during their voyage, they were chased away ignominiously, and forbidden to returne: and the *Mantiniens*, after their departure, purged the Cittie, and all places thereabouts with sacrifices.

We haue related these things, to aduise the Cities of *Arcadia*, not to give ouer the custome of their Country: and to the end men should not think that they were so much giuen to the Musique of lasciuiousnesse, and that by this meanes no man should mocke at their custome: I haue also done it for the loue of the *Cynethenes*: to the end (the Gods permitting it) that in punishing them, they may leade a better life and loue Musique, for it is the meanes by the which they may leue their naturall Rusticitie. Seing then we haue spoken sufficiently of the *Cynethenes* manner of living, and of their ruine, let vs returne where B we left.

The *Etolians* hauing ouer-runne all *Morea*, and put the Country to fire and sword, returned to their houses. Finally, *Philip King of Macedon*, ^{Philip comes to Corinthe to Corinthe.} comēd to *Corinthe* to occour the *Achēans* with an Army. But hearing that all was past, he sends post to his Allies, aduising them to send men vnto him to *Corinthe*, to confere of their common affaires. In the meane time he cauereth his Army to march towards *Tigē*, for that he was aduertised that the *Lacedemonians* were in mutine among them-selves. And for that they had liued long under Kings, and had then recovered their liberty vnder the conduct of *Antigonus*, being subiect to no man, they fell into diuers factions, every man seeking to haue authority in the Common-wealth aboue his fellow. There were two among the Gouernours, which held their Councell so secret, as no man could discouer it: the rest to the number of three, carried themselfes openly for the *Etolian* party, being confident that *Philip* considering his age, could make no alteration in *Morea*. But when as contrary to their hope and expectation, they had newes of the flight of *Etolians* in *Morea*, and of the comming of *Philip King of Macedon*: These three Gouernours of the Cittie, hauing no confidence in one of the other two, called *Adimant*, for that knowing their secrets, he seemed to dislike of their proceedings, and fearing that at the comming of *Philip* all would be discouerd. They declared themselves to certaine young men, and afterwards caused all the people to assemble in Armes, at *Juno's Temple*, by the sound of the Trumpet, as if the *Macedonians* were come against the *Spartians*: who suddenly assembled vpon this new accident.

^{A musicie among the Lacedemonians.} *Adimant* disliking this, came into the assembly, saying: The Trumpet should haue sounded some dayes past, and this assembly of men is Enemies to the *Lacedemonians*, approached their Mountaines, nor now when

The Murther
of the Gou-
ernours of the
Lacedemonians.

Ambassadours
sent from *La-*
cademus to
Philip.

when as we are aduertised, that the *Macedonians* our Benefactors and preseruers came with their King. And whilst he continued this speech, the young men falling vpon him, slew him cruelly, with *Sthenelau*, *Al-*
camenes, *Tbytess*, *Bryades*, and diuers others. As for *Polyphonos*, hee
retired with his friends to *Philip*, hauing long before foreseen the fute-

ture. Things passing in this maner, the *Lacedemonian* Gouvernours sent an Embaſſor to the King to lay the wrong vpon them that were slaine, and to perwade him to proceede no farther, vntill that all the troubles of the Citie were pacified : Giuing him to vnderſtand, that the *Lacede-*
monians kept their faith and friendship with the *Macedonians* inviolable. The Ambaſſadours meeting the King neere vnto the Mountaine of *Per-*
thenia, deliuered their charge. Wher being heard, *Philip* aduised them to retorne speedily, and to aduertise the Gouvernours that hee would ſooone retorne with his Army to *Tegēe*, and that they ſhould preſently ſend the chiefe of their Citie to *Corinthe*, to conſerue of their preſent affaires.

By this meaneſ the Ambaſſadours being returned, and hauing ac-
quainted them with *Philip's* anſwe, the Gouvernours ſent him tenne of
the chiefe of the Citie, among the which *Omia* was the firſt, who com-
ming to *Tegēe*, and entring into the Kings priuie Councell, they vſed di-
gracefull ſpeeche of *Alexander* and his confederates : as if he had bin
the caufe of this Mutinie. Finally, they omitted nothing, which they
thought fit to purchafe the Kings loue, promising to doe any thing,
whereby it ſhould appear plainly, that they continued constant in the
Kings alliance and friendſhip.

Hauing deliuered theſe things, the *Lacedemonians* went out of the
Councell. The *Macedonians* were of diuers opinions concerning
theſe affaires : for ſome being aduertized of the Enterprizes, which the
Spartans made with the *Etolians*, being alſo of opinion, that *Alexander*
had beeſ ſlaine for the loue he bare vnto the *Macedonians*, beganne to
counſell the King, to make the *Lacedemonians* an example to others, as
Alexander had done the *Thibains*, when he came to be King. The
other Senators ſaid, that this kinde of punishment was more rigorous
then their deedes deserued, and that they ſhould onely let the offendres
know their offence, and depriu them of the government of the Com-
mon-weale, and giue it to his friends. All which being heard, the King
deliuered his opinion, (if it be credible that it was his owne) for it is not
likely that a young man who had ſcarce attained the age of ſeauentene
yeareſ, could giue judgement in ſo great affaires. But it becomes a Hi-
ſtoriographer to attribute the reſolution taken in Councell to Princes,
by whose will all things are gouerned. So they which read or heare
this History, muſt conceiue that theſe kinde of ſentences proceſſe from
thoſe which are the wifteſ, and neereſ vnto Princes : as if they ſhould
attribute this to *Arete*, who at that time was in great authority with the
King.

Philip therefore ſaid, that if the Allies attempted any thing in parti-
cular among theſelues, it did not concerne him, but onely to warne
them

Alexander the
Great.

them by words or letters : But if they offendred their Allies openly,
they muſt receiue a publicke punishment, and that the *Lacedemonians*
had not infringed the common alliance in any thing ; but contrariwise
he offred to doe all things for the *Macedonians* : and that moreover
hee muſt ſtudy to iureate them worse, conſidering that it were a-
gainſt reaſon, to take revenge on thoſe for a light cauſe, who being
Enemies his Father had pardoned. The Kings Sentence being conſi-
med, *Petren* a Friend to *Philip*, was preſently appointed to goe
to *Lacedemon* with the Embaſſie, hauing charge to aduife the *Spar-*
tans to liue in Friendſhip, and to take an Oath for the preſeruation of
their Faith and League.

In the meane time *Philip* razeth his *Campe*, and returns to *Cor-*
inthe, leauing a great hope in the Allies of his good diſpoſition, ha-
uing vſed the *Lacedemonians* ſo graciously. And hauing found the
Embaſſadours of the Allies at *Corinthe*, who were aſtembed there by
his command, they began to hold a Councell for the common af-
fares of *Greece*, where as all with one voice, had the actions of the
Etolians in execration. The *Boeocius* charged them that in the time
of peace they had ſpoyleſ *Minerva's* Temple : and the *Phacenses*
B that hauing planted their Campe neere vnto *Ambrys* and *Dasya*,
they had a reſolution to take them. The *Epirotæ* ſhewed that they
had put all their Country to fire and ſword : the *Acarnaniſ* that
they had attempted to take a very rich Towne in the Night by *Scala-*
dœ. Finally, the *Achaeiſ* propounded, that they had taken *Caria*
belonging to *Megalopolis* : That they had o'er-run and ſpoileſ
the Bounds of *Patras* and *Phare*, and put *Cyrene* to fire and ſword, and
then razed it : And moſeover, had ſpoileſ *Diana's* Temple at *Leſer*, and
bchieged the *Citiorians* : and that finally they had made Warre at Sea to
Pyle, and at Land to *Megalopolis*, ioyning with the *Sclauonians*.

C The Councell of the Allies hearing theſe things, all with one con-
ſen concluded to make Warre againſt the *Etolians*. It was reſolved in
Councell, that all they ſhould bee received into the league, whose
Townes or Provinces had beeſ taken by the *Etolians* after the death
of *Demetrius*, who was Father to *Philip*. And that moreover they
which through the neceſſity of the time had beeſ forced to make an
alliance with the *Etolians*, ſhould be restored to their former liberty,
and it ſhould bee lawfull for them to liue according to the Lawes and
cuſomes of their owne Countries. Finally, they ordained that the
D *Amphictyons* ſhould bee restored to their Lawes, and haue the fu-
perintendencie of the Temple, which at that time the *Etolians* held, ou.
who had made themſelues Lords. When as theſe things had beeſ
thus reſolved, the firſt yeare of the hundred and fortieth Olympiade,
ſuddainly the Warre of the Allies was khalid, which tooke its iuste
beginning from the outrages done by the *Etolians*, wherof we haue
ſpoken. They that were in the assembly, ſet preſently to the Allies,
to aduertife them, that according vnto that which had beeſ ordai-
ned, every one for his part ſhould make Warre againſt the
Etolians. Moreouer, *Philip* writes vnto the *Etolians*, that if they
would

would answere any thing to that they were charged, they should send vnto him: And that they were mad with folly, if spoiling and rui-ning all the World without any open Warre, they which were vn-justly wronged, would not fecke reuenge: and that in doing so, they would be held to begin the Warre. The *Etolians* having received these Letters, making no stay for the Kings comming, appointed a day to goe to *Rhie*, to meeete the King. But when as they were aduertised of that which had bene concluded in the assembly, they sent a Post vnto the King, to let him understand that they could not resolute any thing concerning the affaires of the Common-weale, before the *Etolians* had called an assembly.

The Achaeans having held their Diet at *Egia* according to their cu-stome, they confirmed the resolution: and preuently signified Warre to the *Etolians*. In the meantime *Philip* comming to *Egia*, vfed a gracious and friendly Speech vnto them, the *Achaeans* embrased his words with great affection, renewing that ancient Friendship which they had held with his Predecessours. At that time the day of the Election was come, and the *Etolians* had made choice of *Scope* for their Capitaine, who had beene the first Author of the former alterations. Wherevpon I know not what to say: for a warre mannged by a com-mon consent, a spoile committed by soldiers vpon al their neighbours, not to punish such crimes; to aduance and honour the Captaines, and Heads of such actions, seemes to mee an absolute villany. For how can we otherwise call this kind of Malice? That which I say, is mani-fest herein. When as *Phebidius* had violated the *Cadmean* league, the *Lacedemonians* punished the Authour of the crime, yet they did not withdraw their Garrisons: as on the other side, it is fit to make satis-faction for the vnjust wrongs committed. The *Thebains* did other-wise: For when as by a publique edict, they had restored the Townes to their liberty, and to their owne Lawes, according to the *Antalcidian* peace, yet they did not deprive the Magistrates. And when as *C* having a league with the *Mantineans*, they had ruined them, they said they had done them no wrong, for that they had transported them from one Towne into many. Hee is simple, and accompanied with Malice, who shutting his owne eyes, thinkes he is not seene. Beleeue me, En-uy hath beene a great occasion of the mitchife of these two Citties: the which no man of judgement should follow in his priuate or publi-que affaires. But when as *Philip* had received money from the *Achaeans*, hee retired into *Macedony* with his Army, to leue men, and to make necessary preparations for the Warre. Finally, hee left a great hope of Clemency, not onely in the Allies, but throughout all Greece, for the conclusion which was generally confirmed.

These things were done at such time as *Hannibal* chiefe of the *Carthaginians*, besieged *Saguntum* after that he had conquered all beyond the Ri-uer of *Ebro*. If then the beginning of *Hannibals* actions fall out at the same time with those of *Greece*, it is apparent that we haue not vnadu-lessly related his valour in the last Booke: considering that wee follow the order of time. And for that the Affaires of *Italy*, *Greece*, and

Asia,

Scope chosen
Heads of the
Etolians.*Thebains*.Envy the cause
of greatness,
chiefes.

Asia, had their proper beginnings, and their commandds, it hath beeene necessary to make a particular relation of either of them, vntill wee come unto the time: when the said affaires being intermixt to-gether, haue begun to draw vnto the same end. By this means the relation of every part is more manifest, and the uniting of all more plaine. You must understand, that they were intermixt and turned to the same end, in the third year of the hundred and fortieth Olympiade. Wherefore we will relate in common that which followed. As for that which was before this time, we haue deliuered it in particular, every thing in its place in the last Booke: to the end that the time should not only fol-low, but there shoulde be an union of all things.

Philip wintring in *Macedony*, made a new leuis of men, and ne-cessary prouissons for the Warre: he fortifyed the Townes against the attempt of the *Barbarians*, which dwelt about *Sparta*. After-wards he went to *Scerdilaide*, with whom hee made a league, pro-mising him aide and succours to pacifie the affaires of *Selanonia*: and in blaming the *Etolians*, he perswaded him to what he would: For a pri-uate iury doth not differ from a publique, but by the number and greatness of things which happen. It is also an ordinary thing that the alliance of wicked men is easly broken, if Equity and Injustice bee not obserued. The which happened at that time to the *Etolians*. You must understand, that when as they had compounded with *Serdilaide*, that the Booty shoulde be equally diuided, if hee would fall vpon the *Achaeans* with them; who giuing credit to their words, marcht with them to *Cynethe*, where after the taking and razing thereof, the *Etolians* carried away great store of Gold, and a great number of Cattell, diuiding the Booty among themselues, whereof they did frustrate *Serdilaide*. Wherefore he grew into choller and indignation: and when as *Philip* put him in minde thereof, hee suddenly con-firmed the alliance vnder these Conditions: that he should haue twelve thousand Crownes yearly, and should saile with thirty ships, making Warre by Sea against the *Etolians*. Behold the things with such like which *Philip* contrived. In the meane time the Embassadours sent vnto the Allies arrived, first in *Aeuania*: whereas letting them vnder-stand what they were enlayned, they preuently and freely confirme what had beeene decreed, and make Warre against the *Etolians*: al-though they had beeene to bee pardoned, if they had forborne longer then the rest: considering that for their neighbourhoud, they seemed to haue iust cause of feare, and that they had formerly had experiance to what consequence the hatred of the *Etolians* was vnto them, and for that they alone might be ruined. It is true, and I am of opinion, that honest men, and such as respect their honour, should hold nothing more deare, then to give order that their duty may in no sorte be forgotten, the which the *Aeuanians* haue awlays obserued aboue all the *Grecians*, although they had but a small beginning: wheteby it fol-lows, that no man shoulde forbear to make this people a Companion in his affaires: for they haue naturally something in them that is generous and noble, and desirous of liberty. The *Epirote* on the other side, after they

The difference
between a pri-
uate and pub-
lique iury.The commen-
dation of the
Aeuanians

they had heard what the Embassadours had in charge, they allowed of the resolution: Yet they made answere, that they would not make Warre against the *Thessalians*, before they were aduertised that *Philip* had begun it. And afterwards they made answere to an Embassie of the *Etolians*, that they had decreed to maintaine peace with them, shewing themselves in such affaires fearefull and inconstant. For they sent Embassadours vnto King *Ptolemy*, to intreate him not to furnish the *Etolians* against *Philip* and his Allies, with money, victuals, or any other succours.

Answers to
Emballadours.

The blame of
the Epistles.

But the *Messeniens* (for whose cause this Warre was kindled) answered the Embassadours, that they would not make Warre against the *Etolians*, before they had recovered (by the meanes of their Allies) the Towne of *Phigalia*, situated in the Mountaines, which then the *Etolians* detained from them vniuersally. Which aduise was given by *Oenes* and *Nicippus*, Gouvernours of the Towne, with the consent of some of the principal, notwithstanding that the Commons opposed. Wherein I conceiueth they understood not their Duty, nor the profit of their Common-wealth. I am of opinion that we shold fie and auoide Warre, but not in such sort, that wee shold choose to endure, and suffer all things rather then to enter into it. But why B should wee commend an equality in a Common-wealth, or Faith, or the name of liberty which is so pleasing, if there were any thing to be preferr'd to peace? I doe not commenda the *Aristomenes*, who in the time of the Warre of *Media*, made choice of it for feare, to free themselves from the common calamity and danger of all *Greece*, whereby they were after ruined. Neither am I of the opinion of *Plutarke*, who in his Poecies exhorts the Burgesies, that in neglecting all other things, they should onely seeke for peace and rest: and hauing sought for peace, hee defines it to bee the end of rest and a cleare light. But when as hee thought to haue spoken with great persuasions, soone after hee deliuered a sentence, the most scandalous and incommodious C thing in the World. It is true that peace is a most excellent thing, if it bee iust and honest. Yet wee may not doe an vnreasonable act, nor suffer an infamy to enjoy it. It is certaine that the Gouvernours and chiefe men of *Messene*, hauing a regard to their priuate profits, were much inclined to peace, which was not reasonable. Wherefore as often the times were propitious vnto them, according to their desires, and sometime dangerous, they fell continually into the same inconuenience: so as alwayes hauing the same resolution to keepe the peace; they many times brought their Countrey into great danger. Where D of I conceiueth the cause was, for that they were Neighbours to two principall Citties of *Greece*, that is to say, the *Arcadians*, to whom they had bee alwayes Allies and Friends, and the *Lacedemonians*, to whom they had bee continuall Enemies, yet they did not openly carry themselves as Enemies to the *Lacedemonians*, or Friends to the *Arcadians*: By this meanes they liued in peace, when as the said Citties made war betwixt themselves, or with other. But when as the *Lacedemonians* (after they had made a peace with their other enemies) ran vpon them,

The *Messeniens*,
alwayes friends
to the *Arcadi-*
ans, and *Ete-*
oliens, to the *La-*
cemonians.

they

they were forced to serue them with ignominy: or abandon the Countrey with their Wiues and Children, to auoide servitude: Considering that they were not able with their owne forces to resist the power of the *Lacedemonians*, nor to defend themselves with the helpe and succour of the *Arcadians*, whole Friendship they were not able to keepe. The which hath often happened vnto them of late years. I pray vnto God if it bee his will, that the estate wherein the affaires of *Mores* now stands, may be such, as that which wee haue to say, may not take place. Yet if there happen any alteration, I see but one hope for the *Messeniens* and *Megalopolitains*, to preferre and defend their Countrey, if following the sentence of *Epaminondas*, they lie alwayes well united, and gouerne their Counells and Affaires with one consent, whereof they haue anciente testimonies of the truth. The *Messeniens* as *Calistines* doth report, erected a Pillar in the Temple of *Jupiter of Lyce*; in the time of *Aristomenes*, on the which these Verses were ingrauen:

Time on a wicked King bath vengeance showne,
The Treayour to the Meſſaine State Ioue bath made knowne:
Nor could hee funne the moſt reuengefull face
Of Ioue, who fauours the Arcadian ſate.

You must understand that for as much as they had beeorne chased from their Countrey, they wrote these Verses, as meaning to pray vnto the Gods for their second Countrey. For the which in my conceit they had good reason. For the *Arcadians* not onely received them into their City, during the Warre of *Aristomenes*, being banished and chased away, making them Burgesies, and affilting them with Councill and Wealth: But they also suffered them to marry their Daughters vnto their Sonnes. Moreover, hauing examined the Treason of King *Aristocrates*, they not onely put him cruelly to death, but punished all the Race proceeding from so wicked a stocke. But leauing the times past, let vs come to things of a fresher Date, and are happened since this alliance betwixt the two Citties, which gaue sufficient testimony of that which we haue spoken.

You must understand that at what time the *Lacedemonians* began (after that great Victory which the *Grecians* had neere vnto *Mantinea* by the death of *Epaminondas*) to enter into hope to make the *Messeniens* subiect, not comprehending them in the accord, the *Megalopolitains* and all the Cities of the league tooke these things so to heart for the *Messeniens*, as presently they received them into their Alliance, and excluded the *Lacedemonians* alone of all the *Grecians*. Matters standing in this estate, who will not thinke but wee had reaon to say that which wee haue formerly spoken? Wee haue continued this discourse of the *Arcadians* and *Messeniens* at length, to the end that remembiring the outrages which the *Lacedemonians* had many times done them, they shold continue alwayes true and constant in their Faith and Friendship: and that for no feare of

their affaires, nor for any desire of peace, they should never abandon one another when it concernes their safety. But let vs returne now to the discourse where we left.

The *Lacedemonians* according to their manner of living, sent backe the Embassadours of the league without any answere : they were so foylif and ouer-weening. Wherefore I hold that to bee true, which is commonly spoken, that ouer-weening doth many times make men mad, and drawes them to ruine. After all these things, when as the new Magistrates were created, they which in the beginning made that sedition in the Common-wealth, and were the cause of the Murthers before mentioned, sent to the *Etolians*, requiring them to send an Embassie. The which when they had easly obtained, and that *Machate* Embassadour for the *Etolians*, was come to *Lacedemon*, they goe presently to the Gouvernours of the City, telling them, that they must assemble the people to heare this Embassie, and to create according to the custome of the Countrey : and that they must no longer suffer the Empire of the *Heraclidis* to be lost, contrary to the Lawes of the City. And although the Gouvernours were discontented to see the present estate of their affaires, yet not able to refist their forces, fearing also the young men, they made answere, that as for Kings, they would advise of it afterwards, and presently they would assemble the people to heare *Machate*.

The assembly being made, they caused numbers to enter, who began to perwade them to imbrace the alliance of the *Etolians*: blaming the *Macedonians* much without reason, and speaking many false things in prale of the *Etolians*. Hauing ended his speech, there was a long debate among the people, and their opinions were diuers : for some held it fit to follow the *Etolian* party, and to embrace their alliance : others were of a contrary opinion, insisting that they shold preferre the Friendship of the *Macedonians*. Finally, after that some Senators were risen, and had put them in minde of the benefits of *Antigonus*, and of the *Macedonians*, and of the losse they had in the time of *Carixenes* and *Times*, when as the *Etolians* entred the *Spartans* Countrey, and putt all to fire and sword, attempting to surprize the Towne, restoring the banished men by force and policy, they caused many to change their opinion : and in the end the people were perwaded to enterteine their Friendship with *Philip* and the *Macedonians*. Matters thus decided, *Machate* returns into *Etolia*, hauing effected nothing of that for which hee came. The Heads of this Mutiny, whereof wee haue spoken, being discontented herewith, began to plot a most cruell Enterprize.

Soone after the Youth were to assemble in Armes, to perfome a Sacrifice which was done yearly, after the manner of the Countrey in *Pallas* Temple, where the Gouvernours of the City had the authority, and continued some dayes in the Temple. Wherefore they corrupted some of the Yong men which shold be there in Armes with gifts, who at a time appointed amongst them, seeing the Gouvernours busie at the Sacrifices, shold assaile them sudainly, and kill them like Sheepe. And although

Machate sent Embassadour from the *Etolians* to the *Lacedemonians*.

Carixenes and *Times*.

although they were in the Temple, the which the *Lacedemonians* honoured as a Sanctuary, and where all malefactors, (although they were condemned to dye) were in safety, yet the insolence of men was growne to so great a cruelty, as they slew all the Magistrates before the Altars, and on the Tables of the Goddess. The like they did afterwards to the Senators, which had followed the opinion of *Herodes*. Finally, after they had chased out of their Citie those that were opposite to the *Etolians*, they created new Magistrates of their owne faction : making a one instant Enemies to the *Acheans*, and vntankfull to the *Macedonians*, whom they expected with great affection. Beleeue mee, the mildnesse and courteous of Princes hath so great power, as it leaves in the hearts of men, not only by their presence, but also by their absence, a generall zeale of loue and good will towards them.

The *Lacedemonians* hauing the Gouvernement of their Commonwealth, almost for the space of three years, after that *Cleomenes* had beene chased away, they never thought of chusing a King : But when they had newes of his death, they had an humour to chuse one : whereof the first Authors of this practise, were the heads of the sedition, who had made the league with the *Etolians*. Wherefore they elected (according to their lawes and customes) for one of their Kings, one named *Agelippes*, being yet very young, the sonne of *Agelippes*, who was sonne to *Cleombrotus*. It happened that he reigned at such time, as *Lepidus* was deposid from the Magistracie : for that hee was the nearest of that race. And they gaue him for Tutor *Cleomenes*, the sonne of *Cleombrotus*, and brother to *Agelippes*. And although that *Archidamus* had two sonnes by the daughter of *Hippomedon*, who was sonne to *Eudeneides* : and *Hippomedon* living still, who was sonne to *Agelippes*, and Nephew to *Eudemides* : and that there were many others of the same blood, yet they made chioce for their King, (making no account of the no expeciance to raigne). In truthe it was said, that he was of the race of *Hercules*, and created King of *Sparta*, in giuing to every one of the Magistrates sixe hundred Crownes.

This you see that all wicked things haue alwayes beeene set to saile. But it was not long but the heads of this crime suffered the punishment of their folly and ouer-weening. *Machate* aduertised of that which had beeene done at *Lacedemon*, returns againe to *Sparta*, and perwades D the Kings and Magistrates to make warre against the *Acheans*, saying, that by this means, the ambition of thos *Lacedemonians* which held the contrary party, and fled the alliance of the *Etolians*, might be easly supprest. When as the Kings and Magistrates were perwaded by his foliy of the *Lacedemonians*. Afterwards *Licurgus* leuying mercenary men, and assembling the people of the Citie, enters into the limits of the *Acheans* : whom he assailes vnprouided, expecting no such vslage from the *Lacedemonians*. And sudainly takes *Polyclite*, *Parise*, *Lence*, *Cyphos*, *Townes taken in ages by L. and c. ergo.*

The murder of the *Lacedemonian* Gouvernour by the young men.

A league made betweene the *Lacedemonians* and *Etolians*.

The power of Clemencie in Places.

Licurgus chose King.

Machate preuaile in his enterprise.

and some other of their Burroughes, putting all the Countrey to fire and sword. These things being done, the *Lacedemonians* declared warre against the *Acheans*. And in the meane time *Machates* went to the other neighbour Townes, perswading them as he had done the *Lacedemonians*. By this meanes the *Etolians* (to whom all things succeeded happily) yndertooke the warre boldly. Contrariwise, all things were auerse to the *Acheans*. For King *Philip* (in whom they chiefly relied) did but then leue men: the *Epirotes* had not yet begun the warre with the *Etolians*, and the *Messenians* lived in peace. The *Etolians* hauing drawn vnto them the *Eleans*, and *Lacedemonians*, prest the *Acheans* of all sides. It happened that *Arate* had left the government, and his sonne *Arate* was chosen chiefe of the *Acheans*, and that *Seope* was Captain General of the *Etolian* Army, but he was not to stay long in it: for the *Etolians* at that time made their election, after the middest of September, and the *Acheans* about the beginning of May.

Philip's Army.

The scituacion
of Constantinople.

Summer being past, when as young *Arate* had yndertaken the government, all the warres in a manner had one beginning. For *Hanibal* prepared at that time for the siege of *Saguntum*: The Romans sent *Lucius Emilius* into *Sclavonia* against *Demetrius* of *Rhabe*: *Antiochus* began the warre in *Syria*, by the meanes of *Ptolomaeus* and *Antyrus*, which were delivered unto him in treason by *Theodosius*: and *Ptolomy* against *Antiochus*, *Licargus* to follow *Cleomenes*, besieged *Athene*, a Towne of the *Megalopolitains*. The *Acheans* leuied both *Horse* and *Roote*. *Philip* parred from *Macedon* with his Army, hauing about tenne thousand Legenaries, and five thousand men arm'd with Targets, and about eight hundred Horse. This was the preparation for warre at that time. The *Rhodiens* made warre, at the same time against the *Constantinopolitains* for some such causes. The *Constantinopolitains* inhabit a City strong by scituacion, and wonderfull commodious to finde all things that may giue content vnto man: For it is so well seareed vpon the Gylfe of *Pontus*, as no Merchant can enter nor goe forth, but at the mercy of *Constantinople*. And as the Pontique Sea, brings any things necessary for man, the *Constantinopolitains* are the Masters: for the Countries thereabouts supplies them with great abundance of Leather for their common vse, and a great multitude of Stags, and they send to vs honey for daintynesse, wax, flesh salted, and such like things: They draw also from vs other things which abound in our Countries, as Oyles, and all sorts of Wines: Sometimes they furnish Wheat, and we doe the like to them.

These are the things whereof the *Grecians* make vse, or else the year would bee vnproufitable vnto them; whereas the *Constantinopolitains* should shew themselves malicious in allying themselves to the *Gantes*, or to any other barbarous Neighbours: So as the *Grecians* should be forced to abandon the Pontique Sea, for the straighthesse of the places, and the multitude of *Barbarians*. Wherefore the *Constantinopolitains* haue great commodities by reason of their scituacion, transportring those things whereof they abound, and drawing vnto them what they want without any paine or danger. They are also very profitable to the other Cities of *Greece*. And therefore the *Grecians* did honour and esteeme

esteeme them worthy, to whom they not onely giue thanks, but they are bound to giue them Succours against the *Barbarians*, as doing good to all men. We haue thought good to shew the caufe, why this Citie is so happy: for that there are many which know not the nature and property of the place: and it hath beeene alwayes our desire, that such things might come to the knowledge of many: and that if it might be, they might be visibile to the eye, if not, yet at the least as much as should be possible, they might be comprehended in the understanding.

The Sea then which they call Pontique, hath in circuit two and twenty thousand furlongs, or thereabouts, hauing two mouthes opposite one to the other: whereof the one comes from *Propontis*, and the other from the blacke Sea, the which hath in circuit eight thousand furlongs. But for that diuers great Riuers fall from *Asia* into it, and more out of *Europe*, it sometimes flowes into the Pontique Sea by its mouth, and from thence into *Propontis*. The Mouth of the blacke Sea is called *Bosphorus Cimericus*, and is thirty furlongs broad, and threescore in length.

As for the mouth of the Pontique Sea, it is called the streight of *Constantinople*, whose length is not in every place equal: for from the *Propontis* the space betwixt *Chaledon*, and *Constantinople*, containes fourteene furlongs, and from the Pontique Sea, the which they call *Fanum*, situated in *Asia* (whereas *Iason* first as they sacrificed to the twelve Gods, returning from *Coldobatos*) is distant from *Europe* tenne furlongs. Moreover, they deliver two reasons, why the blacke Sea and the Pontique runne continually: whereof the one is well knowne, for that the water encreaſeth by the multitude of Riuers which fall continually into it, and hauing no other meanes to vuide it, it must of necessitie encrease, so as it is forced to passe away by its mouth. The other is, that the bottome is fill'd with abundance of sand, which the Riuers bring continually into it: so as the watter is forced to swell, and so to passe away.

These are the true caufes of their course, which neede not the relation of Merchants to purchase credit, but onely of natural reason, which is the truthe testimony that can be found.

But seeing wee are fallen vpon this discourse, wee must not omit any thing, (as many Historiographers doe) to seek out the secrets of Nature: and wee must vse (as much as possibly wee may) a demonstratiue relation, to the end wee may leaue nothing in doubt to those which desire to understand. Neither were it fitting in these times, (when as all things haue beeene discovered) to seek the testimony of Poets or fabulous Writers in doubtfull things: the which former Historiographers haue done.

By this meanes, as *Heracles* faith, they haue not propounded testimonies worthy of credit, in doubtfull things, and which are in debate. Wee therefore say that the Pontique Sea fills it selfe continually with sand, which the Riuers bring into it, and that in time it will be made even with the land. The like we say of the blacke Sea, so as the scituacion of places continue as wee see them at this day, and that the causes of the sand which fall continually into it cease not. For seeing the time

Two caufes
why the black
Sea and the
Pontique run
continually?

The circuit of
the Pontique
Sea.

*Bosphorus ci-
mericus*.

The Danow,
The shelves in
the Sea,

is infinite, and the bottomes whereof wee speake are enclosed with certaine limits. It is manifest, that by a long succession of time, they would be fill'd vp by the descent of that which falls into them, bee it never so little, so as it continues. And for that the sands which are brought into them, are of no small quantity, but in a manner infinite, it is apparent that what wee say will soone happen: and wee see it partly already; for that the blacke Sea is in a manner fill'd vp: for, the greatest depth hath not aboue ffeue fathom, or seauen at the most, wherefore they cannot fail without great Ships, vnlesse the Mariners towne them off by their Masts. And although in the beginning the blacke Sea was like vnto the Pontique in taste, as the Ancients confesse, Yet it is now a very sweete Marish; for that the sea hath bene surmounted by abundance of sands, and the many sweete Riuers which fall into it. The like will happen to the Pontique, and begins already: But it cannot be so easily discouered by reason of the great depth. And yet if we shall obserue it well, we shall finde it evident: for there are made within it by the substance (which by the descent is carried, for that the Danow enters by many mouthes) hills which the Mariners call Shelves, a daies journey from the shore: where many times in the night they suffer Ship-wrake.

Behold the cause why these Shelves are rather made farre within the Sea, then neare the shore: for the greater force the Riuers hath in their course, drivning the waues into the sea, it is necessary that the sand and other substance should be carried farre into it: And whereas the violence of the Riuers ceaseth by reason of the depth of the Sea, rather then by a natural reason, all the sands sinke and findes a botome where it stayes. Wherefore it happens that the shelves of swiftest Riuers are found farther into the Sea, and their depth neere unto the shore: where as they which haue a slowe course, are not farre from the mouth. Finally, wee must not wonder at the great quantity of wood, stony, and sand, which is carried into the Pontique Sea: for that many times wee see a torrent or land flood overflowe a great Country in a short time, carrying away earth and stone. So as it sometimes happens, there is such an alteration made of a great Country, as in seeing it foote after, we doe scarce know it. Wherefore wee must not wonder, if so many and such great Riuers fall continually into the Pontique Sea, in the end fill it vp: for this is not only likely, but also necessary, if wee will diligently examine the reason, the likelihood it shoulde proue so, is great, for as much as the Pontique Sea differes from ours, for that the blacke Sea is sweeter. Wherefore it follows, that when as the Pontique Sea hath past as much more time as the blacke, for that it is of a greater depth, it will be sweet and moorish like vnto it: and the sooner, for that there are more Riuers, and greater fallen into it. Wee haue spoken these things for those which think that the Pontique Sea cannot bee fill'd vp, nor become moorish, being now a full Sea. Wee haue likewise done it, for that Sailors report such variety of lies, to the end that like children we shoulde not alwayes giue creditt vnto them, for that wee haue not visited the places: and that hauing some knowledge of the truth,

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truthe, we may discouer whether that which they relate be true or false. But let vs retorne to the commodity of the scituatiōn of Constantinople, as the length of the Sea, which ioynes the Pontique, and the Propontis hath sixe score furlongs, and that *Fanum* limits the part which is from the Pontique Sea, and Constantinople.

On the other which is from the Propontis, there stands a Temple betwixt both, which they call the refuge of *Europe*, seated vpon a Promontory on the mouth of the Pontique Sea, and is distant from *Asia* ffeue furlongs. It is situate vpon the greatest streight of the Sea, where as King *Darius* made a Bridge as they report, at such time as hee King *Darius* A made a descent against the *Syrians*. From the Pontique Sea vnto this place the Waues runne equally, for that the shores of either side are of one distance. But when it comes to the refuge of *Europe*, where (as we haue said) the Sea is narrowest, the Water of the Pontique Sea beats violently vpon the opposite Country, and those places of *Asia* which are right against it: Then it doubles its course, against the Promontory of *Europe* neare vnto the Altars; and then it falls into the Country which the inhabitants call *Oxe*. This stands in *Asia* whereas *Ox* (hauing past the Sea first) staled, as fables report. Yet in the end it takes its course to Constantinople, hauing bin beaten backe by the sylfe, and separates that place which they call the Horne; and on the other side it flowes againe in its owne course. Yet this violence cannot passe into that Country which is right against it, where Calcedon stands: For where as it makes so many runnings here and there, and that the Gule is of no small breadth, it failes in a manner in this place, passing to the opposite part, nor in a direct Line but bending: So as leauing Calcedon, it takes its course by the Gule. This drawes so many Commodities to the *Constantinopolitans*, and the contrary to the *Calcedonians*. And although it be apparent that the scituatiōn of these two Cities are equally commodious, yet the passage is difficult for those which will fail to Calcedon. Contrariwise they are carried to Constantinople by the violence of the Waues: So as it seemes that they which will goe from Calcedon to Constantinople, cannot Saile directly thither by reason of the Violent course of the stremme: And therefore they recovered the *Oxe*, and the Towne which they call *Cryssopolis*, from whence they are afterwards Transported by force vnto Constantinople.

Finally the *Constantinopolitans* haue a good commodity to Saile any way, whither they bend to *Helleponte* with a Southerly Winde, or else from the Pontique Sea to *Helleponte*. You must understand that the direct and common course from Constantinople to the streights of *Impe* ^{The commodi-} *Propontis*, is by *Abydos* and *Sestos*; and in like manner from the streights of *Impe* ^{ties of Constan-} to *Constantinople*: But it fals our otherwife with the *Calcedonians*, for ^{Sea of Abydos} ^{and Syfer.} the reasons which we haue mentioned, and for the distance of the Region of the *Cyreneins*; for it is a difficult thing for them which Saile from *Helleponte* to *Calcedon*, to keepe the Coast of *Europe*, and in approaching the Country neare vnto *Constantinople*, to turne vnto *Calcedon*,

cedon, for the violent course of the streme. And againe, it is impossible to Saile from thence into *Tbrace*, as well for the violence of the Waues, which go crosse, as the contrariety of the Windes, for a Southerly winde is good for those which enter into the Ponticke Sea, and the contrary for such as go foorth; and these two winds only serue to go in, and come out. These are the things whereby the Constantino-Warre of the *Poltains* draw such great commodities from the Sea, *confutinopolis*. Now we will shew the discommodities which the City is to suffer

Warr of the ~~Russians~~^{Thracians} draw their great commodities from the See.
~~Constantinopolis~~^{Thracians}, taints with the ~~Thracians~~^{Thracians}. Now we will shew the diocommodities which the City is to suffer by reason of the firme Land. *Thrace* enuiron the Country of *Constantinople* in such sort, as it imbraceth it from Sea to Sea. So as they are in perpetuall Warr with the *Thracians*: For although they get a Battale or two against this cruell and barbarous Nation, yet they cannot quench the Wars, the multitude of people and Princes is so great: For that after they haue gotten Victory ouer one, there doth suddainly arise three other mighty Princes, who ouer-runne the Country for spoile: Neither can they doe any thing to haue an accord, or to pacifie the Warr by paying of Tribute; for presently they find their Enemies multiplied. And therefore they are wasted and consumed with a continuall and cruell Warr. But what can you finde more disloyall then a neighbour enemy? Nor a Warr more dangerous then with a barbarous Nation? And with all these miseries wherewith they are oppressed by Land, they are moreover tormented with *Tantalus* paine, as the Poets feign: For the *Barbarians* (considering that they haue a fertile Region) ouer-run the Country and spoile it, after that the Land hath bin well manured, and that the fruite which is very beautifull, and in abundance, is in Season.

The *Constantinopolitans* seeing so great a spoile of their goods, and the losse of their labour and charges, are wonderfully grieved. Yet bearing this War with the *Thracians* by a Custome, they alwayes held their auncient accord with the *Gracians*. But when as the *Gaules* beganne to be their neighbours, vnder the Conduict of King *Comemoire*, they were in great danger. You must understand that the *Gaules* which by reason of their Chiefes had made Warre vnder the leading of *Brennus*, and had escaped a great

danger at *Delphos*, past not into *Asia* when as they came to *Hellespont*: But allured with the commodity of the place, they staid neare vnto *Constantinople*, whereas after they vanquished the *Thracians*, and builde *Tyle the Royall*, they made Warre against them of *Constantinople*. The *Thracians* vanquished by Who at the beginning pacified their fury with presents, when as they left assailed them vnder King *Cometore*, in giving them sometimes thirty thousand, another time fifty thousand, and sometimes a hun-
dred thousand.

An absolute des- Country. Finally, they were forced to give them four score thou-
ease of the sand Crownes yearly till the time of *Clyare*, at what time the *Gauls*
Gauls Empire. Empire had an end, and this Nation was wholly vanquished and ex-
tinct by the *Thracians*. Their Treasure being at that time exhausted
by reason of these Tributes, they sent first an Embassie into *Greece* to
demand their assistance. But for that most of the *Greeks* made no
account of it, they resolved to take a Tole vpon all these which should

pass

passe into the Blacke Sea. The which all the rest disliking for the no: A Tole impo-
uelty of the thing, they blamed the *Rodiens* for suffering it, as being sed vpon
then Lords of the Sea.

This was the beginning and Fountaine of the Warre which wee
are now to decribe. The Rhodiens moued, aswell with their owne
losse as with that of their neighbours, hauing first called their Allies,
sent an Embassie to Constantynople to abolish the Tole. VVho per-
forming their Voyage according to their Charge, could not perswade
the Commons : For that Hecatondore and Olympiodore (who had then
A the Gouvernement of the Common wealth) oppoſed themſelues : So as
they returned without effect. Soone after they ſent to declare VVatre
vnto the for the aforeſaid cauſes. Preſently after the Rhodiens ſent
Embaffadours to Prufias, to perfwade him to make Warre againſt the
Constantinopolitains : for they knew well hee was offendred with them
for certaine cauſes. The Constantinopolitain in like manner ſolicited
Prufias.
Attalus and Achæus by many Embaffies, to ſuccour them againſt the
Rhodiens. It is true that Attalus was at liberty, but hee was much ope-
preſſed with pouerty : for that Achæus had forced him to retire himſelfe
within the libertieſ of his Fathers Empire. Finally Achæus, who te-
B med himſelfe Lord of all the Country which lies on this ſide Tauris,
and publishing himſelfe for King, promiſed ſuccours vnto the Conſtan-
tinopolitains, which gaue them occaſion of great hope, and terrified
very much the Rhodiens and Prufias : For Achæus was allied vnto Antio-
chus, who raigned in Syria, and had attai ned to this Principallity by
ſuch or the like meaneſ.

After the death of Seleucus father vnto Antiochus, and that his Sonne Seleucus the eldest of the brethren, had succeeded in the Realme, <sup>The names of
Achaea past the Mountaine of Tauris with him in regard of his kindred,
about two years before the time whereof wee now speake. For as</sup> Achaea past the Mountaine of Tauris with him in regard of his kindred, about two years before the time whereof wee now speake. For as Coone as Seleucus was King, and hearing that Attalus had taken the whole Country which lies on this side Mount Tauris, considering that hee must give order to his Affaires, passeth the Mountaine with a great Army : VVhere within few dayes after hee was slaine by Apaturia a Gaul, and Nicander. Achaeus resoluing to revenge the death of his kinsman, kill them presently. And then he gouerneth the Army and all other affaires with great VVisedome and Courage. For when as the opportunity of the time ; and the generall consent of all the Souldiers, perwaded him to take the Crowne, yet hee would not doe it, but kept the Realme for the younger Brother Antiochus : and governing all other matters carefull, he resolued to subdue the whole Country which is on this side Tauris. But when as all things had succeeded happily, and that in the end he had left nothing but Perzamus to Attalus, hee presently changed his minde, and caused himselfe to bee called their King, being growne proud with the Victories which hee had obtained contrary vnto his Hope. So as it fell out that his name was more feared, by the Inhabitants on this side Tauris, then of any other King or Prince.

Wherat the *Constantinopolitans* being moued, they made no difficulty
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to vnder-take a Warre against the *Rhodiens* and *Prusias*: Who accused them, that when they had promised to set vp his Images, yet they afterwards forgot it thorough negligence: And withall, hee was much more incensed, for that they had done what possibly they could to pacifie the Warre which was kindled betwixt *Achaea* and *Astatis*: For that every man knew that their peace was dangerous to him for many Reasons. Finally, hee obieged against them, that whereas they had sent an Embassie to *Astatis*, at the Games which he had made in the honour of *Minerva*, they had not sent any one vnto him when hee gaues thankes vnto the Gods. For which reasons (being incensed) hee willingly embrased the *Rhodiens* party against them of *Constantinople*. And therefore hee agreed with their Embassadors that they shold send forth a very strong Fleet, to assaile the *Constantinopolitains* by Sea, promising likewise to invade them by Land with no lesse forces then they shold. This was the beginning, and the causes of the Warre which the *Rhodiens* made against the *Constantinopolitains*.

They also at the first entred into it with great Courage, hoping that *Achaea* would succou them, according vnto his promise. They had also called *Thibet* of *Macedony*, whom they opposed against *B* *Prusias*: to take from him the meanes to make VWarre against another, being much troubled for the defence of his owne. But *Prusias* parting with great rage and fury against the *Constantinopolitains*, hee presently tooke *Fanum*, a place very strong by Nature, and seated vpon the mouth of the Pontique Lea, which they of *Constantinople* had lately purchased for a great summe of money, moued with the opportunity of the place, to the end that no man might enter or goe foorth of the Pontique Sea but by their fauour. Moreouer he put all the Countrey of *Asia* (which the *Constantinopolitains* had long helde) to fire and Sword. On the other side the *Rhodiens* having made sixe shippes, and taken foure from their Allies, whereof they made *Xenophante* Commender, they sailed vnto *Hellefonte* with an Army of ten shippes of very strong Shippes. And having left nine neere vnto *Sest*, for the defence of the entry into the Pontique Sea, the Commender hauing a good VVinde failed with the tenth vnto *Constantinople* to view their Countenance: And whither at this first beginning of the VWarre they wold be better aduised. But finding them ill affested, hee retited vnto his whole Army with the which hee returned to *Rhodes*.

In the meane time the *Constantinopolitains* sent Embassies, some vnto *Achaea*, intreating him to hasten his Succours: Others into *Macedony* to draw downe *Thibet*; for it seemed that the Realme of *Bythinia* did as rightly belong to *Thibet* as to *Prusias*, for that hee was his Uncle. The *Rhodiens* being aduertised of the obstinacy of the *Constantinopolitains* vied Wisedome and Policy: For when they understood that all their Hope was in *Achaea*, whose Father *Ptolomy* kept in Prison at *Alexandria*, and that *Achaea* leauing all other Affaires whatsoeuer, was carefull of his deliery, they thought good to send an Embassie to *Ptolomy*,

Fanum taken
by *Prusias* from
the *Constanti-*
nopolitains.

An Embassie
sent by the
Rhodiens to
Ptolomy:

Ptolomy, and to intreate him with great Affection, to deliver vnto them the father of *Achaea*: to the end that by this meanes they shold make himbound vnto them. *Ptolomy* after he had heard the Embassadors, did not seeme very willing to deliver *Andromochus*, hoping to make vse of him at neede: for that hee was not yet well pacified with *Antiochus*, and that *Achaea* hauing leased vppon the Realme without any contradiction, and faire extended his power: For *Andromochus* was Father vnto *Achaea*, and brother to *Laodicea* Wife to *Seleucus*. Yet to please the *Rhodiens* hee delivers him vnto them, to restore him vnto his Sonne if they thought good. The *Rhodiens* by this meanes hauing done according to their owne desires, and reconciling themselves vnto *Achaea* by some other meanes, they did frustrate the *Constantinopolitains* of their principall hope. There fell out also another accident which troubled them very much: For the Death of *Thibet* whom they had drawng out of *Macedony* (as we haue laid) died suddenly of sicknesse. For which accidents the *Constantinopolitains* began to faint.

Contrariwise *Prusias* having a greater hope of his Enterprize, parted from *Asia* to make Warre, and leuied men in *Thrace*, pressing the *Constantinopolitains* so neare, as they durst not issue or fally out of the Gates, which looked towards *Europe*. Wherefore being thus destitute of all hope, and suffering all the iniuries of Warre, they sought and inuented some honest meanes to be freed. And therefore when as *Cassare* King of the *Gauls* approached neare unto the City, labouring by all meanes to pacifie this Warre, both they and *Prusias*, referred themselves vnto him for all their Quarrels. Whereof the *Rhodiens* being aduertised, and desiring to bring their Resolution to a final end, they sent *Aridix*, and *Polemocle* to *Constantinople* with three Triremes, meaning (as they commonly say) to send them peace or Warre.

After the comming of this Embassie vnto *Constantinople*, there was an Accord made with the *Rhodiens*, that the *Constantinopolitains* shold not take Tole of any one that fall'd into the Pontique Sea. The which if they performed, the *Rhodiens* and their Allies would make a firme peace with them. And as *Prusias* they concluded and agreed vppon these Conditions: that *Prusias* and the *Constantinopolitains* should live in Peace and Amity, and never hereafter make Warre one against another. And that *Prusias* shold make restitution of all the Province, Townes, People, and Slaves, without any recompence, in the like manner hee shold doe of the Shippes, and other Booty which hee had taken from them in the beginning of the Warre. Moreouer the Carpenters VVorke, Tiles, and remainder of Houses, which hee had transported from *Fanum*, (for *Prusias* fearing the coming of *Thibet*, had razed all the Burroughes whereinto the Enemy might retire himselfe:) and that finally hee shold bind himselfe with all the Souldiers of *Bythinia*, to restore vnto the Inhabitants of *Mysia*, (which are vnder the obedience of the *Constantinopolitains*) all they had taken from them.

An accord be-
twixt the con-
stantinopolitans
and the rho-
diens.

An accord
made with
Prusias.

This was the beginning and ending of the Warre of *Prusias* and the *Rhodiens* against the *Constantinopolitans*. At that time the *Graecians* sent an Embassie to the *Rhodiens*, to draw from them three or four well built Triremes, which *Polemocles*, had lately made his Voyage with three other stately Vessels of Warre, against those which lately had Revolted against them. The which being done, when as the Army arrived at *Candy*, the *Eleuterineis* doutering that some few daies before *Polemocles* had slaine *Timarche* their Burgesse to please the *Graecians*, made Warre against the *Rhodiens*, after they had made their complaint. A little before the *Lycians* had so many severall

crosses.

Candy in a man
ner reduced all
under the ob-
edience of the
Graecians and
Gortiniens.

Finally all *Candy* was in Combustion. The *Graecians* and *Gortiniens* making Warre with one Councell and consent, reducing all the Island under their obedience, except the *Lycians* Towne : For the taking whereof they did their vtmost power and indeauours, thinking in the end to rase and ruine it quite : To the end it might serue for an Example to other Cities, to terrifie them from a Revolt : For that it alone would not receive them for their Lords. In the beginning all they of *Candy* made Warre against the *Lycians*, but they beganne presently to fall into Discorde, vpon a very light cause : The which happens often with that Nation. So as the *Polyreneis*, the *Seretins*, the *Lampeins*, and moreouer the *Hopkins*, and the *Archadians* held the *Lycians* party, forsaking the alliance of the *Graecians*. The *Gortiniens* were in diuers opinions : The mostaged held the *Graecians* party : and the young men that of the *Lycians*. The *Graecians* seeing the will of their Allies thus changed, and that the Affaires went otherwise then they formerly expected, they drew a thousand men from *Etolia* by the right of Alliance. Which being done, the mostaged of the *Gortiniens* feazed suddenly vpon the Fort, drawing in the *Graecians* and *Etolians*, and deliuered them the Towne, chasing away the party of the young men, and killing some most cruelly.

The *Lycians* had by chance at that time made a Roade into the Enemies Country, leauing no forces within the Towne, wherof the *Graecians* being aduertised by their Spies, they tooke it vnfurished of any forces, and sent the Women and Children to *Graecia*. And when they had burnt and razed it with fury, they retired. The *Lycians* returning, were so amazed when they saw all in fire and ruine, as no man durst enter into the Towne. But going about it in troupes, they lamented their Countrey and Fortune. From thence turning head, they returned to the *Lampeins*, who received them louingly and with great affection : Who being Fugitives and strangers, were in one day admitted Burgeses, and made Warre against the *Graecians* with the Allies.

Behold how *Lycia* a Colony of the *Aegeanians*, and the most ancient of *Candy*, was suddenly and miserably ruined. The *Polyreneis*, *Lampeins*, with all their other Allies, seeing the *Graecians* to be in League with the *Etolians*, and the *Etolians* to be enemies to *Philip* and the *Achaeans*, sent an Embassie to the King and the *Achaeans*, to make a League

The *Lycian*
Towne razed
and burnt.

League with them, and to draw succours from them. Who received them, and sent them foure hundred *Selauonians*, vnder the Command of *Plator*, and about a hundred *Phoenici*, who at their arriall did greatly affite the *Polyreneis* allied to the *Achaeans*. For within a shorr time, their forces being increased, they forced the *Eleuterineis*, *Cydoniates*, *Aperteins*, and diuers others being shut vp within their Wals, to abandon the *Graecians* alliance, and to imbrace their party: Which things being effected, the *Polyreneis* and their Allies sent fiftie hundred *Candots* to *Philip* and the *Achaeans*. Not long before the *Graecians* sent a thousand to the *Etolians*. Thus the Warre was mannged for the lone one of another. The banished men among the *Gortiniens* surprized the Port of the *Pheasines* and that of the *Gortiniens*, from whence they made many fallies against them of the Towne. And this was the estate of the affaires of *Candy*.

At the same time *Methridates* made Warre against the *Synopenses*, *Mithridates*, which was in a manner the beginning and cause of his misfortune. And when as they required succours of the *Rhodiens*, they made choise of *The Rhodiens* three men for this businesse : To whom there was giuen foure and *Synopenses*, twenty thousand five hundred pounds, to furnish the *Synopenses* with *B* necessary prouision for the War. They which had this Commission, made prouision of ten thousand Goate skinnes fill'd with Wine, of thirty sixe thousand pound weight of Ropes made with Haire, and ten thousand made with sinewes, a thousand Armes compleat, three thousand pieces of gold coyned, foure Merchants ships, with Crossbowes and other Engines of battery in great number. The *Synopenses* hiringe received all this prouision, returned to *Synope*. They were in great feare least that *Methridates* should besiege them both by Sea and Land. *Synope* is seated on the right side of the Pontique Sea, *The Situation* where as the Riuere of *Phasis* enters into the Sea, and likewise vppon *Synope*, a Cape which stretcheth farre into the Sea : The necke whereof is closed in by the Towne, which ioynes unto *Asia*, and hath in length about two Furlongs : The rest of the Cape aduanceth it selfe into the Sea, which is a flat Countrey and the approaches very easie, and contrariwise very difficult and inaccessible, to those which come from the Sea, neyther hath it any paſſages. The *Synopenses* fearing that *Methridates* should besiege the Towne, not onely on that ſide which ioynes to *Asia*, but likewile on the other, drawing his Army to Land, they did carefully fortifie that part which is iuerted by the Sea, leaving a good Guard there to keep the Enemy from landing.

C For the place is of a small Circuit, and requires no great guard. This is all which past at that time in *Synope*.

King Philip parting with his Army from *Macedony* (for there was left our former Discourse) caused it to march by *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, making haſt to paſſe by those Regions into *Etolia*. *Alexander* and *Dorimache* resolving at the ſame time to take *Egirus*, having drawne together twelve hundred *Etolians* at *Ocanby*, which is one of their *Egirus* Townes, opposite vnto that whereof wee now speake, and their ſhippes being ready to paſſe, they only atteded an opportunity to put *their*

The situation
of Egira.

their enterprize in Execution. It happened that an *Etolian* having lived long at *Egira*, and finding that the Guard at the Gate kept no good Watch by reason of their Drunkenness, he acquaints *Dorimachus* therewith, soliciting him to take the Towne by night : he being a man accustomed vnto such Actions. *Egira* is a Towne of *Moria*, situated neare vnto the Gulfe of *Carinthe*, betwixe *Egia* and *Sicyon*, vpon a certayne Hill which is rough and difficult, drawing towards *Parnasse*, and about seauen Furlongs distant from the Sea. When the time was come, *Dorimachus* having imbarqued his Army, and provided carefully for all things necessary, he came before the breake A of day to a Riuere which runs neare unto the Hill whereon the Towne stands.

From thence, he with *Alexander* and *Archidamus* the sonne of *Pausanias*, accompanied with a great number of *Etolians*, marcht directly vnto the Towne, along the way which leads to *Egia*. The Fugitives was gone before with twenty of their best foote-men, for the knowledge he had of the places : And had gotten the Walls by Rockes which seemed inaccessible : Where as entring the Towne by a flincke, he found the Guards a sleepe : Who being slaine, and having broken the bares of the Gate without discouery, they made way B for the *Etolians*, who entred with great fury, and carried themselves simply and without discretion, which was an occasion of the *Egirates* Victory, and of their deafeate and shame. For thinking that all had become lost for the *Egirates*, they suddenly Armed, and put themselves in Battaille within the Towne, where they staid for a certayne time. But at the breake of day every man thought of his owne priuate profit and gaine : And dispersing themselves throughout the whole Towne, they fell vppon the Burgeffses houses, and rifled their goods : Finally they had no care at all but of spoile and Rapine.

Egira surprised
by the *Etolians*.

The *Egirates* mooved at this strange accident, some fled out of the C Towne amazed with feare : whose houses the Enemies had forced, for that the *Etolians* were apparently masters of the Towne. But they who herteing the sound of the Trumpet, were gone foorth with their servants to side and succow the City, retired vnto the Fort : Wherefore their number and force augmented continually, and the *Etolians* grew weaker : For that the *Egirates* repaired still to the Fort, and the others dispersed themselves in houses for spoile. And although that *Dorimachus* saw the apparent danger : yet without any amazement, he assaultes the Fort with a wonderfull Resolution, imagining that they which were retired into it, being amazed at his coming, would presently yeild vnto the *Etolians*. But the *Egirates* incouraging one another defended the Fort, with incredible resolution and assurance.

By this means the Combat was furious of either side. But for that the Fort was not inclosed with wals, they fought man to man, and the Combat for a time was furious and equal : For that the one fought for their Country and children, and the other for their liues. But the *Etolians* in

in the end beganto flee shamefully : whom the *Egirates* (growing more courageous) pursued : so as a great part of the *Etolians* died in fallyng out at the Gate, oppressing one another in the throng. *Alexander* was slain fighting valiantly. *Dorimachus* striuing to get forth, died in the flaine. The rest were presently slaine, or kill'd themselves falling in. *Dorimachus* fnde to Pits. There were few sauved, who abandoned their Armes, and fled to the ships. By this meaneas the *Egirates* by their incredible courage recovered their Countrey in a manner lost by negligence.

At the same time *Euripides*, (who had beeene sent by the *Etolians* to be Chiefe of the *Achaeans*, who after he had ouer-run the Countries of the *Dimenses*, *Pharenes* and *Tritenses*) tooke his way through the *Etolian* Countrey, chafing before him a great Booty, whereof *Micahus* of *Dime* being aduertised, who by chance was at that tyme subrogated in the place of the Commander of the *Achaeans*, and following the Enemy vpon the retreate, with the helpe of the *Dimenses*, *Pharenes*, and *Tritenses*, fell vnadvisedly into their Ambushes, and was defeated with the great losse of his men : whereof there died forty Foore, and there were two hundred taken. *Euripides* glorious of this good fortune, soone after went againe to Field, and tooke a Castle from the *Dimenses*, which was of consequence, the which the people of the B Countrey called *Mare* : and they say, that *Hercules* built it in old tyme, making Warre against the *Etolians*, to vse it as a Fort, and retreate in the time of Warre.

The *Dimenses*, *Pharenes*, and *Tritenses* having made this losse, and fearing for the future by the taking of the Castle by *Euripides*, they first sent Letters to the Chiefe of the *Achaeans*, to aduertise them of their misfortune, and to demand succours against the *Etolians*. And afterwards they sent some of the Chiefe of their Towne in Embassia. *Ara* could not raze any mercenary Souldiers, for that during the Warre C of *Cleomenes*, the *Achaeans* had payed them ill, and withall hee managed the affaires fearefully and without considerations. And therefore *Euripides* tooke *Athenet*, a Towne of the *Megalopolitains* : the like *Euripides* did (besides the former prize) to *Gorgos* and *Telphisia*. The *Dimenses*, *Pharenes*, and *Tritenses* being frustate of the hope they had in the Chiefe of the *Achaeans*, resolued among themselves not to contribute any more money, to supply the necessities of their Warre : And that they would leue at their owne charge about three hundred Foote, and fifty Horse to defend their Countrey. Whereby they seemed to haue taken good order for their priuate affaires, but they had no great D respect to the profit of a Communitie : For they haue giuen a very bad example to others, to make a new enterprize vpon any occasion : whereof the blame may well be layd vpon the Commander, who by his sloth and negligence had frustrated his men of their expectance.

It is a common eouse, that allthey which are in danger, hold that Friendship is to be entertained and kept, so long as there is any hope to draw succours from them : and when that ceaeth, then they are to provide for their owne affaires. And therefore the *Dimenses*, *Pharenes*, and *Tritenses* are to be pardoned, for that in the extreme danger

Micahus defeated.
The Castle of
Athenet taken by
Euripides.

Athenet taken by
Lysander.

of their Townes, they had leuied men, considering the negligence of the Chiefe of the *Achaeans*. But whereas they would not furnish money for the common affaires of the league, that is not excusable: For as it was not fit to neglect their owne affaires, so it was a base and disgracefull thing to omit that which concernes the preseruation of a common league: seeing they wanted not *Vtuals* according to the common conventions: and moreover they had beeene Authors of the league with the *Achaeans*. And this was the estate of the affaires of *Morea*.

Philip's Army.

King *Philip* had past *Thebaly*, and was in *Epirus*: whereas taking a number of *Epirots*, with the *Macedonians* he brought with him, and A three hundred Slingers out of *Achaea*, with a hundred *Candots* which had beeene sent by the *Messeniens*, hee comes vnto the Countrey of the *Ambraciates*: whereas if hee had entred prelenty into the heart of *Etolia*, the Warre might haue had an end. But for that hee was sollicited by the *Epirots* to force *Ambracia* first, he gave the *Etolians* meaneas to refist, and provide that which was necessary for their defencē. But the *Epirots* preferring their priuate interest before the common profit of the Allies, having a great desire to make *Ambracia* subiect, perswaded *Philip* to besiege it, and to take it before he past: For they conceiuēd that the Towne of *Ambracia* would bee very beneficall vnto them, if they might take from the *Etolians*, and that it would easily fall into their hands. You must vnderstand that *Ambracia* is a place strong by nature, well fortifed with double walles, and so enuironed with Moares and Marshes, as there is but one narrow passage by Land, made by Art. Moreover, it lookestowards the Towne, and the Prouince of the *Ambraciates*. *Philip* at the perswacion of the *Epirots*, plants his Campe neere vnto *Ambracia*, making prouision of that whiche was necessary for the Siege.

*The sedition
at Ambracia.*

Scope makes an incision into Macedonia.

At the same time *Scope* drawing together a great number of *Etolians*, and passing thorough *Thebaly*, enters into *Macedony*, and puts all that Region to fire and sword which lies neere vnto Mount *Pindus*, and drawes towards *Dit*, making a great spoile. And for that the Inhabitants of the Countrey were fled, he razed the houses, and places for Games: and not content therewith, he set fire on the Cloifters built neere vnto the Temple with great charge: moreover, he ruined whatsoeuer was erected there for ornament or for vse: Finally, he beat in pieces all the Images of Kings. Thus *Scope* in the beginning and first fury of the War, having not onely assaulted Men, but even the Gods themselues, returned into *Etolia*, not as a Church-robbēr, or execrable to the immortall Gods, but he was honoured as a man of merit, and a good servant to the Common wealth: and withall he gave great hope to the *Etolians* for the time to come. For they conceiuēd that by this means no man durst presume to enter as an enemy into their Countrey, and contrariwise they might easily run and spoile not onely *Macedony*, as they had beeene accustomed, but also *Thebaly* and *Macedony*. *Philip* aduertised of the thing which had beeene done in *Macedony*, and suffering for the ignorance and covetousnesse of the *Epirots*, held *Ambracia* besieged: whereas making vse of all Engins of Battery, he tooke it

*Ambracia taken
by Philip.*

it within forry daies, where leauing a garrison, hauing first taken the oath he satisfied the will of the *Epirots*, to whom *Ambracia* was delivered.

After these things he raiseth his Campe, and marcheth directly by the next valley, making haste to passe the Gulf of *Ambracia*, the which is very narrow, neere vnto the Temple of *Acarania*, which they call *Antia*. This Gulf comes from the Sea of *Sicily* betwixt *Epirus* and *Acarania*, with a very narrow entry, being scarce fxe hundred paces broad. But when as it dilates it selfe towards the Land, it is in a manner a hundred Furlongs broad, and three hundred in length, beginning at the Sea of *Sicily*.

It diuides *Epirus* from *Acarania* the one lying directly towards the North, and *Acarania* directly towards the South. Hauing past this Gulf with his Army, and entering into *Acarania*, he came to a Towne of *Etolia* which they call *Potia*, leading with him two thousand Foote, and two hundred Horse of *Etolians*. And planting his Campe about the Towne, and giting many sharpe assaults, he tooke it the third day after his comming by composition.

And left a Garrison of *Etolians* therein taking their Oath. The Night following fifteene hundred *Etolians* thinking that all things had beeene safe, came to succour their fellowes. The King aduertised of their comming, layed an Ambush, and slew the greatest part. The rest were taken, except some few which escaped by flight. After this hee distributed Wheat to the Soldiers for a Moneth, for hee had gotten a great quantity in this Towne: Then he marcheth to the Region of the *Streanis*, and plants his Campe neere to the Riuere of *Acheloe*, about ten furlongs from the Towne: And from thence ouer-running the Prouince, hee puttē all to fire and sword, for that no man durst shew himselfe.

At the same time the *Achaeans* more tormented with the Warrethen the rest, and aduertised that the King was not farre off, they sent an Embassie vnto him to demand succours.

C King at *Straton*, where acquainting him with their necessities according to their charge, they intreatē him to give them succours, and perswade him by many reasons, that in passing the *Rhe*, he shoulde take his way thorough the Countrey of the *Etolians*. Having heard them, the King sent them backe, promising to consider thereon: who raising his Campe, marcht to *Metropolis* and *Conope*. Whereof the *Etolians* being aduertised, they abandoned the Towne, and retid to the Fort. When as *Philip* had set fire on the Towne, proceeding in his course, he drew to *Conope*. There the *Etolian* Horse-men had made a head, to D encounter him at the passage of a Riuere, twenty Furlongs distant from the Towne, to stop his passage, or to fight with him if he past.

Philip aduertised of their enterprize, commands those that were armed with Targets to enter the Riuere first, and that keeping close together, they shoulde striue to passe in Battaille. Having obeyed him, the *Etolians* hauing skirmished in yaine with the first Troupe, for that it kepe close together, and afterwards with the second and the third, in the end they retired to the Towne, despairing of their Enterprize. From that time the *Etolians* Army kept the Townes: but *Philip* ouer-running the

*The Gulf of
Ambracia.*

Composition.

*Fifteene hundred
Etolians
slayēd by
Philip.*

*Metropolis:
ken and burnē,*

*An assembly
of the *Etolians*
to keep the
passage of a
Riuere.*

*Iberia very
strong.*

*Peonia taken
by assault.*

the Province at his pleasure, spoiled *Iberia* it selfe. It was a place feared vpon the passage, of great strength both by Nature and Art: the which the Garrison abandoned vpon his approach. The King razed it to the ground. Finally he ruined all, reducing vnder his obedience many Townes which were strong by situation and fortification: demolishing the most of the Castles, whereof there were a great number in the Countrey. Then abasing his fury, he gaue leaue vnto his men to run where they pleased for their owne gaine. After which he led his Army full of wealth towards the *Eniades*, and layed Siege to *Peonia*, refolwing to take it by assault: The which he did after many attempts, for although A the Towne were not very bigge, hauing but a thousand paces in circuit: yet it was not inferiour to the rest in the strength of Walles, Towers and Houses. He razed the Walles to the ground, and ruined the Houses, commanding to carry away the Timber and Tiles to the *Eniades* by Water.

The *Etolians* first began to fortifie the Fort of the *Cenades* to defend it, ramping the Walles, making of Ditches, and doing all things necessary for the fortification of a Towne. But being aduertised of *Philip's* approach, they fled for feare. *Philip* taking this Towne without any resistance, led his Army into *Caldonia*, to a certayne Towne which B was held very strong, called *Clos*, the which was well ramped with Walles, and all manner of fortifications. *Attalus* had furnished the *Etolians* with munition to defend it. But the *Macedonians* taking it by force, they ouer-ran and spoiled all *Caldonia*, and then returned vnto the *Eniades*. Whereas *Philip* considering the opportunity of the place, as well for other affaires, as for his passage into *Morea*, resoluued to repaire the Walles. For the *Eniades* are *Maritime* opposite to *Acamania* by the Sea which ioynes vnto the *Etolians*, neere vnto the mouth of the Gulf of *Corinthe*. It is a Citty situate in *Morea*, right against the Bankes of the *Dimene*, and neighbour to the Countrey neere vnto *Araus*, distant onely a hundred Furlongs. Which things *Philip* con sidering, hee fortifid the Fort apart, and joyned vnto it the Port and Arsenal with a Wall, making vse of the materials which were brought from *Peonia*.

*Philip fortifies
the Fort of the
Eniades.*

While that *Philip* was busie about this worke, hee received Letters from *Macedony*, by the which they did aduertise him that the *Dardanians* doubting of his Voyage into *Morea*, made haste to leue men, and to make preparations for Warre, to fall suddainly vpon *Macedony*. After which newes resoluing to succour it speedily, hee sent backe the *Acheans* Embassadours with this answeare, that as soone as hee had giuen order for his affaires of *Macedony*, hee would haue nothing in so great recommendation, as to come to their aide with all his forces. After this hee returned speedily with his Army by those Countries where hee had formerly past. And as he past the Gulf of *Ambracia*, parting from *Acamania* to *Epirus*, *Demetrius of Phare* (whom the Romans had chafed out of *Sclauonia*) met him. Whom the King (imbra cing him with great courtesie) caused to faire to *Corinthe*, and from thence to march into *Macedony* by *Thebaly*. Where drawing to *Epirus*,

C

D

he

he presently transported himselfe into *Macedony*, to the Towne of *Pella*. But when the *Dardanians* were aduertised by some fugitire *Thracians* of the Kings comming, they presently disoluued their Army, being tri fied with feare, notwithstanding they were neere vnto *Macedony*. *Philip* aduertised of the retreat of the *Dardanians*, gaue leaue vnto his Souldiers to gather new Corne, and every man to retire into his Countrey. For his part he went into *Thebaly*, and spent the rest of the Sum mer in *Larissa*.

*The retreat of
the Dardanians
without doing
any thing.*

At the same time *Panlus Emilius* triumphed at *Rome*, after his returne from *Sclauonia*. *Hannibal* after the raking of *Sagunt*, had sent his Army to winter. The *Romans* aduertised of the raking of *Sagunt*, sent an Embassie to *Carthage*, demanding *Hannibal*: and made their preparations for Warre, *Publius Cornelius* and *Titus Sempronius* being then created Consuls: Of which affaires wee haue spoken in the precedent Booke. But we now make a briefe reperition, to refresh the memory: to the end that (as we haue promised) all the actions may be present to the eyes of the Readers. The first yere of this Olympiade is past. And when as the day of the Election which the *Etolians* make, was come, they made choice of *Dorimache* for Generall of the Warre, B *Who* being leized of the Magistracy, he drew together a great number of Souldiers, and falling vpon the high Countrey of *Epirus*, hee made a most cruell spoile: so as it seemed, hee did it rather to ruine the *Epirotes*, then for his owne profit. Then passing the Temple of *Inupiter Dodone*, he set fire of the Cloisters, and ruined all its beauty: and finally, he demolished it.

B *Dorimache* cho sen General of the *Etolians*.

C Behold how the *Etolians* cannot obserue any meane either in peace or warre, so as both in the one and the other they violate the common conuersation of men, and in a manner the Law of Nature. When as *Dorimache* had committed all these mischiefs and many greater, hee returned into his Country. But whilest that Winter lasted, and that every man despaired of the coming of *Philip* by reason of the roughnesse of the time, and hardnesse of the Winter, the King taking three thousand men with Bucklers, and two thousand with Targets, with three hundred *Candors*, and about four hundred Horse, par red from *Larissa*: and taking his way by *Thebaly*, he came to *Negropont*: and from thence passing by *Beotia* and *Megara*, in the mid of December he arived at *Corinthe*, making his voyage so secretly, as no man of *Morea* discouered it: then keeping the Gates of *Corinthe* shun, and setting Watches vpon the wayes, the day following hee sent to *Syra* for old *Arae*. He then aduertised the Chiefe of the *Acheans* and Townes, of the time and place when they should be ready and in order. These things thus ordered, he continued his voyage as he had resolued, and staled his Campe neere to *Dioscor*, a Towne of *Philia*.

D At the same time *Euripides* parting from *Psophis* accompanied with two Legions of *Elebeans*, Pirats at Sea, and some voluntaries, so as all together made two thousand two hundred Foote, and about a hundred Horse, tooke his way by *Phenice* and *Symphalia*, being ignorant that

that *Philip* was in field, and desirous to spoile the Countrey of the *Sicyoniens*. It fell out the Night that *Philip* camped neere vnto *Dioscori*, that *Euripides* passing further at the break of day, entred into the Countrey of the *Sicyoniens*, and that some *Candios* which were with *Philip*, abandoning their Ensignes, and going to forrage after him. By whose meanes knowing that the *Macedonians* were neere, hee drew his army out of the Countrey, hoping that after he had past the Countrey of *Symphalia*, he might easly defeate the *Macedonians* in places of aduantage. *Philip*, hauing no aduertisement, raised his Campe the next day at the Sun-rising, as he had resolued; to take his way under *A Symphalia* towards the *Caphires*: for there he had appointed the *Alcines* to meeet in Armes.

The retraite of Euripides from Symphalia.

The Mountaine of Apemare.

When the *Macedonian* Scouts were come to the top of the Mountaine, which the Countrey-men call *Apemare*, about ten Furlongs distant from the *Symphalia* Towne, it happened by chance that the Scouts of the *Elientes* arrived there also. The which *Euripides* perceiving, and amazed at the aduantage of the place and time, hee flies with some of them, and recoveres *Sophis* by Groues which lay disperced. The rest of the *Elientes* Troupe being amazed, as well for that they were abandoned by their Commander, as for the newnesse of the accident, were for a time in suspence what they had to doe. But conceiving afterwards that they were *Megalopolitains*, to see the manner of their Harness (for the *Macedonians* carried Helmets) they marcht in Battaille, keeping good order for a time without any despaire. But when the *Macedonians* began to approach, (knowing then the truth) they abandoned their Armes, and fled. There were about twelve hundred taken alive by the Enemy: the rest were slaine, some by the *Macedonians* like Sheepe, others falling downe the Rocks, so as there escaped not a hundred. *Philip* continued his course, and sent the spoiles and Prisoners to *Corinthe*. This seemed very strange to them of *Morea*, to whom the newes of the Victory, and of *Philip's* arriall came at one instant.

A defeat of the Elientes.

When the King had past by *Arcadia*, hauing suffered much vpon the way by Snow, and the difficulty of the Countrey, hee arrived at mid-night at *Caphires* on the third day. Where after hee had refresh'd himselfe three daies, and that *Arate* the younger had ioyned with him with his Troupes, so as the whole Army consistid of ten thousand men, hee arrived at *Pephis*, passing by *Clitoria*, and made great prouision of Darts and Ladders taken out of the Townes where hee past.

Arate loynes with Philip.

The situation of Pephis.

Pephis is a very ancient Towne of the *Arcadians*, scituated in the midst of *Morea*, ioyning to *Arcadia* vpon the West, and neere to the Countrey of the *Elientes*, who at that time had the government. Where *Philip* arrived the third day after his departure from *Caphires*, and seattid his Campe vpon the Mountains which are opposite, from whence he might discouer the Towne and Countrey round about without danger. Where viewing the strenght, he was for a time in suspence: for towards the West there ran a swift Torrent along the walls: the which for the most part of Winter, was not to be waded thorough, so as no man

man enters that way. And vpon the East it hath the Riuere of *Erimantib*, which is great and violent: Of which the Poets and Historiographers tell many tales. Moreover, the Torrent (whereof we have spoken) defends and affiures the third part towards the South. In regard of the fourth which lookes towards the North, it hath aboue it a Mountaine which is steepe and difficult, and serues them for a good Fort. By this meanes the Towne is defended on three sides by water, and on the fourth by the Mountaine: And moreover it is enuironed with good wills, made with great Art. Finally, there was a Garrison of *Ellenses*, with that which *Euripides* had brought with him in his flight.

All these things considered, *Philip* was partly distasted to force it, for the difficulty thereof. And partly inflamed to besiege it, for the opportunity of the place. For hee considered that as this Towne was an annoyace to the *Acheans* and *Arcadianes* (for that it was an assured Fort and safe retreate for Warre to the *Elientes*) so if it might bee taken, it would bee to them of great consequence, and a retreat to the *Arcadianes* for the Warre. Wherefore in the end following this aduise, hee sent vnto the *Macedonians*, that they should bee ready the next day in the morning, and in Armes after they had fed. Then passing the Bridge of *Erimantib* without any opposition, considering the strangenesse and greatnessse of the accident, hee came boldly, and log'd at the foote of the Wall. Whereat *Euripides* and the Chiefe of the Towne were in great doubt what to doe: for they intimated that the *Macedonians* had no conceite to bee able to force this strong Towne, and that they should not bee able to continue the Siege long during that season. Wherefore when as they saw no likelyhood of any Treason within the Towne, the greatest part run to the walles to defend them.

A battle of the Elientes vpon the Macedonians.

C The Voluntaries of the *Elientes* made a sally vpon the Enemy by the Gate which lookes directly to the Campe. But when as *Philip* had appointed men to set vp Ladders in three places, and a sufficient number of *Macedonians* for either of them, hee gaue warning for the assault. Which done, they all fell to fighting with wonderfull fury. The besieged in the beginning defended themselves valiantly, and ouerthrew many which laboured to scale the walls. But when as their Darts and other munition failed them, as to men which had run hasty to the walls: and withall the *Macedonians* retired not, but after the fall of one, the next ascended the Ladder, in the end they fled, and retired to the Fort. Then

D the *Macedonians* of the Kings Troupe recovered the wall. On the other side the *Candios* who fought with those which made their sally from the upper part of the Towne, forced them in the end to flic, abandoning their Armes basely: And pursuing them with great fury, they slew many vpon the way, and entred the Towne with them: so as it was taken in diuers places at one instant. All the Burghelies retired into the Fort with their Wives and Children. The like did *Euripides*, with the rest which had escaped the danger. The *Macedonians* being gotred, they spoyley both publique and priuate houses, and afterwards kept themselves quiet within the Towne. They which held the Fort,

A composition
made between
of *Sophis* and
Philip.

Fort, being without victuals and other munition, they began to think of yeelding, fore-seeing the future. Whereupon they sent a trumpeter to the King; and having obtained a passe-port for an Embassie, they sent the Princes of the Towne with *Euripides* to *Philip*, who compounded with the King, that in yeelding him the place, the Burgeses and strangers might retire in safety. This done, they returned againe to the *Fort* according to the Kings command, not to depart before hee had retir'd his Army out of the Towne, lest falling into the Souldiers hands, they might bee spoile. The King stayed some dayes there by A reason of the roughness of the weather: during the which hee calls together the *Achaeans* which were in the Army, and made a long speech vnto them of the situation of the Towne, and of its opportunity for the present War, putting them in mind of the loue he bare them: Finally, he gave them the Towne, to the end they shoul'd know plainly, that hee was resolute to please them in all things, and not to forget the affection and diligence which was requisite in their affaires.

After which Speech, when as the *Achaeans* had given him thanks for his loue and good-will, *Philip* leaues the Company, and drawing his Army prently together, he marcht directly to *Lassion*. The *Populi* Bens leaving the *Fort*, came into the Towne, and every man returned to his house. *Euripides* retired with his men first to *Corinthe*, and afterwards into *Etolia*. The Chiefe of the *Achaeans* which were there present, gaue the guard of the *Fort* to *Prostac* a *Syconian* with a sufficient Garrison, and made *Pylades* a *Pellenense* Gouverneur of the Towne. And this was the end of the *Philippians* Warre.

When the Garrison of *Lassion* which consisted of *Elienses*, being (formerly aduertised of that which had happened at *Fophilis*) saw the *Macedonians*, they abandoned the Towne, as amazed at so strange an accident. So as *Philip* tooke it as foone as hee saw it. The which he likewise gaue to the *Achaeans*, according to the loue and affection which hee bare them. Hee likewise gaue *Siracto* to the *Telphusians*, which the *Elienses* had taken. This done, the fiftday after hee arrived at *Olympia*: where after he had sacrificed to the Gods, and made a solemne Banquet to all the *Captaines*, and refresh't his men for the space of three dayes, hee marcht, and entring the Countrey of the *Elienses*, hee abandoned it to his Souldiers: Then planting his Campe neare to *Arimida*, hee returned foone after to *Dioscorio*, bringing a great Booty from thence. Then making many Roads into the Countrey, there were a great number of men taken. Many also retired into the neighbour Townes, and into places of strength: For the Region of the *Elienses* is very fertile amongst the rest of *Morea*, in people and abundance of wealth: for that the greatest part of the Countrey people are giuen to tillage, employing their time in labour, vnto the second and third generation: And althoug they bee otherwise rich, yet they enter not into Townes. The which happens, for that the principall of the Townes haue the Labourers in recommendation, and are very careful that they may not be oppressed with the want of any thing of that which is requisite and necessary for them, and

Philip gives
forces to the
Achaeans.

Lassion taken.

Siracto.

C

D

and that no man should do them wrong. In my opinion the ancients haue so ordain'd it, for that in old time the multitude was commonly giuen to tillage: or rather for that they led a holy and religious life, when as with the consent of all the *Grecians*, they liued in safety, free from all inconueniences and trouble of Warre, for the Combate which was made at the Olympick Games. But when by the controuerse of the *Grecians*, concerning *Lassion* and *Pisa*, they were forced to undertake War for the defence of their Country, and to leave their first manner of liuing, they cared no more to resume that ancient and heredita-
A ry liberty given them by the *Grecians*, remaining in the same estate, and making a bad discourse of the time to come. For if any may haue from the *Grecians* (in obseruing right and iustice) peace and quietnes for ever, which is a thing which wee all demand of the immortall Gods, and for the which wee endure any thing, and which all the world confesseth to bee an vndoubted good, and yet they contenne it, and doe not esteem it, or hold some other thing in greater recommendation, are not they to be held fooles and mad men? But some one will say vnto mee, 'that they which shall hold this course of life, shall not be able to defend themselves, when they shall be opprest with War, or some other outrage. This without doubt happens seldom, and if it doth, they may be defended and relied by all the *Grecians*. And if it be a particular offence it will be no difficult thing to leue men with the money which they haue gathered together by long peace and rest. But now fearing that which happens seldom, and beyond all humane consideration, they consume themselves and their Country in continuall Warre and troubles. We haue thought good to relate these things of the *Elienses*, for there was never time, when as a greater opportunity was offred, to recover this liberty from all the *Grecians*, then at this day. The people then as wee haue said, dwelt in all assurance.

C Wherefore there were taken by the *Macedonians* a great number of men, although that many were retirted in strong places. For there was assembled a great multitude of men and Cattell, with other wealth in a neare Burrough, which they call *Thalamus*: for that the Country about it is very streight, the approach is difficult, and the Burrough very steepy, and in a manner inaccessible. *Philip* aduertised of this great assembly, and being loath to leave any thing which hee would not undertake, recouers the places of aduantage, to enter it with his Mercenaries: and marcheth in person by the streights of the Country with the men which bare Targers, and were lightly armed, leauing the Baggage, and D the greatest part of his Army in the Campe, and came vnto the Burrough finding no resistance.

They which were therein, amazed at the greatness of this accident, and ill furnished for the war, and without experience: hauing moreover many unprofitable persons for their age, yeelded presently: Among the which were two hundred Souldiers of diuers nations, whereof *Ampelias* ^{victoriam} Chiefe of the *Elienses* had the charge. *Philip* having made booty of all things, as of fift thousand men, and of an infinite number of Cattell, returned presently to the Campe. And when as afterwards

D d 2

the

*Appelles Tutor
to Philip.*

*The malicious
policy of ap-
pells.*

*The Nature of
Philip.*

*Surcouf sent
to the Elenses
by Dorimache.*

*The formation
of Triphalia
and its Towns*

the Souldiers seemed vnprofitable vnto him for the Warre, being thus laden with spoiles, he raised his Campe and returned to Olympia. *Appelles* was one of the Tutors which was left to *Philip*, in his infancy by *Cassander*, and had then great authority and fauour with the King. Who beginning to practise with himselfe, by what meanes hee might reduce the Nation of the *Achaeans*, to the same estate wherein the *Thebaliens* were, he bethougth himselfe of a notable villany. You must understand that the *Thebaliens* seemed to live vnder their owne Lawes, and to differ much from the *Macedonians*; onely they endured all things like vnto them, and obeyed the will of the King. Wherefore *Appelles* tending hereunto, began to try the hearts of those that were in the Campe. And at the first hee commanded the *Macedonians*, that if by chance the *Achaeans* should take any place before them, they shold chase them away, and strip them of their Booty. Afterwards he caused some to be whipt by the hangman for small offences: And if any one questioned this kind of outrage, or did succour them that were beaten, they were put in prisone, hoping by this meane to accustome the *Achaeans* to endure patiently what shold please the King. Finally, when as some young men *Achaeans* were assembled and come to *Arete*, relating vnto him the practise of *Appelles*. *Arate* considering that this must be presented in the beginning, he came to *Philip*, and accompanied with these young men, deliuered all things in order. Who being heard, *Philip* wist him to take no further care, and that hereafter they shold not be so intreated. He giues charge to *Appelles* not to decree anything against the *Achaeans* without the aduise of their Commander.

Philip was held excellent in Eloquence and sweetnes of speech to perswade his Souldiers, and of great wisdome and courage in the profession of Armes, not onely in the iudgement of Souldiers, but of all Morea: neither was it easie to finde a King which had so many gifts of Nature. He was a man of great diligence, memory, and of a good aspect, and held him worthy of an Empire, in whom there was a roiall power, a great force, and an incredible courage in actions of Warre, and as he layd the foundation of his Empire by so many great virtues, it is hard to say for what reasoun he was in the end so perwest, and made an execrable and wicked Tyrant of a good and iust King. Wherefore leauing this to another seafon, we will retorne to our discourse,

Philip parting from *Olympia* with his Army, came first to *Pharia*, then to *Erea*, where the Booty was sold, whereof wee haue spoken. Hee made a Bridge vpon *Alpha*, meaning to passe from thence into *Triphalia*. At the same time *Dorimache* chiefe of the *Elenses*, sent D succours vnto the *Elenses* at their request, whilst they ruined their Country: being about sixe hundred *Elenses* vnder the command of *Philides*, who passing by the Countrey of the *Elenses*, after that he had taken about five hundred voluntaries of theirs, and a thousand men of the City with the *Tarentines*, he came into *Triphalia* to succour the Allies. It is situate in *Morea*, betwixt the Regions of the *Elenses* and *Messeniens*, hauing drawne its name from *Triphalia* in *Arcadia*. Finally, it lookes towards the Sea of *Lybia* ioyning to *Acheinis* vnto

vpon the West. Wherein are comprehended the Townes of *Samicon*, *Lopres*, *Hysianne*, *Typanea*, *Pyrion*, *Epion*, *Bolac*, *Tylas-gon*, and *Pbrice*. The which as the *Elenses* held before, so as they had also taken the Towne of the *Alphirenes*, which formerly did belong to *Arcadia*, by the meanes of *Allades* the *Megalopolaine*, who deliuered it vnto them in exchange, at such time as hee was King. As soone as *Phylides* was entred into *Triphalia*, he sent the *Elenses* to *Lepreon*, and the *Mercenaries* to *Alphira*: and he remained at *Tipanes*, hauing the *Elenses* with him.

A *Philip* leauing the Baggage, hauing past the Bridge of *Alpha*, which runs along the walls of *Erea*, he came to *Alpha*, which is seated vpon a certaine Mountaine full of Caves and Pits round about it, and hath about ten Furlongs in ascent. Finally, it hath a Fort vpon the top of it, and the Image of *Minerva* mad of Copper, much differing from others in greatness and beauty: The people of the Countrey know not who made it, nor at whose charge, nor at what time it hath beeene erected. All the World holds for certaine, that it is the most excellent worke among all those which *Hecatodoma* and *Sostrates* haue made. The next Morning being cleare and bright, *Philip* commands many Ladders to be brought, before the which he had Troupes of aduenturers, and then the *Macedonians*, commanding them all at the Sun-rising, to make haaste to creape vp the Mountaines, and to assaile the Towne. Which being performed, the *Alphirenes* ran all to a place *Alpha*. *Philip* assaileth *Alpha*, where they saw the *Macedonians* vse the greatest force. In the meane time *Philip* hauling with him the choice of all the Troupes, was come secretly to the wall by a difficult Countrey. And when as the Souldiers assaile the Towne of all sides, and scaled it, *Philip* commanded to doe the like vnto the Fort which was neere the Fortress: the which hee tooke suddainly being vnfrimed of Souldiers. When as the *Alphirenes* saw it on fire from their walles, they were terrified with this new danger, fearing that if the *Macedonians* shold take the Fortress, there were no meanes of safety, they retired suddainly, abandoning the walls, the *Macedonians* tooke presently with the Towne. Afterwards they which held the Fortress, yeedled it to *Philip*, to haue their liues saued, according to the Composition which they had made with him.

C After these actions, the people of *Triphalia* being amazed, were carefull of their safeties: *Philides* also parting from *Typanea*, after he had ransack'd and spoil'd some houses, retired to *Lopira*. Behold the recompence which the *Elenses* at that time made vnto their Allies: so as they D not only abandoned them in their greatest extremity, but made them suffer things which were scarce fit to be endured by an Enemy. The *Typanens* yeedled the Towne presently to *Philip*: the which they of *Hip-* *Philip*, *pane* did in like manner. In the meane time the *Phialences* hauing newes of that which past in *Triphalia*, being in Armes, tooke a place neere unto *Pilmarche*, detesting the alliance of the *Elenses*. The *Elensem* Pirates who by chance were in that Towne in regard of the *Messeniens*, laboured in the beginning to resist the *Phialences*. But when they were aduertised that the whole Towne was of one accord, they gaue

over their enterprize, and trussing vp their Baggage, departed. The *Phalienses* sent an Embassie to *Philip*, and submitted themselves and yeld to *Philip*. Their Towne vnder his obedience. This being done, the *Lepreates* gaining a place of aduantage within their Towne, resolu'd to chafe away the Garrison of *Elienes*, *Etolians*, and *Lacedemonians*. *Philides* in the beginning was nothing moued herewith, but continued still within the Towne. But when the King had sent *Tauron* with a part of his Army against him, and comming in person with the rest to *Lepreon*, *Philides* and his Company hearing the newes, began to faint. Contrarie the *Lepreates* growing more resolute, did an act worthy of memory: For haung within their Towne a thousand *Elienes*, fiftene hundred *Etolians*, and two hundred *Lacedemonians*, Voluntaries, holding moreouer the Fort, yet their courage was so great, as they resolu'd not to forget the safety of their Countrey in so great a danger.

Lepron y. 1.
act to *Philip*.
Townes which
yeld to *Philip*.

But when as *Philides* saw the *Lepreates* to prosecute what they had begun with such courage, and the *Macedonians* to approach neare vnto the Towne, he fled with the *Elienes* and *Lacedemonians*, haung no more hope of safety. So as the *Lacedemonians* taking their way by *Messene*, returned to their houses, and the *Etolians* went to *Samice* with their Commander *Philides*. The *Lepreates* being Mafters of the Towne, sent an Embassie to the King to yeld it vnto him. Whobeyng heard, the King sent part of his Army thither, and pursuing *Philides* for a time, with those that were lightly arm'd, hee tooke all the Baggage, and *Philides* sau'd himselfe within a Castle. There the King planted his Campe, and made shew to besiege the Towne, causing the rest of his Army to come from *Lepron*: wherewith the *Etolians* and *Elienes* being amazed, as haung nothing wherewith to defend the Siege but their hands, began to parley for their safeties. Who going forth vpon the Kings word, retired to *Eli*. The King was preuently Lord of *Samice*. Afterwards diuers others came to submit themselves, so he tooke *Phryxe*, *Tylangon*, *Epiron*, *Bolac*, *Pyrion* and *Cypacion*. After which he returned to *Lepron*, hauing in sixe dayes made all *Tryphalia* subiect. There he made remonstrances to the *Lepreates* according to the time, and put a sufficient Garrison into the Fort; he led his Army to *Aria*, leaving *Ladix* of *Acarania*, Gouvernor of *Tryphalia*. Being arriu'd there, he diuided the spoile among the Souldiers, and hauing made prouision of victuals, he tooke his way to *Megalopolis* in the heart of Winter.

Philip was in *Tryphalia*, *Chylon* the *Lacedemonian* immaigning that the Crownc of the City belonged vnto him, and being discontented at the insolency of the Magistrates in choosing *Lycurgus*, he began to plot an enterprize of reuote. Hoping therefore to gaine the loue and fauour of the people, if doing like vnto *Cleomenes*, he put them in hope to diuide the Lands againe, he doth his indeauour to bring it to effect. And communicating his practice to his Friends, he had 200 Confederates of his enterprize. But knowing that *Lycurgus* and the Magistrates which had made him King, would make a great opposition, he studied first how to prevent it. Whereas by chance all the Magistrates

supt

supt together, he assailes them by surprize, and kills them cruelly. Behold how Fortune prepared a punishment worthy the deedes which they had committed. Beleue me, there is not any man but will say that they had well deserued to be punished by him, and for the caute for which they suffered. As foone as *Chylon* had done this Execution, he transports him selfe to *Lycurgus* house: And although he were there, yet he could not come at him; for hee was preserued by his Household Seruants and by his neighbours, and retired vnto *Pellene* by vnknowne wyes. *Chylon* frustrated of so great an opportunity, being wonderfully discontented, was forced to doe that which necessity required; and transpotting him selfe to the place, he feaz'd vpon all his enemies, and gaue courage to his friends, labou'ring to induce the rest to revolt. But when as he saw no man to like of it, and that the City was in mutiny against him, fearing what might happen, steales away from thence, and comes into *Achaea* alone, being chased out of his Countrey. The *Lacedemonians* fearing the descent of King *Philip*, retired with whatsoeuer they had in the fields into their Townes: and forisfied them with men and all sorts of munition, razing to the ground *Athenae* of the *Megalopoliitans*: For that it seemed a very convenient place for the enemy.

B It is certaine that whilst the *Lacedemonians* maintained their good government, according to the Lawes of *Lycurgus*, they were growne very great vnto the Warre of *Lemtria*. Since which time they beganne to feele the crosses of Fortune, and their government grew worse, being full of many discommodities and intestine Seditions, with Banishments and ruines vntill the Tyranny of *Nabydane*: whose name they could not endure. These are things which haue beeene related by many and are well knowne, since that *Cleomenes* ruined the government of the Countrey, whereof wee will speake heereafter when opportunity shall require.

C *Philip* passing by *Megalopolis* with his Army, drew to *Argos* by the Country of *Tegetland*, and there past the remainder of the Winter: purchasing a wonderfull renowne of all the World, awell for his course of life, as for the things which he had done in this Warre, beyond the strength of his age. *Appelles* who (forwith flanding the Kings Commandment) desifted not from his deuigne, laboured by little and little to make the *Achaeans* subiect. And when he found that *Arate* and the rest that were with him, were opposite vnto his ends, and that the King had them in great Reputation, especially olde *Arate*, for that he was in great Authority among the *Achaeans*, and *Antigonus*, and was moreouer a good and discrete man, he beganne to traduce him with injuries. Then hee inquires what men there were in *Achaea* of a contrary faction to *Arate*, and drawes them vnto him. To whom hee gives a courteous and gracious reception, drawing them by persuasions to his friendship, and afterwards recommended them in particular to the King: he gave him to understand that if hee fatured the party of *Agathocles*, hee should enjoy the *Achaeans*, according to the Contracte of the League: But if vñsing his Councell he received the others into friendship, hee should dispoise of all *Morea* at his pleasure.

The Lacedemonian Magistrates slain by Chylon.

D D 4 More
Appelles per-
fils in his en-
terprise.

When hee had made these conditions, hee sent him to the King, and when hee was come before him, hee gaue him a faire reward, and sent him back againe to *Argos*. And when hee was come to *Argos*, hee gaue him a faire reward, and sent him back againe to *Argos*. And when hee was come to *Argos*, hee gaue him a faire reward, and sent him back againe to *Argos*.

*Appelle chosen
chiefe of the
Achaei.*

*The Caste of
Mys yielded to
Philip.*

Moreover the time of the Election approaching, hee had an intent to cause one of the other Faction to be chosen. Wherefore hee beganne to sollicite the King to be at *Egira* at the Common Assembly of the *Achaei*, as if he meant to goe from thence into the *Elensi* Country. The King perswaded by his Words, came vnto *Egira* at the prefixed time : Where *Appelles* amazing the aduerse party, in the end preuailed with great difficulty. By this meanes *Appelle* was chosen Chiefe of the *Achaei*, and *Tymoxenes* quite relieft, whom *Arate* had named.

After these things *Philip* drawing his Army from *Egira*, and marching by *Pates* and *Dimes*, hee went to a Castle, which the Countrey-men call *Mys*, situated in the *Dimes* Country, and lately taken by *Enriipes*, as wee haue formerly said. As hee hasted with great heate to yeild it to the *Dimes*, hauing his Army ready in Battaille, the Garrison of *Elensi* was so amazed, as they presently yeidded themselfes and the Castle, which is not great in Circuit, but very strong by Scituation and Walles : For it had but two furlongs in Compasse, but the Valls had not lesse then seauen Fathomes and a halfe in height. *Philip* deliuering it to the *Dimes* presently, hee ouer-rannte the Prouince to spoile it : After which hee put all to fire and **B**Sword, and returned to *Dime*, laden with great spoiles. *Appelles* supposed that hee had effected part of his designe, for that the chiefe had beeene chosen according to his desire, hee chargeth *Arate* againe, desiring to him into disgrace with the King ; and railleth a slander vpon him vpon these caues.

Amphidamus Chiefe of the *Elensi* in the Burrough which they call *Thelamis*, being taken and sent with the other Prisoners, came to *Olympia* : And there hee beganne to seeke (by the meanes of some) to speake vnto the King : To whom when hee was brought, hee told him that it was in his power to make the *Elensi* imbrace his Alliance and Friendship. The King perswaded with his Words, let him goe without ransome, with a Charge to tell the *Elensi*, that if they would entertaine his Alliance, hee would deliver all their Prisoners without ransome, and that hee would preferre their Prouince from danger, suffering them moreover to liue in liberty, and that hee would giue them no Garrisons, nor pretend any Tribute, but wold suffer them to leue mercenary men where their Affaires required. The *Elensi* hearing these offers, would not accepte of them, although they were great and profitable.

Appelles making this the occasion of his slander, goes to *Philip*, telling him that *Arate* and his Confederates kept no true Friendshipp with the *Macedonians*, nor entertained the League sincerely : For it was certaine they had beeene the cause that the *Elensi* had not accepted the Conditions of the Alliance which had beeene offered them : For at that time when as hee sent *Amphidamus* to *Olympia*, they had vied speeches secretly vnto him, that it was not for the good and benefit of *Mores*, that *Philip* shold be Lord of the *Elensi* ; and by this meanes the *Elensi*, disdayning the conditions of Peace, obfetured their League with

with the *Elensi*, and indured the *Macedonians* Warre. This Speech being ended, *Philip* caused *Arate* with the *Achaei* to be called, and *Appelles* to speake the satyre Words in their Presences, the which hee performed boldly and without blushing : Finally, the King ^{The accusation} speaking not any thing, hee said moreouer vnto them : And for that ^{against Arate & the accorde.} *Arate* the King hath found you ingratefull and deceitfull, hee ha^te^d followed to retorne into *Macedony* having first called the *Achaei*, and acquainted them with the occasion. ^{The Answere of Arate.} Whereunto *Arate* answered : The King, sayd hee, ought not to belieue lightly ; but to consider well of the busynesse, when they speake any thing against his Allies and Friends, before hee giue credite to a slander. This is proper for a King, and very profitable in all things. And therefore in this slander you must call them that heard the VVords, and let *Appelles* enter with them, and omit nothing that may bee necessary to discouer the Truth, before it be revealed to the Assembly of the *Achaei*. This answere was pleasing vnto the King, saying, That he would diligently search out the truthe; then departed.

But within few dayes after, when as *Appelles* could not finde any prople of those things which hee had obiect, there was by chance a great testimony found of *Arate* his innocency : For whilst *Philip* ruined the Province, the *Elensi* hauing some suspition of *Amphidamus*, had resolute to take him, and to send him bound into *Elisia*. The which *Amphidamus* discouering, hee fleales away secretly, and comes first to *Olympia* : But hauing certayne newes that *Philip* stayed at *Dyme* to diuide the Spoile, hee went speedily vnto him. As soone as *Arate* had newes of the banishment of *Amphidamus* from his owne Country, hee was wonderfull ioyfull, knowing that hee had not committed any thing against the *Macedonians*, and goes vnto the King, intreating him to call *Amphidamus* : For hee was the man that could giue best satisfaction in those things wherewith hee was charged, **C**to whom the Words had beeene spoken : And that moreover hee would willingly deliuer the truthe, seeing that for the loue of *Philip* hee had lene Banished his Native Country, and that all his hope consisted in him only.

At whose words the King was moued, and calling for *Amphidamus* hee fonde that *Appelles* had fally slandered him. Wherefore after that day hee held *Arate* in greater esteeme and favour, but disliked the practise of *Appelles* ; although hee were forced to indure this and many other things for the great Authority which hee held. But *Appelles* changed not his humour : Hee deuided *Taurion* of the gouernement of *Mores*, not taxing him with any offence, but commanding and holding him worthy to bee in the Campe about the King, for that hee desired to put another in his place. Behold a new invention of flander to wrong any one, not in blaming him but in commanding him. There is also found (but principally among Courtiers) a malicious diligence accompanied with Envy and fraud, by a mutuall Icalousness and extreme Avarice.

Hec did likewise indeavour to disappoynyt *Alexander the Chamberlain*,

*Alexander
Chamberlain
to King Ant.*

*Taurion al-
left of the go-
vernment of
Mores.*

*the conditions
of Courtiers.*

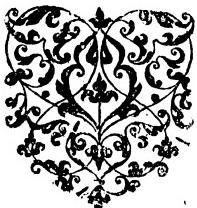
laine, and affected the care of the Kings Person for himselfe, and finally to breake all the Order which *Antigonus* had left. Who had duly performed his duty in the Government of his Realme and Sonne during his life: And dying hee prouided wisely for the future: For he left a Will, by the which hee set downe an order what the *Macedonians* should doe, and what charges they shold execute, labouring to take away all occasions of Ambition and Discord, which might rise in Court. Hee appointed *Appelles* to be Tutor to his Sonne, who had beeene at the Warre with him: And hee made *Leonce* Chiefe of the Soldierns which carried Targets, and *Megalee* Chancellor, and *Taurion* Gouernour of Mores.

It is true, that *Appelles* at that time held *Leonce* and *Megalee* in his Subiection, and was resolued to chafe away *Alexander* and *Taurion*: To the end hee might supply their places in Person, or by his Creatures. The which vndoubtedly hee had done, if *Arete* had not prevented it. But now hee suffers the paine of his folly and Couetousnesse: For within a short time after hee suffered that, which hee laboured with all his power to do vnto others. But wee will forbear at this present to deliver the causes, making an end of this Booke, and we will endeavour in the following Booke to set downe every thing in its place.

After this *Philip* came to *Argos*, where hee past the remainder of the Winter with his friends, and sent backe his Army into *Macedony*. B

The end of the Fourth Booke of Polybius.

C



D

The



THE FIFTH BOOKE OF the History of POLYBIUS.



A He Yeare of *Arate* his Gouvernement being ended about *May* (for so the *Achaeans* meane the time) he left it, and *Epirate* tooke *Epirate* of the Achaeans and Dorimache *Chiefes* *of the Etolians*. At the same time Summer beginning, *Hannibal* was parted from *Carthage* with his Army, for that the Warre grew hot betwix the *Romanes* and the *Carthaginians*, and made hast (passing *Egypt*) to goe into *Italy*. Then the *Romanes* sent *Titus Sempronius* with an Army into *Affricke*, and *Publius Cornelius* into *Spaines*. *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy*, hauing no more hope to decide their Controuerzie concerning *Syria*, neither by Embassies nor meetings, had begunne the Warre. And then King *Philip* prest with want of Victuals and money for his Army, cauied the *Achaeans* to assemble by their Magistrates. But when as the people were met at *Egia*, according to the custome of the Country, the King seeing *Arate* much discontented for the crowne which hee had receiuued from *Appelles*, at the time of the Election, and that *Epirate* was disclaime B of them all, as a man simple by Nature and sloathfull, and was holden as a scorne, knowing also the treachery of *Appelles* and *Leonce*, he beganne againe to turne his affection to *Arate*. And after that hee had perwaded the Magistrates to referre their Diet to *Scyzon*, hee spake curiously to olde and young *Arate*, and perwaded them to continue in their

their first affection, charging *Appelles* with all that had beene done. Whereunto they consenting, hee presently after his entry into the Assembly, obtained by their fauour whatsoever was necessary for his present affaires: for it was ordered by the *Achaeans* that they should pay vnto the King thirty thousand Crownes: That is to say, three score and threescore and eleauen mines of Wheate, (every mine being valued at fiftie Quarters, a Combe and a Bushell of London meaure) and withall as long as *Philip* shoulde remaine in *Morea*, he shoulde haue sixe thousand two hundred Crownes monethly. Which being done, the *Achaeans* returned every man to his Towne. But winter being past, and the Troupes returned, the King thought it best to assaile the enemy by Sea: for hee saw well that by this meanes hee might enter their Countrey, and surprize them on either side, and that they shoulde not bee able to succour one another, awfull for the distance that is betwix them, and for the newnesse of the Warre by Sea, as also for that they shoulde bee amazed at the suddaine descent of their Enemies: for at that time hee made Warre against the *Etolians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Elenses*.

After this resolution, hee drew together the *Achaeans* Vessells and his owne at *Leche*, a Port of *Corinthe*: Commanding that in the meane time, they shoulde insure the Souldiers to the Oare, wherein the *Macedonians* did him great seruice. You must understand that they are excellent men at Land in a pitch field, and ready at Sea in Combates of Surprize. Moreover, they haue not their equals to Rampire and Fortifie: and they complaine not of their paines in such affaires: Finally, they are like vnto the *Eacides*, whom *Hesiod* brings in rejoicing more for Warre then a Banquet. The King stayed at *Corinthe* with the *Macedonians*, being busie in the preparation of the Sea Army. *Appelles* who could not alter the Kings humour and disposition, nor suffer any abatement in his credite, being full of disdaine, hee made a Conspiracy with *Leouc* and *Megalee*, which was, that they being present, should hinder the Kings enterprizes, when opportunity did serue; and that for his part he would goe to *Chalcis* to stoppe the Victualls that should come to the Kings Army. When he had plotted this, hee went presently thither, to put it in practise against the King: wherein hee kept his Promise, and forced him to ingage his plate and all the rest of his moouables.

When as the Army at Sea was drawne together, and the *Macedonians* accustomed to the Oare, and that the Souldiers had received Corne and Money, *Philip* set Saile to *Corinthe*, and arrived three dayes after, D having sixe thousand *Macedonians*, and twelue Hundred Mercenaries. At what time *Dormache* Chiefe of the *Elenses* sent *Agalas* and *Sope* vnto the *Elenses* with twelue Hundred *Candyots* newly levied. The *Elenses* fearing that *Philip* would come and besiege *Cyllene*, leuied Voluntaries with all speede, and likewise made a leuy of men within the City, doing their indeauours to fortifie *Cyllene*. *Philip* aduertised hereof, hee left at *Dyme* the Mercenaries of the *Achaeans*, and the *Candyots* which hee had with him, and some Horse-men *Gauls*, and about

The nature of the *Macedonians*.

The Conspira-
cy of *Appelles* and *Leouc*.

The forces
which *Philip*
left at *Dyme*.

Mony & Corne
delivered to
Philip by the
Achaeans

about two thoufand foote of the choice of the *Achaeans*, for the guard and safety of the place against the assaults and attempts of the *Elenses*. And as a little before he had Written vnto the *Messeniens*, *Epirotes*, *Acaranians* and to *Serdilaide*, to meete him in *Cephallenia* with their Equippage by Sea, hee parts presently from *Patras*, and falleth directly into *Cephallenia* to the Burrough of *Proges*. But when hee saw it difficult to besiege, and the Countrey streight, hee past on with his whole Army, and came to *Pala*: Where seeing the Region A his Army, he landed his men, and planted his Campe neare vnto the Towne Wals. He also drew his shippes a shore, and iuironed them with deepe Ditches and strong Pallisadoes, fitting for their defence. Hee likewise sent the *Macedonians* to forrage, and himselfe went to view the Towne: and resolued to set vp his Engines, and to make all necessary preparations to force it, meaning to attend the succours of friends and Allies, and to make the Towne subject to his obedience: As well to deprive the *Elenses* of the greatest benefit and commodity they had by Sea (for without doubt they failed into *Morea* by night, B with the *Cephallenian* shippes, and spoiled the Sea Coasts of the *Epirotes* and *Acaranians*) as also to prepare this Towne for his Allies, as a retreate in the enemies Countrey.

Now for the Scituacion of *Cephallenia*, it lyes within the shire of *The Scituacion of Cephallenia* towards the Sea of *Sycily*, and bends towards the parts of *Morea*, which turne towards the North and West, and likewise towards the Province of the *Elenses*, and the parts of *Epirus*, *Etolia*, and *Acarania*, which haue their aspect towards the South and East. VVherefore he resolued to do what possibly hee might, to Conquer this Island, for the place was very convenient to assemble the Allies, and well sead to offend the enemies Townes; and for the defence of those of the League. And when hee saw that all the Quarters of the Towne were iuironed, partly with the Sea, and partly with steepy Rockes, and that there was onely a little plaine which looks towards *Zacynthe*, hee was fully resolued to plant his Battery there, and to prepare and make all things necessary for the siege.

In the meane time there arriuied fifteene shippes of VVarr sent by *Serdilaide*, saying, that for the present hee could not furnish and make ready any more, by reason of some mutinies and dissentions D which had lately happened in *Sclavonia*. There also arriuied succours and supplies from the *Epirotes*, *Acaranians*, and *Messeniens*, as hee had ordained: For the *Messeniens* maintained the rest of the VVarr freely, after the taking of the City of *Phigale*. VVhen as the King had prepared and made things necessary for the siege, and the Engines of Battery were appointed in conuenient places, hee approaches them to the Towne encouraging and giving hearte to his men: By whose meanes after they had mined, they presently opened a Quarter of the VVall, the which was underpoynt with great peeces of Timber, so great is the experiance & knowledge of the *Macedonians* in such affaires.

E e

Then

*Lentz a Tray.
unto Philip.*

Then *Philip* approaching nearer vnto the Wall, hee beganne to summon the besieged to yelde. But vpon their refusall, they suddenly set fire on that part of the Wall, and ouer-threw it. This beeing done hee sent the Souldiers which carried Targets to make the point, being vnder the Charge of *Leonce*, commanding them to assaile it and enter that way.

Leonce remembryng his Conspiracy, and finding an opportunity to put it in execution, perswaded three young men of his followers, which marcht before all his Troupes to the assaile of the Towne, that they shold hinder the taking thereof, winning the Captaines of their acquaintance, and Charging very faintly as if they were affraide. By this meanes they were shamefully repulld and beaten off from the assaile hauing many Wounded and soare hurt: Although they might easly haue had the Victory, and haue come off with a great deale of honour. The King seeing the feare of the Captaines, and the multitude that were Wounded, raised the siege. And from that time hee assembled his Friends and Allies, holding a Councell of that which hee had to doe for the future.

*Embaſſadours
ſent to Philip
from the Meſſeniens and A-
carniens,*

In the meane time *Lycurgus* entred into *Messenia* with an Army: And *Dorimache* with halfe the *Etolians*, falle into *Thebaly*: Wherefore Embaſſadours comre vnto the King from the *Acarniens* and *Messeniens*. B He of the *Acarniens* intreated him to make a Descent into the *Etolians* Country, to the end hee might draw *Dorimache* from his Enterprize, and that he would spoile and consume all the Enemies Countries. He of the *Messeniens* demanded Succours, shewing that it was but a dayes iourney from *Cephalenia* vnto *Messena*, a Northerly Winde blowing: And therefore *Gorgon* sayd that the Voyage would be fiddaine and of great profit and gaine. *Leonce* remembryng his Conspiracy, helde for *Gorgon*, seeing plainly that by this meanes, *Philip* shold spend all the Spring in doing nothing: For the Voyage from thence to *Messena* was easie, but the retурne impossible; for the Winds blew stille Northerly.

Wherefore it was apparent that if *Philip* passe with his Army thither, hee shold conume the rest of the Spring idly, and in the meane time the *Etolians* ouer-tunning *Thebaly* and *Epirus*, would put all to fire and Sword. This was the reaon why hee Councelled this and such like things. But *Arate* was of a contrary minde and opinion: For hee was of aduise that they shold sayle into *Etolia*, and to make Warre firſt there: For hee imagined that the time was very fitting and conuenient to spoyle and ruine the Prouince, for that the *Etolians* were gone to the Warre with *Dorimache*. The King followed no more the Councell of *Leonce* in any thing, both for that the affaires succeeded ill in the last siege, as for that hee was resolute to imbrace that of *Arate*, considering the long experience and pracie he had of his Wisedome: Wherefore hee wrote vnto *Epereas*, Chiefe of the *Acarnians* that in holding the Legions suddenly ready, hee shold succour and syde the *Messeniens*. And in the meane time he parts from *Cephalenia*, and two dayes after arriuers in the middle of the

the night with his Army by Sea at *Leucade*: And from thence holding his course a long the Sea of *Ambracia*, the which as wee haue formerly sayd, parting from that of *Syely*, extends it selfe into *Estolia*. And when hee was come vnto the Marshes, hee stayed there a little before day, and cause his men to feede and refresh their weary bodies, commanding them to be ready without any Baggage. Then he called his guides and inquires of the places and Townes, and of all things else that were necessary.

At the same time *Ariophantes* arrived with a good Troupe of *Acarniens*, hauing a great desiro to revenge the great and many outrages, which the *Etolians* had done them in former times. Wherefore receyving the *Macedonians* willingly, they drewe to Armes, not they onely which were bound by the Law, but euen many olde men. The *Epirote* had no leſſe desire to doe the like for many reasons: But they could not assemble in time for the great extēnt of the Prouince, and the suddaine comming of *Philip*. *Dorimache*, as wee haue formerly sayd, had halfe the *Etolians* with him, and left the rest in severall parts of the Country to be ready, if any new accident should happen.

B The King parting after noone from the Fenneſ, and hauing left suffiſcient force to guard the Baggage, when hee had marcht about three ſcore Furlongs, hee planteſ his Campe. Whereafter hee had stayed ſome certaine ſpace, and had cauſed his Souldiers to feede, and refresh themſelves being formerly wearied, hee continued his course: So as marching all night, hee arriued before day at the Riuere of *Acheloe*, The Riuere
Acheloe. betwixt *Conope* and *Strate*, ſeeking to ſurprise *Therme* by a way which they did not regard. *Leonce* and *Megale* foreſaw for two reaons that the King would preuale in his enterprize, and that the *Etolians* would haue the worſt. The one was, that the *Macedonians* deſcent was ſudden, and much more ſpeedy then they could imagine: The other, that the *Etolians* fearing not that *Philip* paſſing by thofe rough and difficult Countries, would be vnprouided. Wherefore conſidering theſe things, and mindfull of their Conspiracy, they aduised *Philip* that in ſeatting of his Campe neare to the Riuere of *Acheloe*, he ſhould refresh his Army for the laſt nights labour: Hoping that by this meaſures the *Etolians* ſhould haue time to ſecke for ſuccours, from their friends and Allies.

But *Arate* holding the time very precious to effect the Kings Reſolution, and that *Leonce* and *Megale* like Traitors ſought how to ſtop and prevent his paſſage, hee intreated *Philip* not to loſte to ſaire an opportunity. Following whosē aduife, the King beginning to bee discontented with *Leonce* and *Megale*, hee proceeded in his iourney: And paſſing the Riuere of *Acheloe* hee marcht directly vnto *Therme* with his whole Army, putting all to fire and Sword: On the left hand hee left the Townes of *Strate*, *Agrisias*, and *Tefia*: And vpon the right hand hee left *Conope*, *Lysimachia*, *Tryconia*, and *Philia*. Beeing come to the Towne of *Methape*, which lyes betwixt *Tryconia* and the Fenneſ, about threescore furlongs diſtant from *Therme*, the *Etolians* fled.

Eg 2

Where-

What hee tooke it, and put into it a Garrison of ffe hundred men, to the end he might make vse of it for a Retreat, aswell in his passage as in his retурne by those streights : For the Countrey especially about the Fennes is Mountainous, difficult, and inuironed with thicke Forrests.

By this meane the way is very troublesome, and in a manner inaccessible. Then he put the Voluntaries in the foreward, and after them the *Selanonians* : Then followed the Targetteers and the Leginaries, and in this manner hee marcht thorough the streights, hauing the *Candyoti* in the Reare, and the *Thragians* on the right Wing for A support. In regard of the left side, the Fennes did fortifie them about thirty Furlongs in length or rather more.

When hee had speedily past the streights, and taken the Burrough of *Pamphia*, and had put a Garrison into it, he proceeded towards *Therme*, which is not onely difficult and inaccessible, but hath also deep Vallies round about it : so as in some places the way is dangerous and narrow, with an Ascent about thirty Furlongs high. The which hauing soone past, for the *Macedonians* had carried themselves like braue men, hee came in the dead of the night vnto *Therme*, a very rich and likewise a faire Towne : Where planting his Campe, hee abandoned the Country and the Houses of *Etolia* to the spoile of the Souldiers, the which were furnished not onely with Corne, and all other manner of munition, but with the richest moouables of the *Etolians* : For every man carried thither the richest stoffe hee had, for that yearlye they kept Faires and Feasts there, and they made their Election : And withall they held this place for the safest and most surest of all the rest, whereunto no man durst approach, being such by Nature, as it seemed to be the Fort of all *Etoliae*.

Wherefore the Houses (considering their long peace) were full of all Wealth, not only those that were neare vnto the Temple, but in all other places. They rested this night within the Towne, being inricht with spoiles. The next day they made choyse of the best, and set fire of the rest. They also tooke the best Armes, which hung vp in their Cloysters or Galleries, and changed some, setting fire of the rest, being aboue fifteen thousand. You must understand that hitherto they thauaged the Warre iustly, and according to its Lawes. But I know not what to say of that which followes : For they ruined all the Cloysters and stately Houses, and ouer-threw all the ornaments which had beene made with great care and Charge, calling to minde that which the *Etolians* had done, at the Temple of *Jupiter Dodonee*. They not only confiured the building by fire, but they ruined all the D Walles : And withall they ouer-threw and beate in pieces aboue two thousand Images, yet they would not touch those which had the figure or inscription of one God. They had grauen vpon the Walles, when as the dexterity of *Some*, the sonne of *Christogone* (who had beene nurst with the same milke that the King) beganne to shew it selfe, This vulgar Verse :

Then

The order which Philip held to passe the streights of Therme.

Therme spoyleyed by the Macedonians.

Then seeft the God, which will terrifie him with his Dart.

The King and his Friends thought they had done well, and that by meanes they had revenged with the like recompence the execration which the *Etolians* had made vnto God. But for my owne part, I am of another opinion ; and every man may judge whither I haue reason, calling vnto minde the example of Kings of the same Line, and nor of other Races. When as *Antigonus* had chased away *Cleomenes* ^{The prudence of Antigonus towards the Macedonians} King of the *Lacedemonians* and was Lord of *Sparta*, hee forbare to vse any outrage or cruelty to the *Lacedemonians*, and carried him selfe not onely like a moderate and temperate man, but was also gracious vnto his Enemies : And returned into his Countrey leauing the *Lacedemonians* in their full liberty, doing them many fauours, both in generall and particular. So as they not onely rearmed him at that time their Benefactor, but likewise after his Death they called him their Sauour : So as hee not onely purchased Prayse and immortall glory with the *Lacedemonians*, but likewise withall other Nations. Moreover *Philip* who first enlarged the Realme of *Macedony*, and B made the name of his Race great, hee did not winne the *Athenians* (after that hee had Vanquished them in *Cheronia*) so much by Armes, as by his milde course of living, and the sweetnesse and gentlenesse of his Nature.

It is true, that hee Vanquished those that came against him to Battaille : and had wonne the *Athenians* and their City : Not by a continuall of his Choller and indignation against the Vanquished, but in fighting with his Enemies vntill occasion were offered to shew his mildnesse and Virtue : For hee sent vnto the *Athenians* (who had done him many wrongs) their Prisoners free, and caufed such as had beene slaine in the Battaille to bee interred, soliciting the *Athenians* afterwards ^{Philip the fa} to carry away the bones vnto the Sepulchers of their Ancestors. And afterwards sending backe the sayd bones, and many slaves freed, being lightly attired with *Aniopater*, hee decided a great busynesse by his industry : So as the vtmost hearts of the *Athenians*, being Vanquished by his magnanimitie, they were alwaies after obedient vnto him, and ready to satisfie his desires. What did *Alexander*, whose Choller was so great against the *Thessalians*, as hee made all the Citizens slaves : and razed their City vnto the ground, reducing some of their Princes into seruitude, sending others into Banishment, and taking all their Wealth ? Yet his rage and fury did not so farre exceede, as D to force and violate the Temples of the immortall Gods, vsing all possible diligence, to keepe his men from committing any disorder and villany. And when hee past into *Asia*, to reuenge the outrages which the *Persians* had done vnto the *Grecians*, hee punished the men which had committed them, according to their deserts : but hee touched not the Temples : Although the *Persians* had most wronged the *Grecians* therein. ^{Alexander the Great.}

This *Philip* shoulde haue considered, to the end hee shoulde not bee so much

The blame of much esteemed, the Heire of the afore-sayd Kings in their Souerainty, as in life and Conuersation. Hee did what possibly hee could in his life time, to shew himselfe to bee of the blood of *Alexander* and *Philip*: But hee did not care to imitate them, nor to doe as they had done. Wherefore leading another course of life, hee also left another opinion of him with all Nations. For as hee laboured to yeeld the like vnto the *Etolians* for their outrages, and to purge euill by euill, he thought not to offend. Calling to minde the outrages which *Sope* and *Dorimache* had done vnto the Temple of *Jupiter Dodone*, hee did not perceiue that he committed the like error, straying wonderfullly from A *Reason*. It is true that the Lawes of Warre, permit to vse crueltie against enemies, and to ruine and spoile their Castles, and Gardens, Townes, and Burroughes, Shippes, Fruites, and such like: To the end that their forces may be weake ned, and his owne fortified and augmented. But it is the Act of a furious and mad man, to ruine those things that are neither any way profitable or commodious vnto himselfe, nor hurtfull vnto his enemy: As Temples, Cloisters, Images, and such like.

The Lawes of Warre.

It is not fitting that a good and vertuous man, shoulde persecute his Enemy to his total ruine. It sufficeth only that the faulkes of Delinquents may be purged and Corrected; and not to ruine with the vnjust thoes things which haue not offended, nor to fecke to destroy and pull downe with the Enemy that which hath committed no outrage. It is the practise of a cruel Tyrant, to Raigne in doing euill, forcing his people thorough feare, and liuing in mutuall hatred with his Subjects. But the duty of a King is to doe good vnto all men, governing his people without feare, with bounty and Clemency: And liuing with his Citizens in mutuall loue and friendshipe. But wee shall see more plainly the great error which *Philip* committed, if wee shall truly consider the opinion which the *Etolians* might haue had of him, if hee had not ruined the Cloisters and Images, nor carried away the Ornaments of the Temple. I conceiuе that beeing culpable of the things, which had beeene committed at the Temple of *Jupiter Dodone*, they might haue seene plainly that *Philip* could haue done the like, and yet it had beeene crueltie, the which notwithstanding in shewe hee had done with reason: And that hee would not imitate and follow their Wickednesse in regard of his Bounty and Magnanimity, they would vndoubtedly haue condemned themselues for their faulkes, in commanding and approouing *Philip* with great admiration, for that like a magnanymous King, hee had carried a respect vnto the Gods, and executed his Choller vpon them. D

The practise of a Tyrant.

The Duty of a King.

To vanquish an enemy by mildness.

There is no doubt, but it is better to vanquish an Enemy by mildness and Clemency, then by force and might: For by Armes necessary forceth men to obedience; but mildnesse drawes them to it willingly. By the one faulks are corrected with losse: And by the other offendes amend and reforme themselues without damage. Moreouer in the one the Souldiers attribute vnto themselves the greatest part of the glory, which is a great matter: But in certes, gentlenesse, and mild-

mildnesse, all the Victory is giuen vnto the Commander. So as happily considering his age, they will not attribute to *Philip* the greatest part of those things which he had done, but to those that were in the Warre with him, of which number were *Arete* and *Demetrum* of *Thare*. The which would be easie to say vnto him, although he had not bene there present, and that this outrage done vnto the Gods, had beeene by the aduise of one of them. It is true, that this was done contrary to the course of *Arete* life, during the which hee never did any thing rashly, nor without consideration: whereas *Demetrum* did alwayes the contrary. There are likewise particular presumptions thereof, whereof we A will speake when it shall be fit.

Philip then (returning to our discourse) parts from *Therme*, laden with all spoiles: and returns the same way he came, causing the Baggage to goe before, with those that were best armed: and placing the *Acarnanians* in Rearward with the Mercenaries, he made haste to passe the streights. He feared that the Enemies relying vpon the advantage of the place, might charge him in the Reare. The which was presently put in practise, for that the *Etolians* hauing drawne together three thousand men, neuer approaching neare vnto *Philip*, whilst hee held the high Country, made their Ambushes in scattered places vnder the command of *Alexander*. But when the Rearward began to march, they entred into *Therme*, charging them vpon the Taile. When as the alarme was giuen, ^{The *Etolians* charge *Philip* Rearward,} the *Etolians* relying much vpon the advantage of places, pursued them with great courage. But *Philip* hauing wifely prouided for the future, had left the *Sclavonians* in Ambush vnder a certaine Hill, with many others that were armed with Targets. Who seeing the pursuite of the *Etolians*, they marcht against him with great fury, and presently slew sixe or seauen score, and tooke as many: the rest sau'd themselfes by infamous and shamefull flight.

C The *Acarnanians* and Mercenaries, after they had gotten the victory, they presently set fire on *Paphia*: and when they had past the *Paphia* burnt streights with great speed, they found the *Macedonians*. *Philip* separated his Campe neare vnto *Methape*, staying for his men. And parting ^{by *Philip*,} from thence after he had razed it, he comes to a Towne called *Atres*. Then continuing his way for three dayes together, hee wasted the whole Countrey. The day following he planted his Campe neare vnto *Comope*, where he stayed the next day. After which hee marcht at the breake of day towards *Strate*, where hee past the Riuere of *Achelos*, and lodged within a Bowes shoothe of the Towne, drawing the Inhabitants often to skirmish. For he had bene aduertised, that there were three thousand *Etolian* foote within it, and about four hundred Horse, with fifti hundred *Candios*. When as no man durst come forth, hee raised his Campe againe, and at the first tooke his way towards the Penns, to recover his shippes. But when as the Reare of his Army began to passe the Towne, a number of *Etolian* Horse-men made a tally and charge ^{The *Etolians* made a tally out of *Strate*.} them. They were presently followed by a Troupe of *Candios*, and many *Etolians* came to succour their Horse-men, the *Acarnanians* being in danger, turned head against the Enemy, and the Combate began

betwix them. The Victory was long in suspence: Finally, *Philip* sent the *Sclavonians* to succour the Mercenaries. Wherefore the *Etolians* being vanquished, fled of all sides. Those which the King had sent, purfued the greatest part of them to the Gates and walls of the Towne, wherof there were a hundred slaine in the chase: the rest durst no more shew themselves in Field. By this meane the Kings Army retred without danger to their ships.

After which *Philip* planted his Campe, and gaue thankes vnto the Gods for the good fortune which he had obtained according to his desire: And making a Banquet, he invited all the Capitaines. It seemed true, that he had past by dangerous places, into the which no man before him durst lead an Army. But he not only past them, but did what he would, and returned without losse or danger. Moreover, *Megalee* and *Leonce* (discontented at the Kings good fortune hauing sworne to *Appelles* to hinder all his enterprizes: which they could not effect, for that all things succeeded happily to *Philip*) were present at this Supper sad and penisive: so as they discouered easily unto the King, and to the other assistants what their hearts were. But when the Tables were taken away, and they were well inflamed with their free drinking, they returned to their Tents, seeking for *Arate*. Whom when they met upon the way, they vied many iniurious speecches against him, and began to assault him with stones. But for that much people came of either side to succour them, there grew a great mutiny in the Campe. *Philip* hearing the Trumpet, sent men to inquire, and to pacifie this tumult. To whom *Arate* declaring the busynesse as it had past, and referring himselfe to the testimony of those that were present, hee returned presently vnto his Tent. *Leonce* retired secretly out of the prese, *Philip* caufeth *Megalee* and *Crinon* to be called, with whom he was much offended. And when as they answere him proudly, that they would never cease vntill they had beene revenged of *Arate*: The King incensed therewith, condemned them presently in twelve thousand Crownes, and to bee committed to Prison. Three dayes after he calls for *Arate*, and intreats him not to care, promising him to giue order for all things when as opportunity shall serue. *Leonce* aduertised of the imprifonment of *Megalee*, came with force to the Kings Tent: immagining that *Philip* (considering his youth) would alter his sentence for feare. Beinge come before the King, he demanded what man was so hardy to lay hand on *Megalee*, and who had committed him to Prison. But when as the King answere boldly, that hee had done it, *Leonce* went away amazed, and in a manner fighting.

Philip setting sayle with his Fleete, came presently to *Lencade*: where after he had appointed men to diuide the spoile, he called all his friends to iudge *Megalee*. There *Arate* laide before them the outrages of *Leonce*, the great wrongs he suffered in the time of *Antigonus*, the Conspiracy he made with *Appelles*, and the hinderance he gaue at *Pales*:

D To all which things he produced witnessies. Whereunto when *Megalee* nor *Crinon* could not answere any thing, they were condemned by all the assembly. Whereupon *Crinon* remained a Prisoner: But *Megalee*

Megalee and
Crinon conden-
med by the
King in 12000.
Crownes.

Megalee was deliuered vpon *Leonce* caution. This was the estate of *Appelles* and his Confederates: whose Fortune was not such as they expected: For hoping to terrifie *Arate*, and to doe what they woulde with the King, and by this meanes to preuaile in their wills, all things succeeded contrary.

In the meane time *Licurgus* retires out of the *Messeniens* Countrey, hauing done nothing worthy of memory. Afterwards parting from *Lacedemon* with an Army, he tooke the Towne of *Eles*, and besieged the Fort, wherinto the Citizens were retired: where after hee had ^{Licurgus takes} the Towne of *Eles*. A stayed there some time, and seeing his labour lost, he returned againe to *Sparta*. And when as the *Eisenses* ouer ran the Countrey of the *Dismenes*, some Horse men which were in Ambush, and came to succoure them, put them easily to flight, and slew a good number of *Gauls*, taking Prisoners thofe of the Townes of *Polymede* of *Egia*, *Agispolis* and *Diode of Dime*. *Dorimache* was gone in the beginning with an Army, onely of *Etolians*, thinking that he might safely ouer-run *Thebaly*, and by this meanes draw *Philip* to raise his Siege from *Pales*. But being aduertised of the preparation of *Chrysonenes* and *Petrea* to come and fight with him, he durst not enter into the Plaine, but alwayes kept the top of the Mountaines with his Army. And when he had newes of the coming of the *Macedonians* into *Pales*, he leaues *Thebaly* presently to goe and succour his Countrey: where being aduertised of the Kings retreat, not knowing what to doe, and disappointed in all his enterprizes, he remained sad and discontented.

The King at his departure from *Lencade* with his Fleete, hauing spoyled and wafted the Sea-coasts, landed at *Corinthe* with his Army, leauing his ships at *Liche*. Then he sent Letters to all the allied Townes of *Morea*, to aduertise them of the day when they should come in Armes to *Tegee*. Which things being thus ordered, without making any long stay at *Corinthe*, he parted with his Army: and passing by the Countrey of *Argos*, three dayes after his departure, he came to *Tegee*: whereas after he had received the *Achaeans* which were there assembled, he proceeded in his course, passing secretly by the Mountaines, he laboured to enter the Countrey of *Sparta*, before the *Lacedemonians* should be aduertised. Where haing marched fourre dayes by the Defarts of the Mountaines, he came to those which were right against the City: Then leauing *Mantinea* on the right hand, he drew to *Amyle*. The *Lacde-monians* seeing the Army passe by their City, they wonderd at this strange accident, and being terrified with this suddaine feare, they knew not what to doe: For they were amazed at the valiant exploits D which they sayd *Philip* had lately done at *Therne*, and throughout all *Etolia*. And there was a certayne bruite amongst them, that *Licurgus* was sent to succour the *Etolians*: As for *Philip*s suddaine descent into the Countrey of *Sparta*, no man had euer thought of it, and the rather for that his age seemed worthy of some contempt. Wherefore matters succeeding contrary to all hope, the world had reason to feare: The great di- for *Philip* manning the Warre with greater courage and policy then ligence of *Philip*.

sayd)

sayd) he parted from *Etolia*, and passing the Gulf of *Ambacia* in one night, he came to *Lencade*, where staying two dayes, and parting the third early in the morning, he arrived two dayes after at *Corinthe*, having spoiled the Sea coasts of *Etolia*, and from thence continuing his course, he came within nine dayes to the Mountaines which are right against *Sparta*, neere vnto *Menelae*: so as they could hardly beleue it when they saw him. The *Lacedemonians* then terrified with the greatness and newnesse of this accident, knew not what Councell to take, nor to whom to have recourse.

The day following *Philip* campe neere vnto *Amyle*. It is a place A in the *Spartans* Countrey, abounding with all sortes of Trees and wealth, twenty Furlongs from *Lacedemon*: Where the Temple of *Apollo* stands, being the most excellent of all the rest of the Province, as well for Art as wealth, being seated in that part of the Towne which looks towards the Sea. Three dayes after when he had spoiled the whole Country, he went to the Castle of *Pyrhus*, where he stayed two dayes, and wassing the whole Country, he put all to fire and sword, and planted his Campe neere vnto *Carsia*. From whence he suddenly marche to *Misina*, from whence (after he had attempted in vain to take it by assault) he raised the Siege, and wasted all the rest of the Countrey, marching B directly to *Tarente*: From thence running his way, he drawes to the *Lacedemonians* Hauen, which they call *Gylbia*: Where there is a safe Port, about thirty Furlongs from the City. Then leauing it on the right hand, he planted his Campe neere vnto *Elea*: which is (if we consider it well) the greatest and best Countrey of the *Spartans*: The which he abandoned to the Souldiers, who put it to fire and sword. Hee also spoiled the *Acrian* and *Lenques*, and the whole Countrey of the *Boies*.

The *Messeniens* having received Letters from *Philip*, were no lesse diligent then the other Allies, who leuied men presently within their Townes, and sent the most able unto the King, to the number of two thousand Foote and two hundred Horse. But the length of the way was the cause they came not to *Tarente* before the Kings departure. And therefore doubting in the beginning what they shold doe, fearing likewise that it would seeme, they had willingly made this delay for the suspition they had of them in the beginning, they resoluteo to enter the *Spartans* Countrey, to the end they might ioyn speedily with the King. Being come vnto the Castle of *Olympe*, which is seated neere vnto the Mountaines of the *Argives* and *Lacedemonians*, and had set themselves downe foolishly and without consideration: for they did not fortifie themselves neither with Ditches nor Pallisadoes, neither did they chuse a conuenient place: But relying on the good-will of the Inhabitants, they lodged simply neere vnto the Walls. *Licargus* aduertised of their comming, takes the Mercenaries, and part of the *Lacedemonians*, and goes directly to the Enemy. Where attaining at the breake of day, he marcheth in Battaille against the *Messeniens*: who suprized by *Licargus* recoured the greatest part of their Horses and Baggage, but hee

The Castle of Olympe

he tooke not a man: he onely slew eight Horse-men. The *Messeniens* after this deafeate returned by the *Argives* Countrey. *Licargus* proud of this good fortune, being returned to *Sparta*, vseth all speed to leue men, and to prepare all things necessary for the Warre, labouring that *Philip* might not returne by the *Spartans* Countrey without a Battaille or danger. The King parts with his Army from *Elea*, spoiling all as he passeth, and brought all backe on the fourth day to *Amyle*. *Licargus* haing resolued with his Friends and Captaines to give Battaille to *Philip* ^{Philip passe} _{from Elea his} *Menelae*, goes out of the City, and recouers the places about *Patella*.

A *Menelae* with about two thousand Foote, commanding them of the City to be watchfull, and when they should see a signe, they should speedily make fallies by diuers places, taking their way towards *Eurota*, which is a Riuere neere vnto the City. These were the actions of *Licargus* and the *Lacedemonians* at that time.

But to the end that what wee say, may not seeme obscure by the ignorance of places, wee must declare the nature and situation: The which we will indeavour to doe throughout our whole worke, alwaies ioynyn gplaces knowne to the vnkowne: For the difference of Countries doe many times deceiue in Warre, as well by Sea as Land. Our desire is, that all men shold knowe not only the things, but how they were done. And therefore the description of places is necessary in all things, but especially in Warre: neither may we blame the vse of Fens, Seas, and Ilands for signes: and sometimes of Temples, Mountaines, Townes, and certayne Countries: nor finally the difference of circumstances: For these are things common to all men. It is also the meanes to aduertise the Reader of things vnkowne, as we haue sayd. The scituatiōn of places whereof we speake is this. Although that *Lacedemon* seemes to stand in a plaine, yet it hath here and there rough and hilly places: Neere unto which towards the East, passeth this Riuere which

C call *Erota*, the which for the most part of the yeare is not to be waded thorough, by reason of its great depth. The Mountaines where in *Menelae* stand, are on the other side of the Riuere towards the City, which looke towards the Winters East: the which are rough and difficult and wonderfull high: And bend ouer the Plaine which lies betwixt the Riuere and the City, by the which it takes its course along the foote of the Mountaines. The King was of necessitie to passe that way, hauing the City on the left hand, and the *Lacedemonians* ready and in Armes: And on the right hand the Riuere, and those which were in the Mountaines with *Licargus*.

Matters standing in this estate, the *Lacedemonians* bethought them selfes of a stratagem, by the which in breaking of a Damme, they shold drowne all the Plaine betwixt the City and the foot of the Mountaines, so as neither Horse nor Foote shold be able to passe. By this means they saw the King shold be forced to lead his Army by the foote of the Mountaines: the which he could not doe without great danger: for that he shold be forced to extend his Army in length, and not vnitid and close, and to march a slow pace. *Philip* seeing this, assemblies his Friends, and was of opinion, that he must first chase away *Licargus* from

The Riuere of Eurota

The flight of
the Lacedemo-
nians.

from the places which hee held. Wherefore he takes in his company the Mercenaries, the Targetteers, and the Selauonians, and began to march directly towards the Mountaines to passe the Riuers. *Licurgus* understanding of the Kings resolution, put his men in Battaille, and persuades them to doe their dutys in fighting, and withall he makes a signe to them of the City, as he had promised. Which done, the Soul-diers presently fall forth, putting the Horse-men on the right wing. ¶ When *Philip* came neare vnto *Licurgus*, he sent the Mercenaries to give the first charge, of whom the *Lacedemonians* had the better at the first, by reason of the aduantage of the place and the manner of their Armes. A But when as he had sent the Targetteers with the *Selauonians* to succour the Mercenaries, there was so great an alteration, as the Mercenaries seemed to haue the victory in their hands: And the *Lacedemonians* amazed at the fury of them that were well arm'd, fled presently, as despairing of their safety. There died about a hundred men: and some few more taken: the rest recovered the City.

Licurgus taking his way by inaccessible woods, arriued the night following at the City. When as *Philip* had put a sufficient strenght of *Selauonians* into the Mountaines, he returned with them that were lightly arm'd, and the Targetteers to his Army. At the same time *Arae* bringing B back the Army from *Amyle*, was not far from the City, with whom the King (passing the Riuer) toyed, and appointed them that were well arm'd to make head against the Horse-men at the foot of the Mountaine. When as the *Lacedemonian* Horse-men had charged the *Macedonians*, and the targetteers had fought valiantly, and withal the King had performed his duty well, they were in the end repuls'd shamefully to the gates of the City. Afterwards the King past *Eurota* safly, and was forced to settle his Campe in the night, at his comming forth of the streights, in a place which was very strong by nature. Finally, the King had an humor to ouer-run the Countrey neare to *Lacedemon*. In the beginning C of the said streights vpon the approaches from *Teges* by the firme Land to *Lacedemon*, there is a place about two Furlongs distanc from the City, vnder the which the Riuer hath its course: the which imbraceth the City and the side of the Riuer, with a steepe and inaccessible Mountaine. The foote of this Mountaine is a slimy and watery Plaine, as well for the entry as the going forth of an Army: so as whosoeuer plants his Campe there, in feazing vpon the Hill, seemes to campe safely, and to be in a sure place, in regard of the Towne which is opposite, hauing vnder its power the entry and issue of the streights. *Philip* hauing feated his Campe there, he cauleth the Baggage to march the next day, D and drawes his Army into the Plaine, in view of the Towne. Where after he had stayed some time, hee wheeles about like a Bowe, and takes his way towards *Teges*. And when hee came into the Countrey where that famous Battaille was fought betwixt *Antigonus* and *Cleomenes*, he planted his Campe there.

¶ Three days after when the places were well viewed, and the Sacrifices performed in two Mountaines, whereof the one is called Olym-pe, and the other Ena, he went on his way, and came to *Teges*, where he

he stayed some time to diuide the spoile: Then suddenly hee returned to *Corinthe* with his Army. Thither came Embassadours from *Rhodes* and *Chios* to the King, to mediate a peace betwixt him and the *Etolians*. Embassadours from Rhodes and Chios. To whom the King giving a gracious reception, he told them that he had long, and at that present was ready to imbrace a peace, if the *Etolians* held it fit, and that they shold goe vnto them, and consider of the meanes therof. From thence he went to *Leche*, and prepared himselfe to imbarke, desirous to decide some pressing affaires at *Pharsis*.

At the same time *Leonce*, *Negale*, and *Ptolemy* thinking yet to terrifie the King, and by that meanes to reape their errours, calls the Targetteers, and those whom the *Macedonians* terme, the Kings Troupe: whom they informe that they are dayly in great danger without any recompence, or any share in the spoile, according to the ancient custome approved by all men. By meanes whereof they perswade these young men to assaile and spoile the Lodgings of the Kings principall Minions, and that falling vpon the Kings owne Lodging, they should overthrow the Gates and couering. The which when they had done, there grew a great mutiny in the Towne. *Philip* hearing A mutiny gained philip and his men. makes haste to retorne from the Port: And drawing the *Macedonians* together, he pacifeth them partly with words, and blaming them for the things which they had done. And when as the fury increased, and that some were of opinion to chase out of the Towne those that had beeene the cause of the mutiny, others saying that this fury of the Commons ought to bee pacified without any greater punishment, the King dissembled his conceite for the present: And being as it were perswaded by them, hee returned to the Hauen, after hee had given them many admonitions, knowing well the heads of this villany: But hee thought good to deferre it to a more conuenient time. *Leonce* and his Faction depairing, for that none of their enterprizes succeeded, retired to *Appelles*, and caused him to come from *Calais*, giving him to *Leonce* and his Faction retired. understand that they could not doe any thing without him, for that to *Appelles*, the King crost them in all things. *Appelles* had carried himselfe in *Calais* with greater liberty then was fit: for he gaue them to understand that the King was young, vnder his Guard and without any power, terming himselfe Lord, and sole Gouvernor of all things. Wherefore all the Princes of *Macedony* and *Thebaly* adreft themselves to him in all affaires. — Within a short time likewise all the Cities of *Greece* had forgotten the King in their elections, honours, and offices: Only *Appelles* managed all affaires. The King being long before aduertised thereof, was much discontented and incensed: whereunto *Arae* spred him on continually,

D although he dissembled his conceite so well, as no man could discouer it. *Appelles* ignorant of the Kings resolution, and thinking to obtaine anything that he shold present himselfe vnto him, came from *Calais* to *Corinthe*. When he came neare the Towne, *Leonce*, *Ptolemy*, and *Megale* Chiefe of the Targetteers, and other Souldiers that were best armed, gaue him a great reception, perswading the youth to goe and meeke him. He came then to the Kings lodging in pompe, being attended on by the Captaines and Souldiers. When as he sought (as he was wont) to

Ff enter

The misery
of
Courts.

enter suddenly, a certayne Vther told him, that he must haue patience, for that the King was busie for the present. *Appelles* wondring at this new manner of proceeding, remained pensive for a time, after which he departed discontented, and without judgement : all the rest likewise abandoned him, so as hee returned alone to his lodging, hauing no other Company but his owne Family. O how suddenly are men advanced to great honours, and in as short time reduced to greater miseries, especially such as frequent Princes Courts. They are like unto Lots, which they vsually giue in publicke Councells. For as those which a little before were given in Copper, are suddenly turned A into Gold, according to the will of those that dispose of them : So they which follow the Courts of Princes, are according to the Kings will and pleasure, happy one day, and miserable the next. When *Megalee* knew that he had sought the assistance of *Appelles* in vaine, he trembled for feare, and intended to fye. After that day *Appelles* was called to Banqueting and other honours that were done : but he never entred into the priuyn Councell, nor assisted at the ordinary resolutions which were taken for affaires.

Soone after the King returned to *Phocis*, leading *Appelles* with him : Whereas hauing speedily effected his will, he returned againe to *Elatia*. During this, *Megalee* flies to *Athens*, leauing *Leonce* cauion for B him for twelve thousand Crownes. And when as the Chiefe of the *Atheniens* would not receiuē him, he returned to *Thebes*. The King being parted from the Countrey which lies about *Ciree*, hee sayle to the Port of *Sicyonia* with the Targeeteers and his Guard. From whence comming suddenly to the Towne, he preferred the lodging of *Arate* before the other Princes, making his continuall abode with him, commanding *Appelles* to fyle to *Corinthe*. When as newes came in the meane time of the flight of *Megalee*, hee sent *Taurion* with the Targeeteers whom *Leonce* had vnder his charge to *Triphalia*, as if hee had beene forced thereto by some great affaires. After wholē departure, C hee eauseth *Leonce* to be apprehended. The Targeeteers aduertised hereof, sent an Embassie to the King to intreat him that if *Leonce* had beeē taken for any other thing then for the cauion, that the judgement might not be giuen before their returme : Otherwise they should thinke themselues contemned, and in disgrace with the King. The King prickt forward by the importunitie of the Souldiers, he put *Leonce* to death sooner then he had resolued.

During the which, the Embassadours of *Rhodes* and *Chios* returned from *Etolia*, hauing agreed vpon a Moneths truce : and saying that the *Etolians* were ready to treat a peace with the King, appointing moreouer a day when he shoulde meeet with them neere vnto *Rhie*: Being confident that they would doe whatsoeuer he pleased to haue a peace. The King accepting the truce, sent Letters to the Allies, willing them to send Embassadours to *Patre*, to conferre with him on the conditions of the peace. Then hee parts from *Leche*, and arriues two dayes after at *Patre*. At the same time they bring vnto him Letters from the *Etolians* : by

The flight of
Megalee.

The taking
Leonce.

by the which he solicits them to maintaine the Warre couragiouly, for that the King could not long continue it for want of vissuals and other munition. Moreover, they contained many scandalous and opprobrious speeches against the King. The which being read, the King conceiuing that *Appelles* had beeē the caufe and the beginning of these practises, cauleth him to be taken and brought to *Corinthe*, with his Sonne and Concubine : And hee sent *Alexander* to *Thebes*, giving him charge to bring *Megalee*, to the end his caution might be discharged. But when as *Alexander* thought to execute his charge, *Megalee* preuented him, and slew himselfe. In a manner at the sametime, *Appelles*, his Sonne, and his Concubine were put to death, receiving the worthy punishment of their wicked liues, and namely for the outrage done by them to *Arate*.

Although the *Etolians* desired peace, being discontented with the long Warre, and seeing their affaires to succeed otherwise then they expected : for that conceiuing they had to deale with a Child (considering that the King had neither age nor experiance) they found him by his deeds to bee a man excellent in Councell and Execution, and themselves to bee Children, as well in their particular as publicke affaires: Yet aduertised of the mutiny of the Targeeteers, and of the death of *Appelles*, from whom they expected some great alteration in the Kings Court, they came not to *Rhie* at the day appointed. *Philip* holding this a good occasion to entertaïne the Warre, solicites the Embassadours of the Allies which were there assembled, not vnto peace (for the which they had beeē called) but to Warre. Then parting from thence with his Fleete, hee came to *Corinthe*, and sent all the *Macedonians* to winter in their houses. Parting from *Corinthe*, hee sailed by the Europe to *Damariade*: there hee put *Ptolemy* to death, (who only remained of the Conspiracy of *Appelles* and *Leonce*) by the judgement of the *Macedonians*.

At the same time *Hannibal* had past the *Alpes*, and was in *Italy*, and had planted his Campe neere to the Riuers of *Poe*, not farre from that of the *Romans*. *Antiochus* after hee had conqueſted many places in *Syria*, had brought backe his Army to winter. *Licurgus* King of the *Laccedemonians* fearing the Magistrates, had fled into *Epolia*: for the Magistrates hearing a false report, that hee wold attempt some revolte, came in the Night to his house with a Troupe of Youth : whereof being formerly aduertised, he fled with his seruants. When as *Philip* in the depth of Winter had retired into *Macedony*, and that D *Eperote* Chiefe of the *Achines* was made a scorne to the Youth of the Towne, and to the Mereenaries, and was not obeyed, nor made any preparation for the defencē of the Countrey, *Pyrreus* (whom the *Etolians* had sent to the *Elienses* for their Captaine, accompanied with thirteene hundred *Etolians*, and a thousand Foote ; as well Souldiers as Burgeſſes of the *Elienses*, and with two-hundred Horſe, being in all about three thousand men) aduertised thereof, spoiled not onely the Countries of the *Dimeneſ* and *Phareſſe*, but also of *Patre*: Finally, he pitched his Campe neere vnto the Mountaine *Panachaque*. The Mountaine Panachaque,

Appelles taken
Prisoner.

Megalee kills
himselfe.

The death of
Appelles and his
Sonue.

Philip sails to
Corinthe.

The flight of
Licurgus into
Epolia.

Old Arate
made Chiefe of
the Achaeans.

which looks towards *Patres*, and wafted all the neighbour Region. The Townes thus vexed, being no was succour'd, they payed the Taxe and charge vñwillingly: The Soldiars would not be drawne to succour them, for that their pay was delayed. By this mutuall trouble the *Achaeans* affaires were in bad case: And the Mercenaries retired by little and little: the which happened by the negligence of the Commander. And when the affaires of *Achaea* stood in this estate, and that the time of the Election was come, *Eperatus* left the government, and the *Achaeans* in the Spring made chioce of old *Arate*. Thus past the Affaires in

A

The Authors
good intention

But seeing that in the distinction of times, and the order of actions, we haue found a convenient place for this Subject, let vs passe to the Warres of *Aisa* under the same Olympiade: Relating first (as we haue promised in the beginning of our worke) the Warre of *Syria*, which was betwixt *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy*. And for that I know well that this Warre was not ended at such time as I, left to treat of the Actions of *Greece*, and being resolu'd to follow this perfection and distribution, to the end the Readers may not be deceived in the true knowledge of euer ry time: I hope to leaue a sufficient instruction for those which desire to know it, in setting downe at what time in this present Olympiade, and of the deeds of the *Grecians*, the beginning and ending of other actions happened: Moreover, wee esteeme nothing better nor more honourable in this Olympiade, then not to confound things, to the end the discourse of the History may be plaine and easie: And that distinguishing matters by order as much as may be possible, vntill that coming to other Olympiades, wee may yeld to every yeare its actions according to order. And for that we have not resolu'd to write them all, nor the actions of all places, and that wee haue vndertaken with greater affection to write Histories then our predecessors haue done; it is fitting wee shoule be carefull to expresse them in order, and that the generall worke of the History may with its parts be plaine and apparent. Wherefore we will now write the Reignes of *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy*, reducing things from faire, and purfing our discourse from a beginning which may bee notorious, and which squares with that which wee haue to say. C

An order re-
quired in all
things.

For those ancients which haue layd, that the beginning is a moiety of the whole, they haue vñdoubtedly taught vs, that in all things wee shoule vse great diligence, that the beginnings may be well ordered. And although some thinke they haue veda a high Sillie, yet in my opinion they doe not seeme to speake wth truth. Without doubt you may boldly lay, that the beginning is not only a moiety D of the whole, but hath also a regard to the end. Tell mee, how canst thou make a good beginning, if thou hast not first comprehended in thy understanding the end of thy Enterprize? And if thou knowest not in what part, to what purpose, and the cause why thou wilt make it? For how can a History haue order, if at the beginning or entrance thou doest not deliver plainly, from whence, and how, or wherefore thou art come vnto the relation which thou doest presently

B

presently make of actions? Therefore they which will haue things heard and understood fully, think that the beginnings doct not onely serue for the one halfe, but also for the end: wherein they imploy themselves with great care and industrie: the which I will carefuly indeavour to doe. Although that I am certaine that many of the ancient Historiographers haue bin confident to haue done the like, when as they pretended to write all generally, and to haue written a longer History then their predecessors: of whom I will forbear to speake much, or to name them: Among the which I excuse *Ephorus*, the first and onely man which hath attempted to write a generall History. But I will vse no longer discourse, nor name any of the rest: But I will say that some Historiographers of our time, comprehending the Warre betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, in three or fourte small Pages, brag publicquely that they haue written all. It is certaine that for as much as there haue bee many and great exploits performed in *Spaine*, *Affricke*, *Saxony* and *Italy*, and that the Warre of *Hannibal* hath beeene the greatest and longest, except that of *Sicily*. We must also understand, that the excellency of this warre hath beeene the cause that wee haue all cast our eyes vpon it: and the rather for that wee were in doubt of the end. B This is a Warre which every man (he bee never so dull and simple) knowes. Yet some of those which haue handled the History, writing onely superficialy the actions of some times, yet they imagine they haue comprehended the deeds of the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*. Whereof the cause is, for that it is an easiety to promise many great things by mouth, but it is not easie to bring a great enterprize to an end. And therefore this other is common, and (as a man may say) in the hands of all men, so as they haue courage: But the last is rare, and few men attaine vnto it. Finally, the arrogancy of some, which glorieth themselues too much, and commend their Writings, bath caused mee to make this digression. But now I returme vnto my enterprise.

When *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Philopater*, had seized vpon the Empire of Egypt, after the death of his Father, and had made away his Brother ^{Ptolemy King of Egypt} with his adherents, (thinking there was no more cause of feare in his Family, for the afore said crime:) and that for strangers, Fortune had in good time assu'red all things, considering the death of *Antigonus* and *Selucus*: to whose Realmes *Antiochus* and *Philip* had succeeded, who were scarce eighteen yeeres old he abandoned himselfe to pleasures, whose example the whole Countrey followed. For this cause his D owne people made no esteeme of him. And not only his subiects, but also the rest which managed the affaires both within and without Egypt. The Lords of the lower *Syria*, and of *Cypres*, haue made Warre against the Kings of *Syria*, as well by Sea as Land. They also which hold the chief Cities, places, and Ports which are along the Sea-coasts, from *Pamphilia* vnto *Hellepon*, and the Country of *Lycianachia*, confined with the Principalities of *Aisa* and the Islands. And as for *Thracia* and *Macedony*, the Princes of *Enos* and *Maronia*, and of Townes that were more remote, had alwayes an eye ouer them. Wherefore employing

The enterprise
of Cleomenes
vpon Etolians.

their forces, to assaile forreine Princes, farre from their Realmes, they were not troubled for the Empire of Egypte. Their chiefe care then was for the Warres of forreine Countries. In regard of this King of whom we speake, there were many in a short time, who for his infamous loues, and ordinary excesse in drinking, had an eye vpon him and his Realme. Amongst the which Cleomenes of Lacedemon was the first. He made no alteration whilste that the other King liued, who was surnamed Benefactor: as if he were perswaded, that during his life he should want no meanes to reconquer his Realme.

But when as after his death, the affaires required his presence, Antigonus being also dead: And that the Achaeans with the Macedonians made Warre against the Lacedemonians, which they maintaine according vnto that which hee had aduised them in the beginning, being allied to the Etolians: Then hee was forced to thinke of his departure from Alexandria. Wherefore hee first sollicited the King to send them backe with an Army and sufficient munition. Add when as the King would not giue care vnto it, he intreated him at the least to suffer him to depart with his family, for the time was now come, when as great opportunities were offred to recover his Fathers Realme. The King neither considering the present, nor fore-seeing the future, for the cautes aboue specified, like an ouer-weenng man, and without judgement, neuer made any esteeme of Cleomenes. But Sofibius (who chieffely governed all the affaires of the Kingdome at that present) holding a Councell with his Friends, was not of aduice to suffer Cleomenes to goe with an Army at Sea, and munition, disdaining forreine affaires, and holding this charge lost, considering the death of Antigonus: fearing like wylle that this death being so fresh, the way might be made easie to sturre vp some Warre: And there being no man found to resift Cleomenes, he would fonde make himselfe Lord of all the Citties in Greece. Finally, they feared he would become their Enemy, considering the present: in regard of the Kings manner of life, which was well knowne vnto them. With this disadvantage, that Sofibius saw the Provinces of the Realme lie one faire from another, and to haue great opportunities of reuolt. For there was neere vnto Samos a good number of Vessells, and great Troupes of Souldiers neere vnto Ephesus. Wherefore he did not hold it fit to send backe Cleomenes with an Army for the afore-sayd reasons. But when they considered that it would not be profitable for their Common-wealth, to let goe so great a perfonage, who afterwards might proue their open Enemy, there was no preuention but to retaine him by force. The which notwithstanding the rest disliked, conceyting that there would be great danger to keepe the Lyon and Sheepe in one fold. Sofibius was of the same opinion for that or the like caute.

An Army neare
vnto Ephesus.

Aetna.
Beronice.

At such time as they resolu'd to take Mega and Beronice, and that they feared to bring their enterprize to a good end, in regard of the fiercenesse of Beronice, they were forced to drawe together all those which followed the Court, and to make them great promises if they prevailed. Then Sofibius knowing that Cleomenes wanted the Kings succours to recover his fathers Realme, and that he had found him by experience

to

him

to be wife and politick in great affaires, he discouered his whole secretes vnto him, propounding vnto him great hopes. Cleomenes seeing him penisive, and fearing the strangers and Mercenaries, perswaded him not to care: promising him that the Souldiers should not trouble him, and that moreouer they shoulde give him great assistance to bring his enterprise to an end. And when as the other stood in admiration, doest thou not see sayd Cleomenes, that there are about three thousand men of Arcos, and a thousand Candyots, all which will bring vs where we please? Having these, whom else doest thou feare? What! The Companions of the Warre of Syria and Caria? And when as Sofibius liked of his words, hee entred more boldly into the Action. And afterwards considering of the Kings foolery and negligence, hee often called to minde this Speech, and had alwayes before his eyes the Courage of Cleomenes, and the affection the Souldiers bare him. Wherefore considering this, at the same time hee gaue the King and his other familiaris to understand, that hee must feaze vpon him, and keepe him close and priuate. For the working and effecting whereof, hee vied this meanes.

B There was one Nicagorus a Messenian, a friend to the sorher of Archidamus, King of the Lacedemonians, betwixt whom there had formerly beeene some friendship. But at such time as Archidamus was fled from Sparta for feare of Cleomenes, and fled to Messena, hee not onely gaue him a good reception into his Housc with his friends at his flight, so as there grew a great and stric familiarity betwixt them. When as after these things Cleomenes made shewe of some hope of reconciliation with Archidamus, Nicagorus begane to treat of the Conditions of peace. VVhen the accord had beeene made, and that Nicagorus had taken the faith of Cleomenes, Archidamus returned to Sparta, assuring himselfe of the conuentions of Nicagorus, whom Cleomenes meeting vpon the way flew, sluffing Nicagorus and his company to passe away. In regard of Nicagorus, he carried the countenance of a very thankfull man, for that he had saued his life: But hee was vexed in his Soule, and incensed for the deede, for that hee met to haue given the occasion.

This Nicagorus had sailed into Alexandria some little time before with Horfes: whereas going out of the ship, hee met with Cleomenes, Panthee, and Hippie, walking vpon the strande: whom Cleomenes perceiuing, saluted curteously, demanding what busynesse had brought him thither: To whom he answered, that he had brought Horfes. I had rather sayd Cleomenes, thou hadst brought Concubines and Bawds: for these are the things wherein the King at this day takes his chiefe delight. Then Nicagorus held his peace smiling. VVhen as within few dayes after he discomfited by chance with Sofibius by reason of the Horfes, he related vnto him that which Cleomenes had arrogantly spoken of the King. And seeing Sofibius to haue him willingly, he acquainted him with the cause of the pleine he bare him. VVhen as Sofibius knew him to be wonderfullly incensed against Cleomenes, hee did

Archidamus
fayme by Cleo-
menes,

Nicagorus and
Cleomenes,

him great cursees for the present, and promised him great fauours hereafter : Finall hee wrought so, that imbarquing he left Letters concerning *Cleomenes*, which a servant of his brought after his departure, as sent from him. The which *Nicagorus* performing, the servant vfed sped to go vnto the King, assuring him that *Nicagorus* had giuen him the Letters to carry to *Sophimus*. The Tenour whereof was, That if *Cleomenes* were not soone dispatcht with an Army at Sea and munition, he would raise some troubles within the Realme. *Sophimus* imbracing this occasion, gaue the King and his Councill to understand, that this must not be heard with a deafe eare, and that he must A feaze vpon *Cleomenes* and giue him a Guard. The which being put in execution, they gaue him a spacious House, where hee liued with Guards, differing therein from other Prisoners, for that hee had a larger Prison.

Cleomenes considering this, and hauing little hope for the future, resolued to hazard all, and yet without hope to effect any thing, and being in extreme despaire, but desirous to make an honourable Deare, and not to suffer any thing that might seeme vnfitting for the greatnesse of his Courage. I iunagine likewise that hee had an humour, and had propounded to himselfe that, which commonly great Spirits doe B in these Tarmes :

That in dishonour I doe not basely fall,
Conray my heare, let's brauely venture all.

The bold enter-
prise of Cleo-
menes

Cleomylyne
by Cleomenes

When as hee had obserued the Voyage which the King made to the Towne of *Canope*, hee caused it to be bruised among his Guards, that hee shoulde bee soone fer libertie. Wherefore he made a Banquet to his people, and sent offering and Garlands of Flowers to the Guards. And moreouer store of Wine. Whiles they made good cheere, and were all drunke, hee goes out of the House with his Friends and Servants, their Swords in their hands in the open day, the which the Guard never perceiued. And when as marching in this manner, they met with *Ptolemy* in the Market place, they ouer-threw him from his Chariot and slew him : Whereat all thole that did accompany him were amazed at the greatnesse of the fact. Finally they beganne to cry Liberty vnto the people. But when as no man stirred, considering the greatnesse of the Crime, they turned head and assailed the Fortresse, as if the Gate had beeene ouer-thrown by the Treason of the Souldiers, and that they shoulde presently take it. But for that the Guards (foreseeing the danger,) had Ramped vp the Gate : in the end they slew themselves being frustrated of their hope, and dyed an honourable Death, worthy of a *Spartane* Courage. Behold the end of *Cleomenes* a man of great Eloquence in speaking, and of great Resolution in Warre : Who it seemes wanted nothing that did fauour of a King but a Realme.

After *Cleomenes*, *Theodore* borne in *Etolia*, and Gouvernour of base *Syria*, soone after resolued to haue intelligence with *Antiochus*, and to

to deliuier him the Townes of his government : For that hee partly contemned the King for his negligence and idlenesse, and partly the Courtiers, growing distrustfull, for that a little before hee had propounded a good aduise vnto the King, alswell for other things as to resist *Antiochus*, seeking to make Warre against *Syria* : Wherein hee was not only distrustfull, but they caused him to come to *Alexandria*, where he was in danger of his life. *Antiochus* accepting this offer gladly, the matter came to effect. But to the end we may withstand A make our entry summarily from those times, to come vnto the Warre whereof we meane to Treate.

You must vnderstand that *Antiochus* the younger was Sonne vnto *Seleucus* surnamed *Catilinus*. Who after the death of his Father, when the Realme fell to *Seleucus* his elder Brother, liued in the beginning pribately in his Houle, in the high Country of the Realme : But his Brother being slaine in Treason (as wee haue sayd) after hee had past Mount *Taurus* with an Army, he tooke the Empire and Raigned, giuing the gouernement of all the Province, which lyeth on this side Mount *Taurus*, to *Achens* and *Molon*. And to his brother *Alexander*, the high Countries of his Realme : So as *Molon* shoulde haue *Media*, and his brother *Perida*. These contemning the King for his Age (for he was scarce fifteen yeares old) and hoping to draw *Achens* to their Conspiracy, fearing moreouer the crueltie and Treachery of *Hermes*, who then had the Government of the whole Realme, resolued to abandon the King, and to change the Estate of the Provinces which they helde. *Hermes* was borne in *Caria*, to whom *Seleucus* the Kings brother had giuen the government of the Realme, relying in him from the time they past Mount *Taurus*. Wherefore being advanced to this supreame Authority, he enuted all those which had any power in Countrey, being out-ragious and cruel by Nature, condenming innocents at his pleasure, and auowing wicked men and Lyers.

Finally, he was cruell and rough in his iudgements. But moreouer the things hee wacht an opportunity to kill *Epigone*, who was Lieutenant General of *Seleucus* his Army : For that he found him a man of great Eloquence and great execution, hausing fauour and Authority in the Army. And altho he plotted this in his minde continually, yet hee kept it secret, seeking some occasion to effect his enterprise. Finally when as the Councell was assembled to confetere vpon *Molon* Rebellioun, and that the King had commannded every man to deliuer his opinion, and that *Epigone* beginning first had sayd, that this battifide King was not to be held of small importance, and that it was necessary the King should approach the Countrey, holding himselfe ready when time should require, and that by this meane *Molon* would give over his enterprise, the King being neare with a great Army, or if hee did perfet in that which hee had begunne, the people would deliuier all the Traytors into the Kings hands. Then *Hermes* enraged sayd vnto him, The Speech of *Hermes* againt *Epigone* having long concealed thy Treason, thy disloyalty hath in the end besee discouert in this Councell : Labouring to deliuer the King person

person into the hands of Traytors. Hauing spoken thus, and in some sort shewed his slander, hee left *Epiros*. Finally shewing a countenance rather of importune indignation, then of any manifest hatred, hee perfisht in his opinion not to lead an Army against *Molon*, fearing the danger : For that the Souldiers were not invred to Warre, and that they should vs all diligence to make Warre against *Ptolomy*, holding that sure by reason of the Kings negligence and idlenesse. By this meanes when hee had stopt the mouthes of all that were in the Assembly for feare, he sent *Xenon*, *Theodore*, and *Hermistus* with an Army against *Molon*: Giuing King *Antiochus* to vnderstand, that hee should A presently vndertake the Warre of *Syria*: Thinking by this meanes, that if the King were roundly beset with Warre, hee should never be punished for the offences which hee had formerly committed: Neither should hee looſe his Authority for the necessity and continual dangers wherein the King should be daily.

Wherefore in the end hee brought a counterfeite Letter, as sent from *Achaia* to the King. The Tenour whereof was, that *Ptolomy* had folisched him to enter into Warre, to get the Principallity, and that hee would furnish him with money and munition, if he would take the Crowne vpon him, and that it was apparent to all the World that hee pretended to be a King : The which in trouth hee seemed to be, but he did not yet enjoy the name of a King, nor weare a Crowne, for the enuy which Fortune procuraſt him. *Antiochus* giuing credite to these Letters, refolued to make a descent into *Syria*: But whilſt hee stayed in *Selencia*, and was carefull to bring his enterprize vnto a good end, *Dizagor* Chiefe of the Army at Sea, arrived from *Cappadocia*, which is neere vnto the *Euxine Sea*, bringing with him *Laodicea*, the Daughter of *Nestorides*, who was promised to *Antiochus*. This is that *Meribates*, who brageſt that hee was descended from one of the feauen Wife men of *Perseus*. She was received with roiall pompe, C and *Antiochus* married her presently : From thence he went to *Antioch*, leauing the Queene Regent of the Realme : and applied himselfe wholly to raiſe his Army.

Molon seeing the people ready to doe what hee pleased, as well for the hope of the gaind which hee propounded vnto them, as for that their Commanders were terrifid by the Kings ſafe and counterfeite Letters : Having also his brother *Alexander* for a Companion in this Warre: After that hee had gotten all the neighbour Townes by the corruption of their Gouvernours, hee goes to field with a great Army, and plants himſelfe neare vnto the Campe of the Kings Lieutenants. At whose containing *Xenon*, and *Theodore* being terrifid, they retired to the next Towne. *Molon* beeing Lord of all the plaine of *Apollonia*, and running where hee pleased, the whole Province brought him great ſtore of Victuals and munition. Hee was before terrible in regard of his great power: Neyther had he any will to looſe the occation, for that that all the Kings Races for Horſes were in *Media*, with infinite ſtore of Wheate and Cattle. In regard of the force, height, and Wealth of that Region, wee cannot ſpeak ſufficient. Medeayles about

about the midſt of *Asia*: It excels in greatness and height all the other Regions about it. It is very powerfull in people, being discourseſt towards the Eaſt, by the Desart Countries, which lyē betwixt *Persida* and *Parafia*. It ioynes and commands the Ports of the *Caspian Sea*: So doth it in the Mountaines called *Taypreins*, which are not farre from the *Hycanian Sea*. But as for the Southerne Regions, it looks to *Mesopotamia*, and *Appollonia*, ioyning vnto *Persida*, which lies before Mount *Sagre*, which hath a paſſage of a hundred Furlongs long: The which hauing many incloſures, is diuided by Vallies and certaine Plaines, with the *Cotes*, *Corbrenes*, *Carchins*, with diuers other Barbarous Nations inhabiteſt, being excellent in matters of War. Finally it ioynes to the *Sarapient* vpon the West, who differ not much from thoſe which inhabit *Pontus Euxinus*. And as for the part towaſds the North, it hath the *Elimes*, *Ariaraces*, then the *Caddufens* and *Mansianes*. Finally, it is ſituated aboue the Countries which nere vnto the Blacke Sea ioyne to *Pontus*. It is ſeparated from *Anatolia* by a multitude of Mountaines vpon the West: and yet there is a playne well furnished with Townes and Burroughes.

When as *Molon* was Lord of this Region, hauing a kinde of a Realme, and was terrible evn before this Rebellion, in regard of the great power of the Country, he shewed himſelfe then more intollerable towards the *Aſens*: For that at his arriuall the Kings Lieutenants had abandoned their Campe, and that matters did not ſucceede in the beginning according to their hopes. Wherefore in paſſing *Tigris*, *Molon* indeauoured to besiege *Selencia*. But when as *Zenobia* had ſtopp'd the Paſſage, by staying all the Boates, hee retyred: The Army being at *Cleſphon*, hee made prouision of al things neceſſary to paſſe the winter. The King aduertised of *Molons* Army, and of the flight of his Lieutenants, refolued to lead his Army againſt him, leauing *Ptolomy*. C But *Hermes* rememb'ring his enterprize, ſent *Xenon* an *Achaian*, with an Army agaſt *Molon*, ſaying that Lieutenants muſt fight with Rebels; and the King with Kings in perſon. Keeping the King thus in awe by reaſon of his Age, hee went to *Aspinia*: where hee drew together an Army, and from thence marcht ſuddainly to *Laodicea*. From whence the King parting with all his Troupes, and hauing paſt a Desart, hee came into a place which the Inhabitants of the Country called *Marsia*, ſeated betwixt the two Promontories of *Liban* and *Antiliban*, which *Antiliban* refrayne it, and in the narrowest ſtreight is miry and moorish: where *Antiliban* also grow the Aromaticall Canes.

Moreover there ioynes to the one ſide of the ſayd ſtreight a Towne, *Broches*, and on the other that of *Gerre*: Betwixt the *Broches*, which there is a rough and difficult way. The King marching for ſome dayes by theſe ſtreights, came in the end to *Gerre*: Whereas when he ſaw that *Theodore* of *Etolia* had taken it, and *Broches*, and that hee had fortified all that part of the ſtreight, which were neere vnto the Fens, with Ditches, and Pallisadoes, and men for the defence thereof, hee laboured at the firſt to affyle them. But when it ſeemed hee lost more then hee got, by reaſon of the diſadvantage of the place, and that *Theodore*

The Situation
of Media.

*T*heodote made a shew to be of *Ptolemies* party, hee gaue ouer the enterprize. And when he had newes of the retreate of *Xenote*, and of the attempt of *Molon*, he resolute to part from thence, and to giue order for his owne affaires.

Xenote being (as wee haue sayd) sent Generall against *Molon*, hee had a greater power then was imagined, and vld his friends with great arrogancy, and his enemies with too much cruelty. When hee tooke his way to *Selencia* with his Army, calling vnto him *Dio gene* Gouvernour of the Countrey of *Susan*, and *Pythius* of the red Sea, hee marcht against the enemies, and planted his Campe neare vnto theirs, A the Riuier of *Tigris* being betwixt them. During the which there were many came swimming from *Molons* Campe, aduertising him that the greatest part of his Army wold yeild vnto him, if he past the Riuier, for that they hated him, and loued, and affected the King. *Xenote* perswaded by their words, prepares himselfe to passe *Tigris*; and making shew that hee wold make his passage at a certaine place, where as the Water makes an Iland, hee made no shewe of any preparation. Whereupon whilst that *Molon* made no accouer of his enterprize, hee prepared Boates speedily, and taking the best of his Horse-men, and the Chiefe of all the Foot-men of his Army: he left *Zenxis* and *Pythius* B as for the Guard of the Campe, and past his Army safly in the night by Boate fourscore furlongs beneath *Molons* Campe: During the which he seated his Campe in a safe place, which was inuironed by the Riuier for the greatest part, and the rest assynd by Fens and Moores adioyning.

When as *Molon* was aduertised hereof, hee sent his Horse-men before to hinder their passage, or to defecate them that were past. Who approaching neare to *Xenote*, they annoyed themselues more (for that they knew not the places) then they did the enemy: For entring into those Moorish Fens, they could doe no seruice, and many perished. *Xenote* hoping that if hee approached neare vnto *Molon*, hee shoul draw many of his men vnto him, marche a slow pace a long the riuor side, setting downe neare vnto the enemy. At what time *Molon* leauing his Baggage in the Campe, retired by night, doing it cyther by policy or for some distrust hee had of his men: and takes his way towards *Media*. *Xenote* thinking the enemy had beeene sted, terrifid with his comming, and ill assynd of his Souldiers, gaines first the enemies Campe, and calis vnto him all his Horse-men, and the rest which he had left with *Zenxis*. Then calling them all together, hee perwadeth them to be of good hope for the future, confidering the flight D

The Retreate
of Molon.

This propof ended, hee commannde them to go to their Repaſt, and to be ready in morning to pursue their enemies. But all the souldiers hearts puffed vp with the preſent ſucceſſe, and ſtuffed with all ſorts of Booty, betooke themſelues wholy to gormundizing and drunkeſnes, and in the ſame ſort of ſloathfulneſſe and negligence, that by cuſtome begets ſuch things, paſſed the night. Now as *Molon* had gayned an aduantagious place, and that he had reſtreſhed his men alio, he aduan-

ced againſt the enemies, and finding them ouer-come and ſeized on by ſleepe and Wine, he assaulted their Campe with extreme fury, even in the breake of day.

Xenote alonift with ſo great and vnlookt for a buſineſſe, could by no meanes awake his people for their drunkenneſſe, but they were killed by the enemies refiſting by ſmall Companies; and ſo the greatest part were defeated within the Campe drowned in ſleepe, the reſt throwing themſelues into the Riuier, triuiring to paſſe it by ſwimming: but the moſt of them perifred for all that in the end. It was a pitiful thing to A ſee men ſo affrighted, for all without any regard or conſideration throwing themſelues into the mercy of the Wawes, and to paſſe therein, and drue aforē them the Carriages and Baggage, as if they thought by the ayde of the Water, they could gaine or ſave their Campe; but it came to paſſe that in one ſelfe fame time, Sumpter horses, Armes, and dead bodies were borne by the Riuier, as if alio a Vanquisher, a thing both fearefull to relate, and alio horroble to behold.

After that *Molon* had thus ſuddainly gayned the Campe of the enemies, and had paſſed the Riuier without danger, because there was nothing to hinder his paſſage, and that *Zenxis* had taken flight, as it were, before the enemies approched, he tooke alio the Fort which was there on the Riuier. After this good fortune, hee came into *Selencia* with his Army: the which hee tooke ſuddainly, in reſpect that thoſe who were with *Zenxis* were alonift at his commanding, having abandooned the Towne with *Diomedon* Gouvernour of *Selencia*: And after hauiing tanne ouer all the Province, hee brought vnder his obedience all the Townes of the high Country without finding reſiſtance: and from thence hauiing Conquered the Empire of all the Countrey of *Babylon*, and all the Countrey about the Red Sea, hee arrived vnto *Susa*, taking the Towne upon his firſt arriall, and after he had giuen many attaile C to the Fortrefce because *Dio gene* was there retayred, and that hee could not force it, he deſtitut from his enterprize and rayled the ſiege, hee returned into *Selencia* with his Army: and there after he haſt Garriford his men of Warre for ſome time, and had encouraged them vnto the Warres, hee with a great heart whertodeck to lead them ou of the Countrey, and to Conquer in a ſmall time all the Province that is from *Tigris* vnto the Towne of *Europē* and *Megapomis*, ſaying vnde Dura.

Anteck haung (as wee haue heretofore ſayd) theſe newes, ſaide in ſamſet to leave the Warre in *Syria*, and to provide for this other Countrey with an extreme diligēce: they Asſembled therefore thoſe D of their Counſell, and as they had comannde that everyone ſhould freely giue his aduice touching the Warre of *Molon*, and that *Epigone* ſhould be made ſit, ſaying that long ſithence things ſhould haue beeene conſidered and lookeit vnto, because the enemies ſhould not haue their couraſe ſo great to whertake ſuch things, because of their good ſuccesse: To whom neuertheleſſe they ought now to giue brack with all their endeauour and ſtudy, for ſome ſpeedy waies to prevent all future danger.

Xenote his Army
my defeated
and ioyoled.

Then *Hermes* incensed againe, began to vse proud and iniurious speches without reason : Hee invented false slanders against *Epigene*, beseeching the King not to leaue the Warre of *Syria* so inconfederately. Finally he grew into such a rage, as hee offended many and discontented *Antiochus*. They could hardly pacifie his fury, although the King vied what meanes hee could to reconcile them. In the end when the aduice of *Epigene* seemed the best vnto the assistants, it was resolued in Councell that the Army should march against *Molon*, and that there they shold make the Warre.

Hermes seeming presently to haue altered his aduice, sayd that all the **A** World must obserue that which the Councell had deuided, and performed his duty to make prouision of all necessary things for the managing of Warre. When the Troupes were assembled at *Apamia*, and that there was a mutiny and a great discord growne amongst the common Souldies : *Hermes* finding the King amazed and much troubled, hee affiuered him to pacifie the rage and discontent of the Souldiers, and to diuide and share the Corne quietly among them, if hee would promise him never to carry *Epigene* with him in any exploits of Warre: For that they could not perforne any thing of importance in an Army, being at so much difference and so incensed one against another. And **B** although the King disliked this, and was very much discontented at his motion, for that hee knew by experience that *Epigene* was a man of Councell, and aduise in Affaires of Warre, yet to prevent the present, hee sent him suddainly away : doubting that being circumuerted by the promises of *Hermes*, hee shold not be master of himselfe. Which beeing done, all the rest of the Kings Councell grew into great feare. The Troupes also receiuing what Corne they desired, changed their affection, and followed *Hermes*, except the *Cyrrhesti*: Who beeing fift thousand men, mutinied and abandoned the Kings seruice : Who afterwards did him many affronts in his Warre at severall times. Yet **C** in the end they were defeated by a certaine Captaine of the Kings party, and the greatest part of them slaine : the rest yeilded afterwards vnto the King.

D *Hermes* having madethe Kings friends his owne by feare, and the Souldiers by his bounty, hee marcht with him and his Army. Hee layed a plot againt *Epigene*, with the helpe and consent of *Alexis*, who at that time was Captaine of *Apamia*, and writing letters, as if they had bin sent from *Molon* to *Epigene*, hee corrupted one of *Alexis* seruants with great promises : who went to *Epigene*, to thrust these Letters secretly among his other Writings. Which when he had done, *Alexis* came suddainly to *Epigene*, demanding of him, if he had received any Letters from *Molon*: and when hee affirmed no, the other was confident that hee would finde some. Wherefore entring into the House to search, hee found the Letters, and taking this occasion slew him. These things happening thus, the King thought that hee was justly slaine. And although the rest of the Court and of his friends were much grieved at this suddaine disaster, yet they dissembled their sorrow for feare.

When

A mutiny in
Antiochus his
Camp.

The practise of
Molon against
Epigene.

When as *Antiochus* was come vnto *Euphrate*, hee marcht with his army vnto *Antiochia*, and stayed at *Mischdonia* about the mid of December, desiring to passe the roughnesse of the Winter there : where steyng about forty dayes, hee went vnto *Lida*, where hee called a Councell. And when as they confiuered of the way which they shold hold to find *Molon*, and from whence and how they might recover *Victualls*, (for at that time hee made his abode in *Babylon*) *Hermes* was of opinion that they shold keepe their way vppon this side the Riuers of *Tigris*, and along the Bankes ; doubtless and not a little fearing the Riuers of *Lugue* and *Cape*. *Zeuxis* was of another opinion ; but hee durst not speake nor declare his mindes plainly, remembred still the death of *Epigene*.

But when as the ignorance of *Hermes* seemed apparent to all the assistants, hee with some difficulty deliuered his aduice, that they must passe *Tigris*, alwel for many other difficulties which are on this side, as for that they must of necessity, after they had past certaine places in marching fixe dayes iourney by a Desart Country, come into a Region which they call *Diorex*, where the paage was not safe, for that the enemy had seized theron : And that moreover the returne would be dangerous, especially for want of victualls. If the King likewise did passe **B** *Tigris*, all the people of *Apollonia*, transported with ioy would come vnto him, who at this day obeyed *Molon*, not for any affection, but through necessity and feare : And withall they shoud haue abundance of victualls, by reason of the fertility of the Countrey ; and the paage of *Media* would be shut vp for *Molon*, so as of necessity he shold be forced to come and fight : Or if hee fled, his Troupes would foone yeild vnto the King. When the aduice of *Zeuxis* had beeene allowed in Councell, they presently past the whole Army with the baggage in three places. And marching from thence vnto *Dore*, they raised the siege, (for one of *Molons* Capitaines had some few dayes before besieged it) and afterwards continuing on their way, and hauing past the **C** Mountains which they of the Countrey call *Oridy*, in eight daies they came into *Apollonia*.

At the same time *Molon* having newes of the Kings comming, and not holding himself assured of the *Sassians* and *Babylonians*, beeing lately made subject vnto him and by surprize, fearing moreover that the paage of *Media* was stopt, hee afterwards resolved to passe by the Riuer *Tigris* speedily with his whole Army, making haste to gaine the Woodes which bend toward the playnes of *Apollonia*, for that he had great confidence in his Slingers, whom they call *Cyrules*. When hee approached neare these places, from the which the King parcing with his Army from *Apollonia* was not farre, it happened that the forerunners of either side, lightly armed, met vpon a Hill, whete they skirmished. But vpon the approach of both Armies, they began to retire, and the two Campes lodged within forty furlongs, one of another.

When night came, *Molon* confidinge that a bataile by day, with the King would bee dangerous for him, not relying much vpon his men, hee

Gg 2

hee

he resolued to assaile *Antiochus* at mid-night. Wherefore hee made chiose of the ablest men of his whole Army, and takes his way by unknowne places, refoluing to charge the enemy from the higher part : But being aduertised vpon the way, that ten of his Souldiers had stollen away in the night, and retired vnto *Antiochus*, hee gaue ouer his enterprize. So as taking another way, hee returned to the Campe at the breake of day, the which was the chiefe cause of great trouble in his Army : For they awaking with this suddaine and short returne of their Companions, they were so terrified and amazed, as they were in a manner ready to sic and abandon their Campes. *Molon* A when the truthe was knowne and well perceiued, pacified this terrour and amazement what hee could, in so short a space, although it in some part increased still.

Antiochus puts
his Army in
Battaile.

The King being ready to fight, drawes his Army to field at the breake of day, and on the right Wing hee sets the Launces, vnder the Commande of *Ardis*, a man of great experiance in the Warre. To whom hee gaue for a supply the *Gandors* his Allies, and after them the *Gaules* and *Rhigosages*: who were followed by the Souldiers of *Greece*, and finally by a great battalion of Foote-men. In regard of the left Wing, hee gaue it to the Allies, which were all on horse-backe. *Hee* likewise set the Elephants in Front betwixt the two Wings, beeinge ten B in number. In regard of the supplies of Horse and Foote distributed on either Wing, hee gaues them charge to wheele about, and to compasse in the enemy, as sodine as the Battaile should beginne to charge.

After all this hee encourageth the Souldiers, telling them in few words what was necessary for the present: And he giues to *Hermes* and *Zenarus* the leading of the left Wing, and takes the right vnto himselfe. On the other side *Molon* drawes his Army to Field with great difficultie; and puts it but ill in Battaile, by reason of the disorder which had happened in the night. Yet hee diuided his Horse-men in two wings, C thinking the enemy had done the like, placing the Targetteers and the *Gaules* with others that were of most apt courage, great experiance and best Armed in the middel of the Horse-men: putting the Archers and Slingers vpon the two Wings, without the Troupe of Horse-men, and in Front were placed all the Carriages and Bill-men. Hee gaue the leading of the left Wing vnto his brother *Neolaus*, and him selfe takes the right.

This done, the two Armies march: *Molons* right Wing was loyall and faithfull vnto him, charging *Zenarus* with great Courage and fury. But whereas the left Wing drew somewhat neare vnto the King, it retired to the enemy. This happening, *Molons* Troupes fainted sudainely: And the Kings Army grew more ston and courageous. But when as *Molon* saw and well perceiued himself thus betrayed and inuironed by the enemy, thinking and immagining of the Torments which hee must endure, if hee fell alive into their hands, hee slew himselfe. The like the rest did, which had beeene Traytors vnto the King, who recouering their Housses by flight, slew themselues.

When

The order of
Molons battaile.

The death of
Molon.

When as *Neolaus* had escaped from the Battaile, and was retierte vnto *Alexander* Brother to *Molon* in *Perfis*, hee slew the mother of *Molon* and his Children: After whose death hee slew himselfe, perswading *Alexander* to doe the like. When as the King had spoile the enemies Campe, hee commaunded that the body of *Molon* should be hanged vpon a Croffe, in the most eminent place of *Media*, the which was suddenly performed by them which had the Charge: who after they had carried it to *Gallone*, crucified it neare vnto the Towne of *Zage*. *Molon* Crucified.

A When he had gitten great admonitions to *Molons* Army, and pardoned them, he sent men to Conduct them into *Media*, and to giue order for the affaires of that Province. As for himselfe, he retired to *Seluccia*, *Hermes* continuing still in his resolution, condemned the *Selenenses* in six hundred thousand Crownes for that they had revolted, banishing the *Diganes*: and put many to death in Prison by the Sword. But the King pacifying his rage, intreated the Burgeses curteously, and drew from them for a punishment of their revolt, onely fourscore and ten thousand Crownes. These things thus pacified, hee made *Dioogene* his Lieutenant General in *Media*, and *Apolodorus* in the Province of *Susæ*; and sent the Chancellour *Tychon* Lieutenant of his Army, into the several Countries of the Red Sea, there to ly in Garrison vpon any fudaine occasion which should happen. This was the end of *Molons* rebolte, and of the Warre which followed.

The King glorious of this good fortune, and desirous to terrifie the Barbarous Princes his Neighbours, to the end they shold not presume hereafter to succour his Rebels with men and Victuals, marches against them with his Army: And first against *Artabazenes*, who was more powerfull then any of the other Princes, and incerter to his Citties. At the same time *Hermes* feared to enter into the high Country for the enimy danger, and desired (as he had from the beginning) to lead the

C Army against *Ptolemy*. But when as certaine newes came of the birth of the Kings sonne, hee found this Voyage profitable for him, if *Antiochus* shold chance to be slaine by the *Barbarians*: For that being left Turour vnto the sonne, hee shold bee Lord of the whole Realme. All being thus resolued, they pass Mount *Zagre*, and oueranne the Province of *Artabazenes*, which ioynes to *Media*, being seperated from it by a Mountain, and on some parts comes to the Pontique Sea on that side of the Countrey which is about *Phasis*: ioyning alfo to the *Hyrcanian* Sea. Moreouer it abounds in all things necessary for the Warre. It hapned that the *Perfians* kept this Principality, when D in the time of King *Alexander*, they made no account or esteeme of it.

Artabazenes being amazed at the Kings comming, and broken with Age, thought good to yeilde vnto Fortune, and to agree with the King, vpon such condicions as he pleased. When the accord was made, *Apolodorus* the Physsian, whom the King loued much, seeing *Hermes* abuse his Authority too arrogantly, was very carefull for the King, and in great feare for those which were about him.

Gg 3

Where.

Artabazenes
makes an ac-
cord with Antio-
chus.

Apollonius adiutor to Antiochus.

Wherefore after he had expected the opportunity of time, he comes to *Antiochus*, and intreats him to prevent the presumption and impudency of *Hermes*, and not to suffer it any longer, least hee fall into his brothers inconuenience: for it was not farre off. Finally, that he shoulde speedily provide for his safety, and for that of his friends. *Antiochus* liked well of his Counsell, for that he hated and feared *Hermes*. The King thanked him, for that hee had not feared to speake vnto him of things which concerned his safety. *Apollonius* also seeing that hee had not beeorne deceived in the opinion which hee had conceiued of the King, grew afterwards more bold and hardy. For the rest, *Antiochus* A Counsellled him to be adiusted for his owne good, and his friends, not only by words, but also by effect: And as he layd, he was ready to do all they adiusted to that end: He mode shew that the King had a great disease in his eyes, and must indure the paine somme daies: vntill that time he had gotten leasure to make ready their enterprize. They vied also power to go and adiuste with their friends touching this Affaire, vnder the shadow of visitation: During which time, they made ready the most apt for the execution, and were willingly obeyed for the hate they bare to *Hermes*, and were ready to execute the Massacre. The Phytians likewise put themselves forward, that it was behouefull that *Antiochus* shoulde goe take the Ayre in the morning to refresh himselfe.

Hermes came to the King in the meane time, as hath beeorne sayd, together with the Allies which were participant of the enterprize, the rest remysned in the Campe, as if they knew nothing of the Voyage. The others drawing then *Antigonus* out of the Campe, they led him into some by place, where at his onely sight they killed *Hermes*. Behold now how he dyed, of whom alwayes the punishment was never sufficient for his wickednesse. The King returned to his Lodging, deliuered from a greare distresse and fare, with a prayse reaching to the Heavens by all the Province, of his Counselland of his works, especially C when they heard newes of the death of *Hermes*. In the same time, the Women of *Apolonias* killed his Wife, and the Children, his. After that *Antiochus* was arrived in his lodging, hee sent his Army to winter in the Garrisons, and an Embassadour to *Antiochus*, and first complaing of that, that he had taken the Crowne, and likewise durst accept the name of King: And that on the other side, hee durst openly declare himselfe to hold the party of *Ptolemy*. Now we must understand, that in the time the King led the Warre to *Artabazenes*, *Achaeus* thinking that hee shoulde dye in the Country there, or if he dyed not, that hee shoulde without any hindrance draw the Warre into *Syria*, before his retурne. Seeing and well perciuing the longnesse of the way, and the Conquering of the Kingdome, suddenly by the ayde of *Cyrnates*, that not long since had abandoned the King, and parted from *Lydia* with a great Army.

And as he was arriuied in *Lodices*, which is in *Phrigia*; he feazed on the Crowne, taking also the ambition to be called King, and to write to the Townes to doe so, being earnestly solicited by a Fugitiue, called *Synires*.

Synires: And as he then continued his voyage, and was not farre from *Lycetonia*, the Men of Warre began to mutiny against him, being sorrie that they led an Army against the first King: Wherefore *Achaeus* seeing their fancies, turned him from the way he had begun, as if hee would make them understand, that he drew not in the beginning to *Syria*; but turned his way to *Pisidias*, pillaging all the Countrey, and distributing to the Men of War a matusalons boordy; so he gained them, and returned to his houle: The King then well aduised of all these things, tunc (as we have sayd) an Embassadour to *Achaeus*, making A ready in the meane while all that seemede to bee necessary, to bring the Warre vpon *Ptolemy*. And after that all the Army was reare to *Apolonias*, in the beginning of the Spring, he called his Friends to Counsell, requiring of every one their advice what they thought fit to be done for the Warre. When as many had counselled him other things concerning the places and preparation, and to make an Army by Sea, *Apollonius* (of whom woe haue spoken) being borne in *Selencia*, stood vp and overthrew all the Opinions which had beeene formerly given, saying, that it was a folly to drawe the Warre into base *Syria*, and to suffer *Ptolemy* to hold *Selencia*, for that it was the fource and cause of B their Principallity: That besides his disgrace, hee should doe vnto his Raigne, (considering that the force of the Kings of Egypt had alwaies kept it) it had moreover great coniunctiuites for the managinge of the Warre. For whilst the Enemies stalle hold it, it wold be very prejudicall to all his Enterprizes. For there maie be no lesse care vied to defend himselfe from this City, then to assaile the Enemy. And if hee held it, he shoulde not onely be able to preferue his owne with safety, but alio to vndertake some good action both by Sea and Land, for the great opportunity of the place.

The whole Assembly allowed of *Apollonius* adiice, and resolved C to take the City first, for then *Selencia* was held by the Kings of Egypt, from the time that *Ptolemy* reigned, who was succiamed the *Bone-factor*. Hee conquered it at such time, that for the ruine of *Arrebia*, *Banaster*, the inheritance he had conceiued in his heart, hee made a descent into base *Syria* with an Army. *Antiochus* after *Apollonius* adiice was approved, hee commanded *Dragone General* of the Army at Sea, to fayle speedily to *Selencia*. And in the meane time parting from *Apolonias* with his Army, he lodgeth within fiftie Furlongs of *Elpidoniam*. Hee likewise sends away *Tremble Hermoly* with a sufficienc Army for *Syria*; to the end he might gaue the freightes, and provide for the affaires of that Province.

D This is the scituacion of *Selencia*, and the places about it, that as the City is seated vpon the Sea-shoare, betwixt *Gilolia* and *Phenicia*. So of *Selencia* it holds vnder it a wonderfull great Mountaing, which they call *Coryphae*, whose side towards the West, is washed with the Sea, which is betwixt *Cipres* and *Phendia*, and the other which looks to the East, ioynes to the Regions of the *Antiochians* and *Selencians*. *Selencia* scituacion on the South, and separated by a deepe and inaccessible Valley, which extends to the Sea, being enironed with great Rockes and Caues: And

*Antiochus cor-
rupts the Cap-
taines of Se-
lencia.*

*Selencia assau-
lted.*

that side which lookes to the Sea, it hath steps and Suburbs inclosed with walls. The City also is fortified with a good wall, and beautified with Temples, and faire buildings. It hath but one approach towards the sea, which is difficult, and made by hand: for they must ascend vnto it by Ladders. The riuers of *Oronte* enters into the Sea neare vnto it, taking its soure and beginning at *Liban* and *Anti liban*, and passeth by *Antiochus*: whereas running continually, it carries away by its swift course all the filth of the people. Finally, it enters into the Sea neare vnto *Selencia*. *Antiochus* in the beginning sent to the Gouvernours of the City, offering them money with great hopes, if without fighting they would A deliuer it vnto him. But when he could not winne them, he corrupts some of the inferior Captaines: with whom having agreed, he puts his men in Bataile, as if he meant to affaile the Towne with his Army at Sea, and at Land on that side which lookes towards *Epirus*. Dividing then his Army in three, after that hee had inflamed the hearts of the Souldiers, promising them great rewards, hee appointed *Zenith* with his Company to bee at the Gate which goes to *Antiochus*, and he gave to *Hermogenes* the places by which they goe to *Dioscoria*, and giues charge to *Ardas* and *Digene* to affaile the Suburbs and Arsenal: for it had beeene so agreed with the Traytors, that as soone as the Suburbs were taken, they shold deliuer him the City. When as the King had giuen the signe for an assault, they all did their indeauours. But among the rest they which were with *Ardas* and *Digene*, carried themselves valiantly: For they could not assault nor scale the other places. But in regard of the Arsenal and Suburbs, they might assault and scale them.

Wherefore whilst that the Army at Sea fell vpon the Arsenal, and *Ardas* Troupes vpon the Suburbs, scaling the Walls, and that they of the Towne could not succour them, for that they were enuironed on all sides by the Enemy, it fell out that the Suburbe was suddenly taken. Which done, the petty Captaines corrupted by the King, ran to *Leonte*, who at that time was Gouvernor of the City, perfwading him to send to *Antiochus* before the City were forced. And although that *Leonte* were ignorant of the Treason, he sent presently to *Antiochus*, (being troubled with the amazement of his people) to yeild them the City vpon condition to haue the liues of all the Inhabitants saued. The King accepting the condition, promised to saue the liues of all Free-men, which were about sixe thousand: But when hee was entred, he not onely pardoned the Burgesses, but also called home the banished men of *Selencia*, and restored vnto them the government of their publique affaires, and all their goods, and put a good Garrison into the Hauen and Port.

Whiles *Antiochus* stayed at *Selencia*, hee received Letters from *Theodote*, by the which he solicited him to goe speedily into base *Syria*. The King was long in suspence what counsell he should take, and was penitus and troubled with the course he shold take in this action: you must understand, that *Theodote* borne in *Etolia*, had done greeat seruices for the Realme of *Ptolomy*, (wherof we haue formerly made mention)

mention) and many times put his life in danger. At such time as *Antiochus* made Warre against *Molon*, hee tooke in person (dildaining the King, and distrusting his Courtiers) *Ptolemais* and *Tyrus* by *Paneteole*, and sudainly called in *Antiochus*. The King hauing taken *Achaea* to heart, and laying aside all other affaires, he returns with his Army the same way he came. When he was come to a place which the Countrey people call *Marisa*, hee camped neare the streights which are about *Gerrae*, which is not farre from the Fens, lying in the midst of that Country. There being aduertised that *Nicholas* Lieutenant Generall A to *Ptolomy*, held *Ptolemais* besieged, in the which *Theodote* was, hee left those that were best armed, and gaue charge to besiege the Towne of *Broche*, lying vpon the Fens, making halfe to goe and raise the Siege. The Towns of
Broche besie-
ged.

Nicholas aduertised by his Spies of the Kings comming, retired, and sent *Lagore* of *Candy*, and *Dorimene* of *Etolia*, to gaine the streights which are neare vnto *Beryte*: Where the King planted his Campe, after that he had fought with them, and put them to flight. And when hee had drawne together the rest of his Army in the same place, he makes an Oration to his Souldiers, and marcheth away with great courage. B There *Theodote* and *Paneteole* met with him with their Friends, to whom hee gaue a good and gracious reception, and he tooke *Tyrus* and *Ptolemais* with all their preparation of Warre. There were in their *Tyrus* and *ptolemais* forty ships, whereof twenty were for the Warre, well arm'd and furnished with all things necessary, all which were *Quinqueremes* or *Quadriremes*: the rest were *Triremes*, *Biremes*, and of one bankie. All whiche hee gaue to *Digene*, Captainaine of the Sea-army. When as newes came vnto him of the secret fliege of *Ptolomy* to *Caire*, and that his whole Army assembled together at *Damiette*, and that they fought thair off the waters from him, hee gaue ouer his enterprize to assault *Damiette*: and ouer running the Countrey, hee laboured to winne the Townes partly by force, partly by loue. Whereof some being defilure of Garrisons, and fearing the Kings power, yeceld suddenlie to the Enemy: Others relying vpon their strength or their scituacion, maintained their aquilaes.

As for *Ptolomy* being so apparently betraide, hee did not indeauour by reason of his weaknesse, to give that speedy order to his affaires that was fitting, so little accompte he had made of that which concerns the preparations of Warre. Wherfore *Agathocles* and *Sosibius* (who at that time governed all the affaires of the Kingdome) bethought them selues (as much as possibly they might) of that which was most necessary. They resolued to prepare for the Warre, sending in the meantime an Embassie to intreate *Antiochus*, by way of diffembling, so to debate *Ptolomy*'s right: who as not daring to make Warre, and hauing aduertised and perfwaded his Friends, was retired into base *Syria*. When as *Agathocles* and *Sosibius* had thus resolued, and giuen order according to their power, they speedily sent Embassadors to *Antiochus*, and likewise to the *Rhodiens*, *Constantinopolitains*, *Circians*, and *Bosporani*, to perswade them to send Embassies to *Antiochus* to mediate a peace. The policy of
Agathocles and
Sosibius. When

An Army raised by Ptolemy.

When as these had sent to both the Kings, they gave them great meanes to prouide in the meane time, things necessary for the Warre, for *Ptolemy* receyving the Embassadours gratiuously, with those of *Antiochus*, in the meane time he drew together the Mercenary Souldiers to *Alexandria*, which lay dispersed in other Townes, and sent others to leue men without the Province, making prouision of victuals. Finally, he was carefull day and night to prepare for the Warre. For the which he sent continually men to *Alexandria*, to give order there shold not be any thing wanting that was necessary. He had also giuen charge to *Echebrates of Thessaly*, and to *Phoxides of Miletus*, to make prouision of A Armes, and to choose men, and to muster them : The like he did to *Eurycles Magnes*, and to *Socrates of Beotia*: with whom also was *Cne. pius Alorite*. For hee held them for men of iudgement in such affaires: For that he esteemed them of great experience in the Warre, having serued long vnder *Demetrius* and *Antigonus*.

These drew many souldiers together, prouiding wisely, and like honest men for all things. First they deliuered Armes to the Companions according to their fashon and age, distributing to every one those which hee could best manage, and disliking those which they had formerly yeld. Then they instructed them in particular for the future, and trai ned them continually, not by words only, but accustoming them to Combats made for pleasure. After that they drew them together, and by remonstrances and perwisions put courage into them for the Warre to come. Whereto *Andromachus Aspondius*, and *Polyrates the Argive*, who were lately come from *Argos*, were very powerful. These were men accustomed to the Warre, and much esteemed by reason of their Countrey, and the excellency of their liues: especially *Polyrates*, for the antiquity of his race, and the glory of his Father *Magnes*. These instructing the Bands publickly and in priuate, gaue courage to the Souldiers for the future Warre. Moreover, every one had his particuler charge in the Army according to their experiance. *Eurycles Magnes* had the command of three thousand men, which the Kings call the furious Troupe. *Socrates of Beotia*, was Chiefe of two thousand armed with Targets. *Phoxides the Achaeian*, and *Ptolemy of Thrace*, and with them *Andromachus Aspondius*, led the great Battalions, and the Mercenaries: So as *Adromachus* and *Ptolemy* were Captaines of the great Battalions, and *Phoxides* of the Mercenaries. The *Phalanx* or great Battalions contained about fiftie and twenty thousand men. The Mercenaries were eight thousand. *Polyrates* had trained and instructed the Gentlemen of the Kings house, being seuen hundred Horse, ouer whom hee was Captain, and likewise of those which were come for *Lybia*, and had beene leuied in the Province. All which made the number of three thousand men.

In regard of the Grecian Cauallery, and those which were in pay, *Echebrates of Thessaly*, a man of seruice, instructed them carefully, to the number of two thousand: being as diligent as any other to haue a care of the Souldiers. *Cnopy* had the command of all the *Candists*, being three thousand in number: Among the which there was a thousand Souldiers

The distribution of Ptolemy's Army to his Captaines.

Souldiers newly leuied, of which he gave the charge to *Philoxenus of Gabrie*. There were moreover three thousand *Africans*, armed after the *Macdonian* manner, ouer whom *Ammonius Barceus* was Captaine. There were also about two thousand *Egyptians* vnder the command of *Sophibius*. Finally, foure thousand *Thracians* and *Gauls*, which had long serued in the Warre: and two thousand newly leuied, whereof *Densus of Thrace* had the charge. This was *Ptolemy's* Army at that same time.

When as *Antiochus* had besieged the Towne of *Dure*, and saw that hee could not preuale, as well for its fortification, as for the defence of *A Nicholas*: in the beginning of Winter hee concluded a truce with *Ptolemy's* Embassadour, and promised him willingly and freely, to goe out of the Province, and to doe him all the pleasure hee could, although he had another intent: for hee made haste to leade his Army to winter in *Selencia*, for that *Antiochus* made shew to bee of his side, al though in truth he held *Ptolemy's* party. After the truce concluded, *Antiochus* sent presently an Embassadour, giuing him charge to aduertise him speedily of *Ptolemy's* intention, and that hee shold come vnto him in *Selencia*. Then leaving sufficient Garrison in necessary places, and the charge of all to *Theodote*, hee led his Army to *Selencia*: from whence he sent them to winter in Garrisons, and from that time hee began to neglect all care in exercising his Souldiers, thinking hee shold have no more occasion of fighting: For that hee held many places in base *Syria* and *Phenicia*, hoping that the rest would be soone reduced to his obedience: considering that *Ptolemy* durst not come to fight. His Embassadours thought no lesse, for that *Sophibius* had giuen them faire and courteous words at *Caire*: And nor any one of those which had beene sent to *Antiochus*, knew the preparation of Warre which was made in *Alexandria*: so as *Sophibius* dismising the Embassadours, was continually carefull of the Warre. It is true, that *Antiochus* vied great care to make his iust quarell knowne to the Embassadours, when they shold enter into discourse.

Finally, being come to *Selencia*, and falling into priuate speech of the peace, according unto that which *Sophibius* had giuen them in charge, the King did not hold the outrage which he had done by open Warre, in seizing vpon the places of base *Syria* to bee vniust or vntreasonable: and that he had done nothing but by a iust title. For he sayd, that *Antigonus* with one eye, and *Selucus*, who first had conquered those places, were the true and lawfull Lords. Wherefore the Realme of base *Syria* belonged vnto him, as it were by right of inheritance, and not to *Ptolemy*: For that *Ptolemy* had fought against *Antigonus*, not for his owne right, but to conquer those Countries for *Selucus*. Moreover, hee propounded the mutuall accord betwixt the Kings, for at such time as *Antigonus* was defeated, when as *Cassandra*, *Lysimachus* and *Selucus* would diuide the Realme betwixt them, they adiudged all *Syria* to *Selucus*. This was all that *Antiochus* alledged. Contrariwise *Ptolemy's* Embassadours laboured to produce their reasons, making this present outrage far greater then it had bin: saying that the accord had bin broken as wel by the

An Embassie sent from Antiochus to Ptolemy.

Ptolemy's Embassadours to *Antiochus*.

the treason of *Theodote*, as by the descent which *Antiochus* had made with an Army into *Syria*. Moreover, they pretended *Ptolemy's* possession, saying, that he had made Warre with *Selucus* against *Antigonus*, to the end he might conquer all the Empire of *Asia* for *Selucus*, and make *Syria* and *Phenice* his owne. These difficulties with diuers others, were many times debated betwixt them: but they could not conclude any thing, although matters were solicited by their common Friends: for that the party of *Achaeus* bred a great controverie and debate betwixt them: For that *Ptolemy* sought to comprehend him in the accord, and *Antiochus* would not heare him A spoken of: holding it a strange thing, that *Ptolemy* shold presume to make mention of those who through Treason abandoned their King. Finally, the Embassadours departed without any effect.

A leue of Ar-
mies by *Antio-
chus* and *Ptole-
my*.

In the Spring *Antiochus* vleth all diligence to leue men, with an intent to affale *Syria* both by Sea and Land, and to make subiect all the other Countries of that Province. But *Ptolemy* did no lesse to reinforce the Army of *Nicholas*: so as hee sent him store of victuals out of the Countries neere vnto *Gaza*, furnishing him moreouer with Soul-diers both by Sea and Land, with other things necessary. By means whereof *Nicholas* refuming courage, went boldly to Field with the helpe of *Perigene*, Commander of the Army at Sea, being sent by *Ptolemy* with thirty ships of Warre, and about foure hundred Merchants Vessells. This *Nicholas* was borne in *Etolia*, asable and resolute a Soul-dier as any that serued *Ptolemy*: who after he had former-ly gotten with a part of his Army, the freights which lie neere vnto *Pla-
tane*, and marching with the rest to *Porphyriion*, he shut vp the pas-sage of the Province from the King with the helpe of the Sea-army. *Antiochus* being come to *Masche*, and Embassadours arru-ing from the *Arcadians*, to conferre of the conditions of their Alliance, he not onely receiv'd them courteously, but freed their discord which had beene long betwixt them, in reconciling the *Arcadians* which dwelt C in the Iland, with those that liued in *Epirus*. This done hee comes to *Berite*, entring into the Province by a place which the Countrey-men call, the Face of God: in passing hee tooke the Towne of *Botri*, setting fire vpon *Trire* and *Calamie*: From thence he sent *Nicarche* and *Theodore* before, giuing them charge to gaine the freights which are neere vnto the Riuier of *Dye*: And with the rest of his Army he plants him selfe neere vnto the Riuier of *Damure*, from whence *Diogenes* Chiefe of the Army at Sea, was not farre.

Then againe he takes those that were lightly armed, whom hee had sent before with *Nicarche* and *Theodore*, and goes to discouer the D streights which *Nicholas* had formerly taken: so as after hee had well viewed the places, hee returned to his Campe. Where the next day hee left those that were best armed, vnder the charge of *Nicarche*, and marched with the rest against the Enemy. And for that Mount *Liban* doth much restraine those places towards the Sea-shoare, the way must of necessity be narrow, difficult, and almost inaccessible: leauing a straignt and short passage towards the Sea. Whereas *Nicholas* having then

then built his Fort, hee did hope he shold be well able to repulse *An-
tiochus*: For that he had put hym selfe into it with a good number of Soul-diers: and had also fortifyed it with Enginges and other defences.

A. The King diuided his Army into three Troupes, whereof hee gaue *Antiochus* his Army diuided into three.

A The King diuided his Army into three Troupes, whereof hee gaue the leading of the one to *Theodote*, giuing him charge to fall vpon the Enemies which defended the way of the Mountaine. Hee gaue another to *Menedemus*, whom hee commanded to striue to get vp the Mountaine: And the third he placed on the Sea-shoare, vnder the leading of *Diocles*. Hee pur himselfe among the Baggage to see all, and A to succour where neede should require. At the same time *Diogenes* and *Perigene* began to fight at Sea, approaching as neare to Land as possibly they could: so as they might see the Combats by Land and Sea with one view. The Trumpets sounding to the charge, the fight was long equall at Sea: so as the Victory inclined to neither side: for that the two Armies were equall in number of men and preparation of Warre.

A Combat at
Sea and Land.

In regard of the fight at Land, *Nicholas* had the better in the beginning, for that hee had the aduantage of the place. But when as they which were with *Theodote*, came vpon them from the top of the Mountaine, and charged them with great fury, *Nicholas* and his men fled shamefully.

B There were two thousand slaine in the chace: she ret sau'd themselves in sydon.

B There were two thousand slaine in the chace: she ret sau'd themselves in sydon. And although that *Perigene* in shew had good hope of the fight at Sea, yet seeing the deafeate of the Army at Land, he retired. *Antiochus* drew his men together, and went and planted his Campement C vnto *Sydon*: yet hee did not hold it fit to attempt the taking therof at that time, as well for the abundance of munition and victuals that were in it, as for the multitude of men, as well Inhabitants, as such as were retired into it after the Battaille. Wherfore hee dislodged, and went to *Phi-
lotre*, sending word to *Diogenes*, Chiefe of the Army at Sea, to sayle to *Tyre*. You must understand, that *Philotre* is seated neare vnto a Fenne, into the which the Riuier which they call *Jordan*, passeth: then takes its course by the Countrey of that Towne which is called *Scishes*. After the suddaine taking of these two Townes, he enters into great hope for the future, for that their Fields were sufficient to furnish his Army with all kind of victuals, and other munitions for the war. There he placed suffi-cient Garisons, and passing the Mountaines, he came to the Towne of *Atabyre*, situate vpon the Mountaine of *Masodia*, which hath fifteen Furlongs in a ffect. There laying an Ambush neare the Towne, he began to draw the Inhabitants forth to fight, who following his men who seemed to retire, were in a manner all slaine, they turning head: And for that the Ambush charged them in the Rearre, he pursued the rest, and tooke D them and their Towne. At the same time *Ceris* being one of *Ptolemy's* Comander, left it. By the meanes whereof *Antiochus* gained many other Captaines. For soone after *Hippolochus* of *Thebaly* came to yeld himselfe to him with three hundred horse. And when he had pur a Gar-
rison into *Atabyre*, he proceeded in his journey, purusing his enterprize, D divers Townes and in passing the Country, tooke *Pelle*, *Came*, & *Gpre*. In the meantime aken by Antiochus the people of *Arabis* agreeing together, followed his party. *Antiochus* growing into greater hope, & drawing victuals from them, went further

into the Country : and presently tooke *Gakate* with the Garrison of the *Abillatins*, whom *Nicie* a Kinsman and Allie to *Nemone*, was Commander. And although that *Gadare*, which at that time seemed impregnable for its situation, held out, yet hee tooke it suddenly in besieging it, and setting vp his Engines. And having newes afterwards that a good number of Enemies were drawne together into *Rabatamassane* a Towne of *Arabia*, and spoyle all the *Arabians* Countrey which held his party, he went suddenly thither with his Army, and planted his Campe neare vnto the Mountaines among the which the Towne is situated. And when vpon a view he had discouered that it was not to A be forced but in two places, he let vp his Engines, and other things necessary to force a Towne, whereof he gave the charge to *Nicarchus* and *Thedose* : and in the meane time attends his other affaires.

These men carefull of the Battery, striued with emulation who should first overthrow the Wall, whereupon a great part fell sooner than they could imagine. This done, they fought contuanually day and night, striuing to lose no time. And although the Siege continued long, yet they could not preuale, in regard of the multitude of men which defended it: vntill that a Prisoner shewed them a little Riuier, where the besieged fetch their water, the which they stopt vp with Palliadaes, B stones, and such like thinges. Then being out of hope of water, they yielded to the Enemies. By this meane the King hauing it in his hands, he gave it in guard to *Nicarchus* with a sufficient strength: and he sent *Hipopolichus* and *Ceres* (who as we haue sayd, had abandoned *Ptolemy*) into the Countrey of *Samaria*, with five thousand Foote: giuing them the charge to continue there for the defence thereof, and to preferre all the people which were vnder his obedience. From thence he parts with his whole Army, and comes to *Ptolemais* to passe the Winter there.

Rabatamassana and *An-*
yched to *An-*
niocbus.

The Pednelissen-
fers besieged.

When the *Pednelissen* had beeene the same Summer besieged by the *Selgenes*, and were in great danger; they sent to demand succours from *Achaea*. When he had heard them willingly, and promised to doe C it, they endured the Siege with great courage, growing more resolute by the hope of succours. Finally, *Achaea* sent *Garsiere* with six thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse; giving him charge to vs all diligence to succour the *Pednelissen*. The *Selgenes* aduertised by the Spies of his comming, recovered the streights which are aboute place which they call, *Achelle*, with the greatest part of their Army, and stopt vp all the passages. *Garsiere* entring by force into *Mylade*, and planting his Campe neare into a Towne called *Candos*, he vied this stratagem, seeing that he could not passe, for that the *Selgenes* kept althe passages. He began D to raise his Campe, and to retire, making shew that it was impossible for him to succour the *Pednelissen*: for that the streights of the Countrey were held by the Enemy.

The policy of
Garsiere.

The *Selgenes*, thinking they had beeene gone, as men despairing to be able to succour them, retired, some to the Campe, the rest returned to the City to recover Victuals. But *Garsiere* comes suddenly backe to the streights, whereas finding them abandoned, he set men to guard them vnder the command of Captaine *Phoyle*: and from thence he comes

comes with his forces to *Perge*, whereas staying some time, hee sent Embassadours to *Pampilia*, and the other Townes, to acquaint them with the insolency of the *Selgenes*, and to solicite them to enter into league with *Aches*, and to succour the *Pednelissen*. The *Selgenes* at the same time sent a Capraine with an Army, hoping to chafe *Phoyle* from the streights. But for that matters succeeded otherwise then they expected, and lost many of their men in fighting, they gave ouer their Enterprize: yet for all this they did not raise their Siege, but were more attente then before, to let vp their Engines.

A In the meane time the *Estenenses* which inhabite the Mountaines above *Syde*, sent eight thousand men armed to *Garsiere*: and the *Aspendens* four thousand. The *Sydetes* made no shew to send any succours: for that they were Friends to *Aniobius*, and hated the *Aspendens*. *Garsiere* came to *edmetisse*, accompanied with the Troupes of the Allies, thinking at his comming to raise the Siege. But when he saw that the *Selgenes* were nothing amazed, he set himselfe downe neare vnto them. The *Pednelissen* were so opprest with want of Victuals, necessary to vs diligence, prepared two thousand men, every one laden with a Mine of Wheat, and sent them by night to the Towne. The *Selgenes* aduertised hereof^A, charged them presently, and slew the greater part of them, and tooke all the Wheate. Wherewith they grew so glorious, as they not onely besieged the Towne, but they attempted the Enemies Campe. It is the custome of the *Selgenes* to bee alwaies bold and audacious. Wherefore in leauing sufficient forces in their Campe, they suddenly assailed the Enemy in diuers place. And when the Alarum grew hot, so as the Campe was forced in some places, *Garsiere* amazed at this great and sudaine accident, and hauing no great hope, he caused the Horse-men to goe forth by a certayne place which was not guarded: whom the *Selgenes* (thinking they had fled for fear of being defeated) did not pursue, nor made any accompt of them. These Horse-men turning a little about, charged the Enemy suddenly in the Rearre, fighting with great fury. Then *Garsiere* Foot-men, who seemed to waue, turned head, being re-united, and fell vpon the Enemy. By this means the *Selgenes* being thus enironed, in the end fled. The *Pednelissen* taking courage hereat, made a sally, and beat them out of the Campe which had the guard. In the chace *Garsiere* made a great slaughter: for there were aboue ten thousand men slaine: of those which remained, the Allies retired to their houses, and the *Selgenes* to their Country, taking their way by the Mountaines.

B The next day *Garsiere* pates with his Army, and makes haste to passe the Mountaines, and to approach the Towne, before that the *Selgenes* (being amazed with this fresh flight) should prouide for any thing. Who being full of haueynesse and feare, as well for the little hope they had of succours from their Allies; considering the losse they had made with them, & amazed with this fresh misfortune, were in great doubt of safety, either for themselves or their Countrey. Therefore they assembled Embassadours by the *Selgenes*, in

in Embassie : who had had great Friendship and familiarity with *Anisocles*, which died in *Thrace*: And moreouer he had bred vp *Ladicea* the wife of *Achaeus*, and his owne Daughter, whom they had giuen him in her infancy to instruct. They sent him therefore as their Embassador, thinking him sufficient for that busynesse. But being come to *Garsyere*, he was so farre from doing that which hee had in charge, and which the duty of a good Citizene required, that contrariwise he solicited him to write to *Achaeus*, that he promised to deliue him the Towne.

Garsyere giving a willing eare vpon hope of taking it, sent men to *Achaeus* to sollicite him, and to let him understand how matters had past. A

A truce made
with the Sel-
genses.

Communication with an E-
my in danger.

Finally hee makes a truce with the *Selgenses*, delaying still to make an absolute accord with him, vnder colour that he would consider better thereon, to the end that in the meane time hee might expect *Achaeus*, and giue *Logbæs* opportunity to finish the Enterprize. But whilst they in the meane time conserued together, the Souldiers by a kind of familiarity, went freely into the Towne to fetch Victuals, which is many times the cause of a great Defeate. So as in my opinion there is not any Creature amongst all the rest, more simple then man, or that hath lesse sense and judgement : whom notwithstanding the greatest part of the World hold for the wised. But how many Armies ? How many Forts ? How many and what Cities have fallen into the Enemies hands thereby ? And although these be things which daily happen, and that all the world sees, yet wee shew our selues (I know not how) new Apprentizes. This happens, for that wee doe not consider the fortunes which haue happened to our Ancestors in former times : and that we butt ourselues with toile and charge, to make prouision of Corne, Siluer, Fowtaines, and Armes. Moreover, wee makeno esteeme of that which is of great profit in great dangers, but disdaine it, although it be in our power to learne it in the time of peace, by the Histories and Commentaries of former actions, and as it were to practise them. But to the end we may returne to the discourse from whence we parted, *Achaeus* came at the day appointed. The *Selgenses* going to meet him, had great hope and confidence in his bountie.

In the meane time *Logbæs* having drawne into his house a good number of those which came into the City for Victuals, hee began to perwade the Citizens, not to lose any time : and that considering the good-will which *Achaeus* bare them, they shold think of their affaires, and that in assembling the people, they shold consider of the conditions of peace. These things being propounded, they presentely assembled, to conferre of their present affaires, calling those which were deputed for the guard of the City. *Logbæs* making a signe vnto the Enemy, as he had promised, suddenly armes all those which were in his house, doing the like himselfe with his Children, to undergoe the danger. On the other side *Achaeus* came to the Towne with halfe the army. *Garsyere* marcht with the rest to *Cebæda*: This is a Temple of *Intipiter*, so well situate above the Towne, as it seemes like a Fort.

When as by chance some one saw the Enemy approach, hee ran suddenly to acquaint the Assembly, whereupon there was no great

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an amazement among the people, as leauing the Company, some ran to *Cebæda*, others to the places where they were set in *Guard*, and the Commons ran to the house of *Logbæs* : where discouering the treason, some in fury got to the house-top, others forced the Gate, and slew *Logbæs*, his Children, and all the partners of the Conspiracy. This done, they proclaimed liberty to al Bondmen by the sound of the Trumpet, and encouraged one another to succour and defend the City, running to all places necessary. When *Garsyere* saw *Cebæda* seized on by the Burghers, he changed his resolution, and *Achaeus* seeking to force A Gates, the *Selgenses* made a sally, killing seauen hundred of his men, and repulld the rest from the Towne. This done, *Achaeus* and *Garsyere* returned to their Campe with shame and disgrace. The *Selgenses* afterwards fearing the sedition of the Towne, and the prefence of the Enemy, they sent their most ancient Citizens to demand a peace. Who B being come to *Achaeus*, they agreed vpon these conditions : that *Achaeus* and the *Selgenses* should live in peace, and that they should pay vnto him *Logbæs* presently two hundred and forty thousand Crownes. That they should restore the Prisoners of the *Pednelissenes*, and that at a certainte time prefixed, they shold pay moreouer nine score thousand. Thus the *Selgenses* (who by the Treason of *Logbæs* were in danger of their Country and Liberties) defended themselves valiantly and with great courage : and neither lost their Liberties, nor that honour which they derived from the *Lacedemonians*.

When as *Achaeus* had reduced under his obedience the *Metropolis*, and the greatest part of *Pamphilia*, and had brought his Army to *Sardis*, hee made Warre against *Attalus*. All the Inhabitants on this side *Tauris*, feared him wonderfully. At the same time when he made War against the *Selgenses*, *Attalus* accompanied with the *Egagores*, *Galates*, over-ran *Eolis*, and the neighbour Townes, who for feare had yeelded to *Achaeus*. Wherof the greatest part submitted themselves willingly vnder his C obedience : the rest were forced. *Cyme*, *Smirne*, and *Phœcia*, were the first that yeelded vnto him. Afterwards the *Egenses* and *Lemmites* fearing a Siege, yeelded in like manner. There came likewise Embassadors from *Thusa* and *Coleophon*, submitting themselues and their Townes vnto him. Which being receiued according to the ancient accord, and hostages taken, he made great accept of the *Smirniens*, for that they had kept their faith bett. Afterwards continuing his course, he past the Riuers of *Zyce*, and went first to the *Mysiens*, and then to the *Carree*, whom he terrified : The like he did to the Guards of the double walls, and tooke D them and their Garrisons, for that *Themistocles* (whom *Achaeus* had left there for Gouvernor) deliuered them vnto him. And parting presently, ruining the Countrey of *Apia*, he past the Mountaine of *Peleas*, and planted himself neere vnto a great Riuere : where the Moone falling into an Eclipse, and the *Galates* discontented with the tediousnes of the way, having a traine of women and children in their Wagons, obseruing the Eclipse, protested that they would passe no farther. And although that King *Attalus* drew no seruice from them, yet fearing that if he left them, as it were in disdaine, they would retire to *Achaeus*, and that thereby hee

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should

Logbæs and his
Children slain.

A peace con-
cluded betwixt
the *Agætes* and the
Selgenses.

should purchase an ill fame, as if through ingratitudo he had abandoned those who with great affection had followed him into Asia, he intreated them to endure a little toile of the way ; and that he would soone bring them to a good place, where they shold rest : And withall hee would doe for them whatsoeuer they shold desire according to his power, and as reason shold require. *Antiochus* therefore gaue *Hellespont* to the *Egagases* for their abode : and after he had intreated the *Lampracenes*, the *Alexandrianas*, and *Illyriens* courteouly, for that they had kept their faith, he went to *Pergamo* with his Army.

The Army of Ptolemy. In the beginning of the Spring, when *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy* had made their preparations for the Warre, they made haffe to draw their Armies in Field. *Ptolemy* parts from *Alexandria* with aboue three score and ten thousand Foote, and fiftie thousand Horfe, with three score and thirteene Elephants. *Antiochus* hauing newes of their coming, hee suddenly draws his men together. His Army consisted of fiftie thousand *Danes*, *Carmanians*, and *Cissiens* lightly armed, vnder the leading of *Bistace* a *Macedonian* : and of twenty thousand men after the *Macedonian* manner, whereof the greatest part were *Argyrapides*, who were leuied throughout the Realme, vnder the command of *Theodore* of *Etolie*, who committed the Treason. The number of the great Battalions was about twenty thousand, of whom *Nicarchus* and *Theodore*, tourned *Hemisola*, had the leading. Moreouer there were two thousand *Greeks* and *Persians*, Archers and Slingers : with whom were a thousand *Thracians*, ouer whom *Menedemus* *Alabandus* was Captaine. Moreouer, fiftie thousand *Medianas*, *Cissiens*, *Cadyssens*, and *Carmains* : which *Accius* the Sonne of *Aspasian* of *Media* had vnder his charge.

In regard of the *Arabians*, and their neighbours, they were vnder the command of *Zabidbel*, to the number of ten thousand men or more. On the other side *Hippobulus* of *Thessaly*, had the leading of fiftie thousand *Grecian* Mercenaries : and *Europochus* of fifteene hundred *Candyots*. *Zelysorgyne* had a thousand *Candyots* newly louied, to the which were ioyned fiftie hundred *Lydiens* with Slings. *Lysimachus* the *Gaul*, had a thousand *Cardaces*. Finally, the whole Cavalry amounted to fiftie thousand Horfe, of which *Amisatus* the Kings Nephew, had the charge of four thousand, and *Themistos* of the rest. By this meanes *Antiochus* his Army consisted of threescore and two thousand Foote, fiftie thousand Horfe, and a hundred and two Elephants. *Ptolemy* taking his way by *Daniella*, hee made that Towne subiect vnto him at his entrance : From whence after a plenifull distribution of Corne among the Souldiers, hee parted, and paſseth *Cassis* and *Bathra*, comming by the desert Countries. Being come to *Gaza*, and hauing assembled his Army, hee marcht slowly in the Country : planting himſelfe on the ſixt day, within fifty Furlongs of *Raphia*, which is a Towne ſituated behind *Rhinocourea*, and firſt of thoſe of *Syria* which looks towards *Egypt*.

At the ſame time *Antiochus* armed with his Army, and paſſing that Towne by night, he planted his Army within ten furlongs of his Enemy. In the beginning they kept themſelves diſtant ſo far one from another.

But

But ſome few daies after, *Antiochus* deferring to get ſome place of aduantage, and to giue courage to his men, hee lodged neerer vnto the enemy, fo as there were but fiftie Furlongs betwixt the two Campes : So as going to forrage and to Water, there were many encounters : on the other ſide, ſometimes the Foote-men, and ſometimes the Horſemen skirmished betwixt the two Campes, trying the Fortune of the Warre. At the ſame time *Theodore* ſhewed the great courage of a true *Etolian* : For being by long expeſience acquainted with the Kings man The hardy art
of the
troop of the
Kings
done. Aner of living, hee entred at the breake of day into the enemies Camp. A and could not be diſcovered by his Countenance, for that it was yet darke : Neither did hee differ much from them in his Apparell, for that they vſed diuers fashions of habits. Having formerly obſtrued the place where the Kings Tent was planted, for that they had fought often neerer vnto the Campe, hee went direcely to it. When hee had paſt vñknowne, and was come ſecretly to the Tent, in the which the King did vñually eare and drinke : Where caſting his lookeſ carefully about him, hee ſaw him not, (for he was lodged in a place retired behinde it) ſo as hee wounded two that were lodged there, and killing *Andrew* Andrew the
King's
Phisition, hee retired without danger to his Campe, bringing Kings
flaine. his enterprize to an end by his hardy courage : But deceiued in his forſight, for that hee had not well obſerved the place where as *Ptolemy* did vñually lye.

When the Kings had continued in Campe fiftie daies together, one before the other, they refolued in the end to giue Battaille. *Ptolemy* beginning to draw his Army out of his Fort, *Antiochus* ſuddenly did the like : And they planted their two chiefe Battalions in Front one against the other, armed after the *Macedonian* manner. Behold the order which *Ptolemy* held for the two Wings : *Polycrates* was in the right Wing, with the Horſe-men that were vnder his charge : Betwixt Ptolemy's
Army
in Battaille the which and the great Battalion, were the *Candyots* placed neerer vnto the Horſe-men. After which was the Kings battalion, and ſubſequently thoſe that were armed with Targers, whereof *Sarcates* had the Commande : And finally the *Lybiens* armed after the *Macedonian* manner. Vpon the right Wing was *Echerates* of *Thessaly*, having with him his Troupe of Horſes. After which were appointed the *Gatates* and *Thrasians*, and then *Phoxide* with the Mercenaries of *Greece* ; being followed by the great Battalion of the *Egyptians*. Hee had also placed forty Elephants on the left Wing, with the which *Ptolemy* were before the right Wing, neerer vnto the horſe-men that were hired. *Antiochus* on the other ſide, placed on the right Wing (with the which hee was refolued to fight in Battaille againſt *Ptolemy*) threecore Elephants : Of which his companion *Philip* had the Charge. After theſe *Antiochus* ſets the *Candyots* in Front, neerer vnto the Horſe-men : Then hee appoints the Mercenaries of *Greece*, and after them were fiftie thousand men, who armed after the *Macedonian* manner, had *Byſtice* for their Captaine. As for the left Wing, hee placed two thousand horſes in Front, vnder the Commande of *Tembor* : Neerer vnto which hee ſets

the *Cardaces* and *Lydiens* Horse-men, and after them three Thousand men lightly armed, vnder the charge of *Menedemus*: in whose Rearre were the *Cissiens*, *Medians*, and *Carmaniens*: And after them the *Ariabians* were ioyned to the great Battalions. Finally, hee sets before the left Wing the rest of the Elephants, giuing them for their Guide one *Mysie* a Household seruant to the King.

The two Armies being thus in battaile, the Kings beganne to encourage their Troupes, being accompanied with their Capitaines and friends, commanding the valour of the Souldiers both in general and particular: And having great hope of their Battalions, they propounded great benefits which would redowne by the Victory. *Ptolomy* had with him his sister *Arinoe*, with *Andromachus* and *Sophius*, who encouraged the Souldiers: And *Theodote* and *Nicarchus* were with *Antiochus*, for that of either side they were the Commandunders of the two great Battalions. They were both of one humour to make Speeches vnto their men, and yet neither of them had done any thing worthy of fame or praise to be propounded, for that they were newly come vnto their Principalities. Wherefore they laboured to encourage their Troupes, in reducing to their memory the glory and proweffle of their Ancestors: And propounding moreover a hope of themselues for the future, they intreated and solicited the Captaines to fight, and to vndergoe the danger resoluteley and with courage. These were the speeches or such like, which they vsed in person, or by their Interpreters.

This done, the two Kings marcht one against the other, a slow pace. *Ptolomy* was in the left Wing, and *Antiochus* in the right with his royal Battalions. Then the Trumpets sounded to Battaille, whereof the first Charge was made by the Elephants. Few of *Ptolomes* held good C against those of the Enemy, whose Souldiers fought valiantly, casting of Darts, Pertwifans, and plummets of lead, wounding one another.

But the Elephants made a stronger Warre, beating their Heads furiously together: For such is the manner of their fight, assailing one another with their teeth, and standing firme they repulse one another with great Violence: But if they once turne their sides they wound with their Teeth, as Buls do with their Hornes. But the greatest part of *Ptolomes* feared the Combate: the which doth vsually happen to the Elephants of *Lybia*: For they cannot endure the sent, nor heare the crye of those of *India*. So as fearing (as it seemes) their greatness and force, they flye them, as it happened at that time, for that flying suddainly they brake the rankes of their owne men, and made a great slaughter in *Ptolomes* great Battallion.

The which *Antiochus* perciuing, hee presently chargeth *Polycrates* Horse-men with the Elephants. The *Grecians* about his great Battallion fell vpon *Ptolomes* Targetteers. Wherefore when the Elephants had broken them, his left Wing beganne to turne head. When *Echecrates* Commaundader of the right Wing, (expecting still the Combate of the sayd Wings) saw the Dustrise in the Ayre, and that his Elephants durst not charge the Enemies, he sends to *Phoxides* Capitaine of the

A Battaille
twixt Ptolomy
and Antiochus.

The Combate
of the Ele-
phants.

The Elephants
of Lybia feare
them of India.

the Mercenaries to charge thofe which he had in Fronte: The which he did likewise, marching a slow pace with the Horse men and the Elephants. There the Combate was long and furious: yet *Echecrates* being freed from the danger of the Elephants, and making a great slaughter of the Horse men, and withall *Phoxides* preffing the *Ariabians* and *Medes*. In the end *Antiochus* his left wing was put to flight. By this meanes *Antiochus* right wing vanquished, and the left fled. The two great Battalions stood firme and vtoucht, being in doubt of the end. And when as *Ptolomy* in the meane time had recovered his great Troupe by his speedy running, and was in the middest of them, hee amazed his Enemies, and gaue great courage vnto his owne Captaines and Souldiers.

In the meane time King *Antiochus* being young and of small experiance in the Wwarre, seeing himselfe Victorious of the one side, thought the like of the rest, and pursued the Chase of the Enemy with great eagernesse. But when as one of his old Souldiers calld him backe, and shewred him the Dust which a great Troupe had raiſide in his For, hee then knew what it meant: and turning head he laboured to reocuer his Campe. But when hee found that all his Army was in Rour, then D
Ptolomei VITIO
wanting good Counfell he fled to *Raphia*, immagineing that it was not *against* his fault hee had not obtained a glorious and Triumphan: *VICTORY*, and *Antiochus* that the basenesse and flosht of his men had beene the cause of his deafeate. *Ptolomy* hauing the Victory by the meanes of his chiefe Battalions, and hauing lost many of his Horse-men and Souldiers of the right Wing, he returned to his Campe, and refresht his Army. The next day, he caused his men to be fought out among the Dead, and buried.

From thence (after they had stript the Enemies that were slaine) hee marcht with his Army to *Raphia*. And although that *Antiochus* (gatheringe together his men that fled) had a desire to keepe his Campe, and to leaue the Towne, yet hee was forced to go to *Raphia*: For that the greatest part of his Souldiers were retired thither. The next day early in the morning, he parts with that small Army, which he had remaining after so great a deafeate, and went to *Gaza*: Where planting his Campe, he sent men to demand the dead bodies, and to interre them. *Antiochus* lost aboue ten Thousand foote, and three hundred Horse. There were about four thousand foote-men taken alue. In regard of the Elephants, there were three slaine vpon the field, and two wounded which dyed afterwards: most of the rest were taken. This was the ende of that famous battaile, wher as two powerful Kings fought for the Empire of *Syria*, neere vnto *Raphia*.

When as *Antiochus* had buried the dead, hee returned into his Countrey with his Army. As for *Ptolomy*, hee presently recovered *Raphia*, with the other Cities, lo as the people contended who should preueat his neighbour, in yeilding first vnto the King. In such events every man strivis to apply himselfe vnto the time. It is true, that the people of that Countrey are borne and inclined to imbrace the fauour of

Antiochus sends Embassadours to Ptolemy.

of the present time. But forasmuch as the people had a special devotion to the Kings of Alexandria, what they then did was held iust and reasonable. The people of base Syria haue alwaies affected this roiall House. And therefore they honoured *Ptolemy*, with Flowers, Sacrifices, Altars, and such like things. When as *Antiochus* was come to the City, which is called by his owne name, he presentlly sent his Nephew *Antipater* with *Theodote Hermistis* in Embassys to *Ptolemy*, to demanda a peace of him : For without doubt hee feared his forces, neither did hee much relie vpon his owne souldiers, considering the losse which hee had lately made. Hee likewise doubted that *Achaeus* A might moue Warre against him, considering the opportunity of the time and occasion.

As for *Ptolemy*, hee thought not of all this : But beeing ioyfull of so great a Fortune, which hee expected not, holding himselfe happy to enioy all Syria, hee refused not the conditions of peace. So as being full'd a sleepe with this base kinde of life, which hee had alwaies vsed, his heart was much inclined therunto. When the Embassadours presented themselves vnto him, he granted them a peace for a year, after that hee vsed some proud speecches against *Antiochus*. To whom he sent *Sophius* with them to confirme the Accord. And after hee had stayed about forme three moneths in Syria and Phoenicia, and had given order for the Citties, leaving the charge of all those places to *Andromachus Aspendius*, he returned with his sister and Friends to Alexandria. On the other side *Antiochus* (after hee had confirmed the Accord with *Sophius*, and pacified all things to his liking) beganne to make preparation for Warre against *Achaeus*, according to his first Resolution and determination. This was the estate of Asia at that same present.

An Accord made between Ptolemy and Antiochus.

An Earthquake at Rhodes.

Presents made to the Rhodiens by many Cities.

At the same time the Rhodiens taking their occasion from an Earthquake, which a little before had besalue them, in the which the great Collesseus, with a great part of the Pipes and Arsenalis were ruined, they carried themselves so discreetly and wisely, as this tyne did not seeme prejudiciall vnto them, but very profitable. Ignorance and simplicity differ so much from Prudence and Industry, not only in a priuate life, but also in publicke Affaires, that easie and plenty seeme to procure losse and prejudice to the one, and aduerteries excuse the faults and errours of the other. The Rhodiens made these things great and ruinous, and labouring to sent Embassadours to all places; they did so moue the Citties and likewise Kings, as they not onely drew great gifts from them, but they had them in fuch lort, as they which gaue them held themselves beholding vnto them.

Hieron and Gelon did not only give them five and forty Thousand Crownes, to repare the place ordayne for all Exercises (one part to be payed predfently and the rest soone after:) but they also gave them Caldrons of siluer, with their Treueis, and pots for water. Moreover six thousand Crownes to performe the Sacrifices: And others sixe thousand to relieue the Burgesles: So as the whole present amounted to threescore thousand Crownes. Moreover all that fail'd to Rhodes were

were free from Tribute. They gaue them likewise fifty Slings or Warlike Engines : Finally they advanced Images in the most eminent places of Rhodes, as if they were beholding vnto them ; where the people of Rhodes were Crowned with that of Sarragoise. *Ptolemy* promised them nine score thousand Crownes : A million of Attabes of Wheate, which is a measure of Media : Timber to make sixe Quinqueremes, and ten Triremes, and about forty thousand Fathomes of Rope, and three thousand Mats and Sails, and to repair the Collesseus nine score thousand Crownes, a hundred Architects, three hundred and fifty workemen, and for their Victuals seauen Thousand and four hundred Crownes by the year. Twelue thousand Attabes of Wheate, for those which shoulde make the Combats in their Games and Sacrifices : And twenty Thousand Attabes for the viualing of ten Triremes. Of which things he deliuered the greatest part of them presently, with the third part of the money.

Moreover *Antigonus* gaue them Timber from eight vnto fifteene Edome, with fiftie thousand planks aboue twelve foote long, and two hundred three score and ten thousand weight of Iron, fowre score and ten thousand pound weight of Rosline, and a thousand bushels of pitch: And withall hee promised them three score thousand Crownes overplus. *Chryses* (who was a woman) gaue them a hundred Thousand bushels of Wheate, with two hundred three score and ten Thousand pound weight of Lead. *Selenicus* father to *Antiochus*, sent them ten Quinqueremes Armed and furnished, and that they which fail'd to Rhodes shoulde be free : He gaue them likewise two hundred Bushels of Corne with Timber and Pitch, and ten thousand Fathomes of Cord made with haire, and sixe hundred thousand Crownes. *Prusias* and *Mithridates* did the like : So did all the Princes of Asia, as *Lysantrius*, *Olympiques*, *Lynnus* and others. Finally wee cannot number the Townes which gaue presents to the Rhodiens, every one according to their power. And if any man will obserue the time and the beginning, when as this City was first Inhabited, he will wonder truely, that in so short a time it is so much augmented both in priuate and Publicke. But when we consider the Commodity of the place, and the great felicity which doth grow from Forraiers, and their plentifull reuenue, there is no more any cause of admiration : Being certaine that this getting of Wealth is made with reason and judgement. We haue thought it fit to relate these things.

Fifte, for the loue of the Rhodiens, to the end that their industry and care for the Affaires of their Common wealth might bee knowne to all the World, for in truth they are worthy of commendation and loue. Secondly, for the auarice of our Kings at this day, and the wretchednesse of people and Townes : Who when they haue gauen two or three thousand Crownes, imagine they haue made a great stately Present, and looke for such thankes and honours as were gauen to the Ancient Kings of Greece. Or let the Townes remembre the great bounty of the ancient presents, least they loose those great honours in making such petty gifts, and let them striue to preserue their dignitie :

Ptolemy his present sent to the Rhodiens.

The site of Rhodes.

Rhodiens.

Chryses gift.

Selenicus present.

nity : To the end that the people and inhabitants of *Greece* may differ from other men.

When in the beginning of Summer, *Arete* being then Chiefe of the *Etolians*, and the time of *Epirites* Governement over the *Achaeans* being expired, (as my opinion this is the passage, where we last turn'd from the Warre of the Allies) *Lycurgus the Lacedemonian* returned from *Etolia* : For the Magistrates called him home as soone as they found the accusation, for the which he was banished to be false. *Hee* was then sent to *Pyrrie the Eolian*, who at that time was Capitaine of the *Eleans*, against the *Messeniens*. *Arete* found the trained men of A *Achaea* ill disciplined, and the Townes careleſſe of the duties of War: For that *Epirite*, who before him had the Government, had (as wee have ſayd) carried himſelf idly and careleſſe in all things. But when he had acquainted the *Achaeans* therewith, and received their order, he applied himſelf wholly to the preparation of the Warre. Their Decree was, that they ſhould not leuy leſſe then eight thouſand Adventurers, and five hundred Horſe: They ſhould also make three thouſand Foote *Achaeans*, and three hundred Horſe: Among the which the *Megalopolitains* ſhould march, armed with Targets of Copper, to the number of five hundred foote and fifty Horſe, and as many Argives. It was also ordered that they ſhould prepare three Shippes in the Goule of *Argos*, and as many neare unto *Farres* and *Dyme*. *Arete* was then carefull to leuy men, and to make ready the Army. *Lycurgus* and *Pyrrie* after they had appointed a day for their departure, tooke their way to *Messene*: Whereof the Chiefe of the *Achaeans* being aduertified, hee came to *Megalopoliſtis* with the Adventurers, and ſome of those of the Election, to ſuccour the *Messeniens*.

*Lycurgus cal.
Robome.*

*Arete prepares
for the Warre.*

*Calamet taken
in Treason by
Lycurgus.*

Lycurgus on the other ſide entring the *Messeniens* Country, tooke the Towne of *Calame* by Treafon: And from thence going on his course, hee made haſt to ioyne with the *Etolians*. When as *Pyrrie* came to *Elis* ill accompanied, to affaile the *Messeniens*, he turned head preſently, being repulſed by the *Cyparissians*. Wherfor *Lycurgus* tooke his way to *Sparta*, haung done nothing worthy of memory, for that hee could not ioyne with *Pyrrie*, neyther was hee ſtrong enough to manage the Warre alone. *Arete* ſeeing the Enemies frustrated of their hope, and thereby fore-feeing the future, hee commanded *Taurion* to prepare fifty Horſe, and five hundred foote, and that the *Messeniens* ſhould ſend as many, meaning with this force to defend the *Megalopolitains*, *Tegeates*, and *Argives*, from the incursions of their Enemies. For the ſhole Countrey ly more in danger of the *Lacedemonians* during the Warre, ioyning vpon the *Spartans* Country. Finally, he refolued to Guard *Achaea*, with the *Achaeans* and Mercenaries, from the danger of the *Elyenses* and *Etolians*. This done, hee pacified the Diſcord, which was growne among the *Megalopolitains*, according vnto that whiche the *Achaeans* had ordered.

For you muſt understand that the *Megalopolitains*, beeing a little before chafed out of their owne Country by *Cleomenes*, had neede of many things which were wanting: And althoſh they ſtill maintained their

their authority, yet they had neither viuals nor neceſſary expences, either for the publicke or private: So as all was full of mutiny, rage, and malice. The which doth viual fall out in Common-weales, and among priuate persons, when as viuals faile. First they were in debate among themſelues concerning the walls of the City, ſome being of opinion that that they ſhould not make the incloſure greater, then their power would then beare, and keepe it with ſo ſmall a number of men, conſidering it had bin the caufe of their former danger, for that it was greater and more ſpacious then the power of the Inhabitants was able to defend. Moreo-
A ver, they were of aduice, that ſuch as had Lands, ſhould contribute the third part, to the end they might people the City: Others ſaid, that they must not give a leſſe circuite to the City, nor contribute the third part of their poſſeſſion: But their chiefel contencion was concerning the Laws written by *Pitaneides*, an excellent man among the *Peripatetiques*, whom *Anixonus* had giuen them for a Law-giuere. The City being in theſe combuſtions, *Arete* pacified them, and quenched the quarrels which were inflamed among the *Megalopolitains*, as well publicke as priuate. Finally they haue grauen the Articles agreed vpon on a Pillar ſeated in the *Omarie* at the Altar of *Vefra*. After the reconciliation of the *Megalopolitains*, *Arete* parting from thence, retired preſently to an Aſſembly of the *Achaeans*, leaving the Adventurers with *Selcucus of Phare*.

The *Eleans* incenſed againſt *Pyrrie*, as if he had not discharged his duty, they caſt *Etolia* to be their Capraine. Who conſidering that the *Achaeans* held their Diet, tooke five hundred Horſe, and two thouſand Foote, and went ſuddainly to Field, where he ſpoiled the whole Country unto *Egia*: And when he had taken a great booty, he made haſt to returne to *Leonce*. *Lyce* hearing this, went to meeke them, and encountered them ſuddainly: when they came to fight, hee ſlew four hundred, and tooke two hundred Priſoners: Among the C which were found *Pibisbas*, *Antanor*, *Clearcas*, *Euanorides*, *Ariſtagotes*, *Nicasippus*, and *Aſpasias*, men of note: and withall he had all their Armes and Baggage.

At the ſame time the Capraine of the ſea-army for the *Achaeans* came to *Motiria*, and parting thence ſuddainly, he turned his way to *Calceda*: where when as the Towne-men came out againſt him, he tooke two Gallics armed, and furnished with all things neceſſary, with many other ſmaller vefſels. Moreover, he tooke great ſpoiles both by Sea and Land, and drew viuals from thence, with other munition: wherewith hee made the Souldiers more hardy and reſolute for the future. On the o- D ther ſide the Cities were in better hope, for that they were not forced to furnish viuals for the Souldiers. In the meane time *Serdilaide* holding himſelfe wrong'd by the King, for that he had not giuen him his full pay, he had articulated with *Philip*, ſent fifteen Vefſels under a counterfeite ſhew of carrying Merchandizes, the which, at their firſt arriual to *Leucade*, were kindly entertained, as Friends in regard of the League with the King. And when they could doe no worse, they tooke e *Agaſit* and *Cassandra* of *Corinthe*, who as Friends were entered into the ſame fort with four ſhips: Being thus taken with their Vefſels, they ſent them by *Serdilaide* to *Egia* and *Calceda*.

A Murky a-
mong the Me-
galopolitains.

Lyce defeated
Pibisbas, *Antanor*, *Clearcas*, *Euanorides*, *Ariſtagotes*.

Lyce defeated
Nicasippus, and *Aſpasias*.

Egia and
Calceda taken
by *Serdilaide*.

A deafece of
the Etolians by
Lycus.

them presently to *Scerdilaide*. This done, they weighed Anchor from *Leucade*, bending their course towards *Males*, spoiling all the Merchants. In the beginning of Summer, when the Souldiers of *Tarion* were negligent in the guard of the said Cities, *Arate* hauing with him the choise of the Army, came into the Country of *Argos* to get victuals. On the other side *Enipides* going to Field with a good number of *Etolians*, wafted the Country of the *Trisenses*. *Lycus* and *Demodochus* particular Captaines of the *Acheins*, aduertised of the descent of the *Etolians*, drew together the *Dimenses*, *Parenes*, and *Pharenes*, with the Aduenturers, and ouer-ran the Country of the *Etolians*. Being come to a place which they call *Phisia*, they lent their Foot-men that were lightly armed, with their Horse-men to ouer-run the Champaigne Country, and log'd their men that were best arm'd in Ambush thereabouts. When the *Etolians* came to charge them without order to succour their people, passing the Ambush, *Lycus* Company fell vpon them : whose fury they being vnable to resist, fled, so as there were about two hundred slaine, and foure score taken Prisoners with all the Booty.

At the same time the Commander of the *Acheins* Sea-army, hauing failed often to *Calidon* and *Napata*, spoiled the whole Country, and chased the Enemy twice. He also tooke *Cleonice* of *Napata*, who for B that he was a friend to the *Acheins*, had no harme : but within few daies after was freed without ranfone. At the same time *Agete* Chiefe of the *Etolians*, assembled a Troupe of them, putting the Country of the *Acaranians* to fire and sword, and spoiled the Country of *Epirus*. This done, he returns home, giuing leaue to the Souldiers to retire to their houses. Afterwards the *Acaranians* made a descent into the Country of *Syrace*: where being repul'd by the Enemy, they made a shamefull retreat, yet without any losse ; for that the *Stratyses* durst not pursue them, fearing an Ambush. At the same time there was a Treason practized in the Country of the *Phanatenes* after this manner. *Alexander Gouvernour* C of *Phosis* for *Philip*, laide a plot for the *Etolians* by a certaine man called *Iason*, to whom he had giuen the government of the *Phanatenes*. He was sent to *Agete* Chiefe of the *Etolians*, promising to deliuer the Fortresse of *Phanatenes* vnto him : whereupon they agree and swere together.

The *Etolians* circumcuated by a Strategen^m When the day appointed was come, *Agete* comes in the Night with the *Etolians*: when he had laid his Troupe in Ambush, he made choise of a hundred men, whom he sent to the Fort. *Iason* hauing *Alexander* ready with him, with a sufficient number of Souldies, receuies the companions into the Fortresse, according to the accord : whom *Alexander* charged D with his Company, and tooke all the *Etolians*. But when day was come, *Agete* assured of the fact, carried backe his Army into his Country, hauing worthily deserued this deceipt, for that he had many times practised the like. At the same time *Philip* tooke *Bylazon*, which is a great Towne in *Peronia*, and in a good situation for the entry from *Dardania* into *Macedony*.

By this meanes he freed them from all feare of the *Dardanians*, who could not make any incursions into *Macedony*, the entry being stopt by

by the taking of the said Towne : whereas placing a good Garrison, he sent *Chrysaorus* with great speed into high *Macedony*, to make anew leuue of men. As for himselfe he tooke some men and went into *Becia*, and *Amphaxate*, and came to *Edesa* : where expelling *Chrysaorus* with the *Macedonians*, he parted presently after with the whole Army, and came to *Larissa* on the fixt day: And purusing his course from thence all night, he arrived at *Melissa*, the which he indeauoured to take by *Scalade*, and if the Ladders had not beene something too short, without doubt he had prevailed in his Enterprize : wherein the Commanders are chiefly to A be blamed. For when soone of them make haste rashly and inconsiderately to take Townes, without any fore-sight or consideration of the walls, vallies and such like, by the which they attempt the taking by an assault, who will not blame them? And although they haue duly considered of all things, yet who will not taxe them to giue the charge to the first man they meet, to prepare ladders, & such like instruments, as a thing of small consequence? Finally, in such actions they must doe that which is necessary, or else fall into danger. For the losse doth often follow the despaire, and in many kinds: First the ablest men are in danger of the attempt, especially vpon the retreate, when they begin to disdaine them. Whereof there are many examples. And you shall find in such attempts many strated, some defeated, others to haue bin in extreme danger : And they they which haue fauiled themselues, haue bin subiect for the future to distrust and hatred: and some haue serued for an example, to all others to be vigilant, giuing not only to such as were present at the danger, but also to them that heare of it, some kind of admonishment to be careful of themselves. Wherefore they must neuer make vse of such aduise rashly: In regard of the meanes to vse is wel, it is seure if they follow reason.

We must now returne to our discourse, and speake thereon hereafter, when occasion shall be offred, and that it is not possible to faile in such enterprizes. *Philip* presented in his enterprizes, plants his Campe neare vnto the Riuere of *Empe*, and sent his men to *Larissa*, and other Townes, whom he had levied in the winter for the Siege: For all his designe was to take *Thebes*. It is a Towne situate near to the Sea, and about 300 Furlongs from *Larissa*. It confineth fiftly with *Magnesia* and *Thessaly*: To the one side called *Demetria*: And to *Thessaly* on that part where the *Pharsaliens* and *Phrenes* dwell. This City doth much annoy the *Pharsaliens* and *Demetriens*: For that the *Etolians* held it at that time: The like they did to them of *Larissa*: for the *Etolians* made many incursions into the Country which the Inhabitants call *Namirice*. Wherefore *Philip* considering that such things ought not to be neglected, and left behind, he fought all meanes to take it. Wherefore he prouided a hundred slings and fife and twenty great Crof-bowes, and approached the City of *Thebes* with his Army, the which he diuided into three Trroups, and besieged it on three sides: whereof he placed the one neare vnto *Scopis*, the other at *Heliostropis*, and the third neare vnto the Mountaine which looks into the City: Fortifying the spaces in the Field with Ditches and double Pallisados. Moreouer he built Towers of wood in every space of two Acres of ground with sufficient guards.

I i 3

Then

The indiffer-
ent Coman-
ders blamed.

The situation
of *Thebes*,

Philip besieged

Then he drawes toge ther all the preparation for the War, and begins to plant his Engins of Battery againt the Fort. Yet the three first dayes he could not make his approches to set vp his Engines, so great was the courage and resolution of those which fought vpon the walls. But after that by the combat, and by the multitude of Darts, part of the Burgeses were slain, and others wounded, and that the besieged censed for a time, the Macedonians began to mine : where working continually, although the ground were bad, they approached vnto the wall on the ninth day.

From that time they were continually employed in battering the City : so as the Slings and great Cros bowes aewer ceased day nor night : A And within three daies they made a breach of foure score Fathomes in the wall. And when the supporters made vnto the wall, were not able to beare the burthen, they fell, and brought the wall downe with them, before the Macedonians had set them on fire. This being done, when as their courages encreased, and that they made shew to enter, and begin an assault, the Thebians being amazed, yelded themselves and their City. When as Philip had by these meanes assured the Countries of Magnesia and Thessaly, he tooke the best of the Eoliens goods, and thrust the ancient Inhabitants out of the towne, re-peopling it with Macedonians, and changing its name of Thebes, he called it Philopolis. Whilste that Philip stayed in this City, there came Embassadours from Chios, Rhodes, Cos, & Samos, and from King Ptolemy. Whom when he had answered, as he had formerly done, (that he had beeene alwaies willing to hearken to a peace) he sent them away, giving them charge to vnderstand the will of the Eoliens. For his part he made no reckoning of peace, being resolute to continue his attempts. Wherefore being aduertised, that the Vessels of Scerdilaide (sould all the Coast of Males), and that hee intreated the Merchants as Enemies, and that moreouer he had taken (breaking the accord) some ships at Leucade, he armes twelve Vessells couered, and eight open, and sailed by the Europa, hauing likewise thirty Merchants Vessells, hoping to take the Sclauonian : neither did he neglect the Eolian C War, for that he was not yet aduertised of the actions which had past in Italy. For at such time as Philip held Thebes besieged, the Romans had beeene vanquished by Hannibal in Tuscany : But the newes were not yet come into Greece.

When Philip had taken the Sclauonian Vessells, and for this cause had sailed into Cembra, he caueld the ships that were couered to run along the Coasts of Males towards Egia and Patres, and stayes the rest of the Vessells in the Port of Lecke. Then he makes haste to goo to the Nemeen Game, and arrived at Argos. Being at the sight, he had letters from Macedonia to aduertise him that the Romans had bin vanquished by Hannibal D with a wonderfull deafeate, and that they were masters of their Campe. He prefently fhews it only to Demetrius, charging him to keepe it secret. Who taking his occasion thereby, began to intreate the King that in dispatching the Eolian War speedily, he would attend that of the Sclauonians, for al Greece then obeyed him: The which they would do hereafter: For that the Achaeans affected him, and the Eoliens feared his forces, considering the losses they had made during this War : and that as

for

for Italy, the voyage which he should make, would be a beginning to conquer the Monarchy, whi ch did more iustly belong to him then to any other, and that moreouer the opportunity was great for the present, considering the great deafeate of the Romans which Hannibal had made. Demetrius vsing these meanes, persuaded the King, who was but young, and of a high spirit, and too desirous of rule.

Afterwards Philip called his Council, and began to aduise touching a peace with the Eoliens. To the which Arate would willingly haue assited: the King presently sent Cleonice from Naupacte to the Eoliens, A not expecting the Embassadours, to propound publickly the Conditions of a Peace: For he found Arate after the taking of Thibet, attending the Diet of the Achaeans. In the meane time he tooke ships at Corinthe, with the Bands of Foot then, and came to Egia, and from thence to Lassion, where after he had taken a Tower in the Peripps, hee made shew to enter into the Eoliens Country: to the end they shold not thinke that he much affected a peace. And when as Cleonice had returned twice or thrice, and that the Eoliens intreated the King to goe vnto them, he willingly yelded thereunto. Then sending Letters speedily to all the Townes of the Allies, the great fire of the Warre being now quenched, he aduertised them to send Embassadours to compound and B make a peace with the Eoliens. And in the interim he transports his Army, and planted his Camp neare vnto Panormus, which is a Port of Marea right against Naupacte, expecing the Embassadours of the Allies. Whilste they assembled, he went to Zocyme, and pacified the differences of that Iland, then suddenly he returned to the same place. When the Embassadours were met, he sent Arate and Taurion with some others to the Eoliens, who being conuenio to them (for they were assembled at Naupacte) they had some conference: where vnderstanding the desire they had of peace, they returned speedily to Philip, and aduertised him thereof. The Eoliens desiring it wonderfully, sent an Embassie with C them vnto the King, intreating him to come vnto them with his Army, to the end their differences might be the better and sooner decided. Philip wond by their intreaties, failed with his forces to a place twenty furlongs from Naupacte. There landing with his men, after he had fortifiid his Campe and ships with Ditches and Pallisadoes, hee stayed the comming of the Eoliens. Who came vnto the King without Armes: And making a stand two Furlongs from his Campe, they prefently sent men to conferr of the differences which they had at that time. The King sent first vnto them all those which were there present for the allied Cities, giving them charge to conclude a peace with them, vpon condition, that hereafter every man shold keepe that which he preffently held. And when they had so concluded, they afterwards sent many Messages for the particular actions of either side. Of which things we haue willingly omitted the greatest part, for that there is nothing seemes worthy of memory yet I haue thought good to relate in few words the remonstrances which Agelias of Naupacte made to the King & the Allies. ▲ peace be-
held. And when they had so concluded, they afterwards sent many Mes-
sages for the particular actions of either side. Of which things we haue
willingly omitted the greatest part, for that there is nothing seemes wor-
thy of memory yet I haue thought good to relate in few words the re-
monstrances which Agelias of Naupacte made to the King & the Allies.
and the Eoliens

When he was allowed to speake, and that all men were attente to The Speech of
hear him: It is needfull (saith he) the Grecians shoud haue no Warre Agelias.

among

among themselues, and they shold give thanks vnto the Gods, if all with one accord (like vnto those which passe the Riuers holding hands) may be able to repulse the attempis of the *Barbarians*, and defend themselues and their Cities : and if this cannot be continually entertained, yet at the least they shold at this day apply themselves vnto it, for that *Greece* was never in great danger: saying that he considered the great Armies, and the great Warre which would soone follow: making no doubt, that if the *Carthaginians* did vanquish the *Romans* in *Italy*, or the *Romans* them, neither the one nor the other would content themselves with the Empire of *Sicily* or *Italy*: But the Victors would presently extend themselves farther then were fit, and would pacifie towards the East.

Therefore they must all prouide for it, and especially *Philip*. The which he can no otherwise doe, but in quenching this present War, and cease to torment the Citties of *Greece*: And that contrariwise he haue a care of all, as of one Body, and study for the safety thereof in generall as his owne, and subiect vnto him. Doing which all the *Grecians* will loue him, and fight with him like good men in his future Warres: And finally the *Barbarians* fearing the loyalty of the *Grecians* towards him, will not attempt any thing against his Empire. The which if hee had a desire to enlarge, he must attempt against the Western Countries, and consider in what estate the affaires of *Italy* now stand, and that moreover the time was come, when he might easilie hope for the Empire of all the world. To cesse & the which he shold be the leffe troubled, for that the *Romans* had beeene defeated by *Hannibal* at the Lake of *Perousa*. Finally, he perswades the King to exchange the Warre and Discords of *Greece* into Peace and Concord, and that he shold striue with all his power to keepe himselfe at liberty for the future, that he might beable to make Peace and Warre when he pleased. Moreover, he sayd, that if he suffred this Cloud which they saw arising towards the West, of a cruell and mortall Warre once to approach neare the Countries of *Greece*, he feared much that these Quarrels and Contentions which were amongst them, would be found so farre out of their power, as they would not be able to pray vnto the Gods to haue meanees to make War or Peace at their pleasure.

When as *Agelaus* had ended his Speech, he inflamed the hearts of the Allies to peace, and especially *Philip*: for that moued by the words of *Demetrius*, he had fixt his minde vpon it. Wherefore they all with one accord made a peace with the *Etolians*. The which being confirmed, they retired all into their Countries. These things were done in the third yeare of the hundred and fortieth Olympiade: I meane that Battaille which the *Romans* gaue in *Tuscany*, with the warre of *Antiochus* in *Syria*, and the peace made betwixt the *Etolians*, *Philip* and the *Acheans*. Behold the time wherein the Warres of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Asia* were first intermixt. For after that day neither *Philip*, nor the other Princes of *Greece* attempted any thing either for Warre or Peace, but had their eyes wholly fixt vpon *Italy*. Soone after the Islands of *Asia* did the like, and all they which were either Enemies vnto *Philip*,

Philip, or any way opposite vnto *Astalus*, retayred not to *Antiochus*, nor vnto *Ptolemy*, nor to the Southerne or Easterne parts, but all vnto the West. Some solicited the *Carthaginians*, other did the like to the *Romans* by continual Embassies. The *Romans* likewise fearing the power and courage of *Philip*, sent Embassadours into *Greece*. And as we haue according to our first resolution, plainly set down, as I conceiue, when and how, and for what causes the Affaires of *Greece* are intermixt with the *Italians* and *Lybiens*, as it were in one body: we must now pursue the Actions of *Greece*, vntil we come to the time when as the *Romans* A were vanquished and defeated neare vnto *Cannes* by the *Carthaginians*: For there wee haue left the actions of *Italy*, and haue written in this Booke and the precedent, the proceeding of the same time in *Greece* and *Asia*.

The Warre being ended, when the *Acheans* had made choice of *Ty-* ^{Tyoxintes} *maxines* for their head and Gouvernor, resuming their ancient kind of *Chiefes of the Achaei*. living, they gaue order by little and little for their Common-wealthe: *The like did the other Cities of Morea*: So as they laboured their lands and restored their Games and Sacrifices to the Gods. All which things were in a manner forgotten by reason of the continual warre. It is certaine that as they of *Morea* among all other men are inclined to a milde and courteous kind of life, the whiche in precedent times they did not enioy: Being as *Euripides* saith, alwaies tormented by their neighbours, and without rest. Yet it seemeth reasonable for, for all they which tend to a Principallity, and haue their liberty in recommendation, haue continual quarrels amongethem, they tending to a superintendency. The *Athenians* freed from the feare of the *Macedonians*, seemed to live in great Liberty: but following the basenesse of their Commandours *Eucleides* and *Micron*, they payed Tribune in a manner to all Kings, and namely to *Ptolemy*, who soone after that time made Warre against the *Egyptians*. For as hee had beeene assysted in the Warre against *Antiochus*, they presently abandoned him: For that growne proud with the abando- ^{The Athenians} *n* *Antiochus*, they gaue him neare vnto *Raphia*, they would no more obey the King, *Iomy*, seeking only a Commander, as if they had beeable of themselves to mannage the Warre: the which was soone after done.

Antiochus during Winter had leuied a great Army, and the Summer following past Mount *Tauris*: where making a League with King *Atta*. *Antiochus* ^{fehMount} *Atta*, he renewed the Warre against *Achaeans*. And although the *Epoliens* *Tauri* found the peace good in the beginning, for that the Warre had taken a better end then they expected: Hauing chosen *Agelaus* of *Naxapate* for their Chief Commandour, by whose meanes the peace had ensued: *Ed*: yet after some time they blamed him much, complaining that by his meanes they had lost the great profits they had drawne from ^{The Etolians} *blame Agelaus* Forreine parts: For that he had made a peace, not only with some ^{for making of} Provinces, but generally with all *Greece*. But *Agelaus* bearing their ^{the peace} blaine with patience abated their fury: And so they were forced contrary to their nature to pacifie their Choler.

Serdiatide vnder colour of money due vnto him, had spoild all those ^{The Exploits of} he met, and (as we haue sayd) had taken shippes of *Lencade*, and had *Serdiatide* risted

rified a Towne in *Pelagonia*, which they call *Piscea*, with diuers other Cities of *Dassarete*, as *Antipatris*, *Chrysonion*, and *Gertepe*: Having moreover gained a good part of *Macedony*, aswell by perswasions, as by force.

Philip after the peace concluded, hauing imbarqued himselfe and his Army to saile thither, and to encounter *Serdilaide*, he tooke land being wholy bent to recover the sayd Townes. Finally, when he had fully resolued to make Warre against *Serdilaide*, holding it necessary to Conquer *Sclavonia*, as well for other Enterprizes, as chiefly for his passage into *Italy*. The which is an aduise, whereof *Demetrius* laboured to make him susceptible, saying that he had seene *Philip* do so in a Dreame. He did not preffe this for any loue he bare him, but for the hatred he had to the *Romans*: Thinking by this meanes to recover the Country about *Pharsos*, from whence he had beeene expell'd. *Philip* recovered all the sayd Townes, approaching neere them with his Army : For in *Dassarete*, he tooke *Creme* and *Geronte*, and neare vnto the Fennes of *Lychnide*, *Enchelane*, *Cerce*, *Sation*, and *Boies*: and *Bantia* in the Prouince of the *Callicenians* : and towards the *Pissinians*, and *Orgisse*. This done, he sent his Army to Winter. It was the same Winter when as *Hannibal* had spoiled the best Countries of *Italy*, and past his Winter in *Daunia*, and the *Romans* making their Election, created *Gaius Terentius*, and *Lucius Emilius* Consuls.

Demetrius his
aduise to *Philip*.

Whilst that *Philip* spent the Winter, he drew together a hundred Vessells, (which neuer King of *Macedony* had done before him) thinking it necessary to make prouision : Not so much for the Combate at Sea, (for that he did not hold himselfe eual in forces to answere the *Romans*) as to passe his Army into *Italy*. Summer being come, and the *Macedonians* in-vred to the Oare, hee parts with his Army. At the same time likewise *Antiochus* past Mount *Tanris*. *Philip* then passing by the *Euripus* and *Malea*, came vnto the Countries which are about *Cephallenia* and *Leucade*. Where planting his Campe, he fortified it with Ditches and Pallisadoes, for hee feared much the Sea Army of the *Romans*. But when he was aduertised by his Spies, that it was neere vnto *Lylibeum*, his Courage increased, and hee proceeded in his Enterprize, taking his course directly to *Apollonia*. When hee was neere those Countries which are about the Riuier of *Loia*, which passeth neere to *Apollonia*, he fell into the same feare which doth many times befall Armies at Land : For some of his Vessells which followed in the Reare, and had sailed towards an Iland called *Sasov*, lying at the mouth of the *Ioniangulf*, came by night to *Philip*, telling him D that they had spoken with some of the *Sicilian* Sea, who aduertised them, that they had left the *Roman* Quinqueremes about *Thagimm*, bending their course to *Apollonia* and *Serdilaide*. *Philip* immagining that the Army was not farre off, was amazed : And weighing Anchor retired with great feare and disorder, hee came the next day to *Cephallenia*, sailing continually by night : Where assuring himselfe he stayed some time, making shew that his retурne was for some pressing affaires in *Morea*.

Philip leaves his
Enterprize for
feare.

It

It hapned that this was a false Allarum : For you must understand that *Serdilaide* aduertised of the great multitude of Vessells which *Philip* had drawne together in Winter, and fearing his comming by Sea, had obtained succours from the *Romans* by his Embassadours : So as they sent him ten ships out of their Fleete which was at *Lilybeum*, the <sup>Succours sent
by the Romans
to *Serdilaide*.</sup> which passing neere vnto *Rhegium* were discovered. If the King had not beeene awazed without reason, he might well haue vanquisht them, and performed his Enterprize against *Sclavonia*: And the rather for that the *Romans* had receiued a wonderfull losse neere vnto *Cannes* against *A Hannibal*, where they were in a manner quite ruined. But being then terrifid without cause, he made a safe flight into *Macedony*, and remained Infamous.

At the same time *Prusias* did an Act worthy of memory : For when as the *Gaules* whom *Attalus* had drawne out of *Europe* into *Asia* for the Warre of *Achaeus*, had abandoned him for the causes aboue mentioned, they spoild all the Townes of *Helleponis* with too much auarice and crueltie. And when in the end they had besieged the Townes of the *Elenses*, then they of *Alexandria* neere vnto *Troade*, performed an A^ct worthy of memory : for raiding *Themiste* against them with fourte thousand men, they not onely raidid the siege of the *Elenses*, but chaste all the *Gaules* from *Troade*, aswell cutting off their Victuals, as disappointing their desaignes. The *Gaules* haung taken the Towne of *Ariste* in the Country of the *Abidentes*, fought to surpize all their Neighbours. Against whom *Prusias* was sent with an Army, and giving them Battaille he defeated them, killing women and Children, without any regard of Age or Sexe, and abandoned the spoile of their Campe to his Souldiers. By this means *Helleponis* was freed from great feare, leaving for the future a good example to *Barbarians*, not to passe so easilie out of *Europe* into *Asia*. These things were done at that time in C *Greece* and *Asia*.

In regard of *Italy*, many Townes yeilded to the *Carthaginians*, after the defeat of the *Romans* at the Baetiale of *Cannes*. Finally, we will make an end here of the Histories of that time, seeing we haue sufficiently shewed in what Estate *Asia* and *Greece* were in the hundred and fiftieth Olympiade. And hauing briefly related them in the following Booke, we will turne our Discourse to the Government of the *Romans*; as we had resolued in the beginning.

D

The end of the Fifth Booke of Polybius.

The



A

THE SIXT BOOKE OF the History of POLYBIUS.

B

Concerning the diuers Formes of
Gouernement.

C

The Declaration hath beeene easie, by the which the Actions past are related, and the judgement given of the future, touching the frequent increase of the *Grecian Common-weales*, and how againe they have many times felt a totall alteration. Wee may without any trouble deliver things knowne, and easily conjecture of the future by the precedent. In regard of the *Romans*, it is difficult to judge of the present, for the variety of their Gouvernement: Or to fore-tell the future, for the ignorance of the Actions, which (as proper to that Nation) have beeene in old time decided in publicque and in priuate. VVherefore if any one will exactly know the diuersties, he had need of an excellent judgement and consideration of Actions. It is true, that they which by instruction would make vs know things, propound three kinds of Gouvernement: Calling the first a Royalty, the second Aristocracia, and the third Democracia. Yet in my opinion wee may with reason doubt of these things, whither they propound them vnto vs soley, or better then the other: For it seemes they are ignorant of eyther. It is

D

E

F

A division of
Gouvernement.

is apparent that, that Gouvernement should be held the best, which is composed of all the afore-sayd properties; whereof wee haue made prooef not only by reasons, but also in effect: For that *Lycurgus* bath first established the *Lacedemonians* Common-weale in that manner. Neither must we thinke that these Gouvernements are alone: For wee haue seene some Monarchiall and Tyrannous, who although they differ much from a Royall, yet they seeme to haue something common with them: the which our Monarchies imagine, vlrping with all their power the name of King. Moreover the Olyarchical Common-weales, which haue beeene in great number, seeme to haue some correspondency with the Aristocraticall; although they differ much. The like we must judge of a Democracy. And to proue it true, it will be apparent hereby.

We must not hold a Monarchy for a Raigne: but onely that which is voluntary, and gouerned more by a Common consent then by feare and violence. Neither must we hold every Olyarchy for Aristocracy; but that only which according to the Election is maneged by the wifest and best men, neither must that be allowed for a Democracy,

where as all the Commons haue power to do what they wil and please; but where as the auncient custome and vse is to honour the Gods, to do good vnto their Parents, to reverence old men, and to obey the Lawes.

Then they will call a Common-weale Democraticall, when as the ^A Democracy, Commons shall accept of that which many allow of. Wherefore we must say that there are sixe kinds of Gouvernements: We haue already spoken of three Common to all the World: The other three are neere

unto them, that is to say a Monarchy, Olygarchy, and Ochlocracy. ^{Six kinds of Gouvernements.} The first whereof is a Monarchy, rising naturally without any establishment. From whence doth grow a Royall Gouvernement, by order and good direction. But when the Royall changeth into its neighbour ^{A Monarchical Gouvernement of one alone}

^C takes its being: the which naturally changeth into Olygarchia. And when the Commons revenge with fury the Gouvernours iniustice, then growes a Democracia. For the outrages and iniquities whereof, in time it prooues an Ochlocracia.

A man may understand that these things plainly which I haue sayd, are true, if he knowes the beginning and the change of every Gouvernement according to the course of Nature. For who soever shall consider either of them a part, and how they grow, may also judge of their increas, force, and alteration; and when and how the one ends in the other. I haue beeene of opinion that this kinde of Disputation and Exposition agreed well with the *Roman Gouvernement*: For that by a certaine course of Nature, it hath taken from the beginning its institution and increas. Peraduenture these alterations and changes of Gouvernement from the one to the other, are more exactly handled by *Plato*, and some other Phylosophers. But for that they are disputed by them in many and diuers manners, it happens that few men understand them,

Wherefore wee will indeavour to comprehend them, and set them downe by certayne Articles, so as (according to our opinion) they may ^{Ochlocracia is a Gouvernement of the mutiny of the people.} be

The beginning
of govern-
ment.

be of consequence for the profit of the History, and all mens understanding. And if there be found for the present some defect in regard of the generall and Vniuerfall declaration, the reasons which shalbe hereafter delivered in particular, will repaire it. What Principles then shall I assigne for government? From whence shall I say they take their first growth and being? When mortality fell vpon mankind by inundation of Waters, or by pestiferous Calamities, or by barrennesse of the Land, or by other such like causes (as we haue understood hath beeene, and in reason may often be hereafter) all Institutions and Ares were then lost: And when againe the multitude of men hath by A successe of time taken increase, as it were from some remainder of seede; and that in regard of the weaknesse of their Natures they gathered together, even as of Custome (as it is reasonable) other creatures doe according to their kinds, it is then necessary that he obtaine the Principallity and Empire which is of greatest force of body, and of most understanding. The which wee see happen in other kindes of bruite Beasts, (which we must hold for a most certaine worke of nature) among the which wee see the strongest and of most spirit march before, as Bulls, Stags, Cockes, and such like.

Principallity or
Monarchy.
A Royalty.

It is therefore likely that a principallity is of that kind, and that the course of mens liues is so governed, assembling together after the manner of Beasts, and following those which are the most strong and powefull, to whom force is the end of their Principallity, which wee may with reason call Monarchy. But when as with Time there grows from these Assemblies a Company and Custome, then a Royalty takes her Birth: And then Men beginne to thikke of Honesty and Justice, and of their contraries: Such is the manner of the beginning and fountaine of the sayd Gouvernments. As all men haue a deffe of a mutuall and naturall Coniunction, and that from thence procedes the generation of Children, it is manifest that when any one of those which hath beeene bred and brought vp, doth not acknowledge nor yeld the like C to those which haue bred them, but contrariwise presume to do them outrage in word or deede, then they which are present are offended: as knowing their care, trouble, and paine which haue engendred them, and with what diligence they haue bred vp their Children. For as Mankinde is more excellent then all other Creatures, to whom is given understanding and Reason, it is not fit to passe ouer the said disorder, after the manner of other Creatures: And that contrariwise the assitants ought to obserue and reprehend such an Action, forefeeing the future, and making their account that the like may happen vno them-selues.

D Moreover, if at any time hee which hath receiuied comfort and aide from any one in his Adversitie, doth not acknowledge his Benefactor, but seekes to prejudice him in any sort, it is manifest that they which shall see it, will be grieved and discontented: So as their Neighbour shall moue them to pity, thinking of themselves as of their Neighbour. Wherefore then doth rise a certaine thought of Virtue, and a consideration of the duty which every man must obserue, which is the be-

beginning and end of Justice. In like manner if any one amongst the rest takes reuenge vppon the most furious Beasts, notwithstanding their force, it is reasonable that such a one should purchase among the people an acknowledgment of affection and Command: And he that should doe the contrary shoulde both wrong his honour and good reueration. Whence againe the confederacion of infamy and honestie, and of their difference takes it birth: Whereof the one meritts (as commodious and profitable) to be loued and followed, and the other to bee shunned and avoided. When as any one hauing the principallity and the greatest hee seemed to impart them to the Subjects, according vnto every mans merite: Then fearing no more any violence, and hauing a good opinion of him, they submit themselves voluntary vnto his obedience, and defend his Gouvernement: And if hee prooues in all respects worthy of honour, with one accord they take reuenge and fight against those which are Enemies to his power.

B By this meanes by little and little, he makes himselfe King of a Monarch, when as reason succeeds in the Empire, in stead of rage and of Honesty and Justice, and of their contraries: it is the true beginning and fountaine of a Royalty. They doe not only maintaine their Principallity and government, but many times leaue it to their posterite, hoping that their Children bred vp vnder such men will be of the same will and disposition. But if it happens at any time that the posterite of former Kings displeaseth them, then they make an Election of Princes and Kings, without any respect of corporall forces, aiming only at the differences of iudgement and reason, making triall of the diversitie of both by the workes themselves.

C Wherefore leauing the ancient custome, they which haue once feased vpon the Crowne, and haue gotten this power, they fortifie certaine places with walls, and possesse the Countrey as well for the safety, as to supply their Subjects necessities abundantly. Whilst that Kings were carefull of these things, they were free from slander and envy: For that they differed not much from others in their Apparell or Diet, observing a course of life conformable to others, with a conuerteration and familiarity common to many. But when as they (who by succession and a prerogative of race, are come vnto the government) haue alreadye the preparations which serue for safety, and those which are more then necessary for toode: then following their appetites, by reason of the great abundance of all things, they think it fitting for Princes to bee more richly attired then their Subjects, and to be intreated more dexterously with diversitie of meates, and to conuerse without contradiction with other women then their owne. Hence springs envy and scandall with hatred and implacable rage: Finally the royalty changeth into Tyranny.

D The beginning of this ruine, and the conspiracy which is made against Princes, growes not from the wicked, but is practised by the best Tyranny, and most resolute men, who cannot endure such outrages and insolencies

Aristocracia.

Oligarchia.

Democracia.

cies of Princes. And withall the Commons hauing found a head to make resistance, ioyne with him for the afore-laid causes against their Prince: and then the former of a Royalty and a Monarchy is wholly ruined, so as by consequence an Aristocracia must take its beginning and course. Then the people as it were by a thankfull acknowledgement, ordaine these suppreffors of Tyrants to be their Heads and Commanders, and they submit themselves vnto them. When as they haue with good zeale iinbraced the charge of this government, they haue nothing so great recommendation, as that which concerns the publique good: prouiding with great care and diligence for any thing that may A touch the peoples profit, as well priuate as publique. But when the Children enjoy the same power from their Fathers, and haue not experience of aduerſties, nor of the equality and politique liberty, being withall bred vp from their youth in the authority and prerogative of their Fathers, they change an Aristocracia into Oligarchia, some abandoning themselves to a vitiuous and infatiate desire of couetousnesse and getting: Others to drunke[n]esſe, and by consequence to excesse in Banquets: some to Adulteries, and forcing of Boyes: Finally, hauing done vnto the people that which wee haue formerly spoken of, it is reason they should conceiue the like ruine in the end that did befall the Tyrants.

Beleue me, if any one obserues the enuy and hatred which the Citizens beare them, or dare say or doe any thing against the chiefe Commanders, he shall profently haue all the people ready to giue him aide and assistance in his Enterprize. And when they haue murdered those, they dare not choose a new King, fearing the iniustice of the former, neither dare they truſt their Common-weale in the government of many, the memory being yet so ſrof the baſenesſe of the precedent: ſo as their only hope retting in themſelues, they retire, changing the Olygarchicall government into a Democracia, and taking vpon them, C ſelues the care and charge of the Common-weale. It is true that in the meane time ſome of thos haue escaped, which had tasted of the preheminence and power: who taking delight and pleasure in the preuent estate of the Common-weale, make great eſteeme of equality and liberty.

But when as young men ſucceed, and that the Democracia is deliuered to posterity, (they ſtrive in making little acceſſ of equality and liberty) to be greater then the reſt: whereinto they chiefly fall which haue great wealth. When as they affeſt command, and cannot attaine unto it of themſelues, they begin to diſpoſe of their riches, and to D corrupt the Commons with that baite. A great number being corrup- ted by their bounty, by reaſon of a ſilly Couetousnesſe of preſens, then a Democracia is ruined and changed into violence, and a ſeditious eſtate of policy. For the Commons hauing beeſt accuſtomed to live by the goods of their Neighbours, make a mutiny, taking a refolute and audacious man to be their Head, who for his pooreſt cannot in reaſon aſpire to the honours of the Common-weale, and then they assemble together, and fall to murthers and ruines, and to ſpoile and diuide

diuide the Land amongst them, vniſt their fury being pacified, they finde again a new Lord and Monarch. Behold the revolution of Gouernments, and the prouidence of Nature, according vnto which the estate of the Common-Wealth, changeth and re-changeth, and makes the ſame returne. Which things if any one knowes not plaine- ly, he will be ignorant of the time in fore-telling the future Estate of the Common. But he will erre often, for that a Gouernment increaſeth and decreaſeth where into it is ſo transſer'd, if without great judgement he giues his aduice. We will likewife come to the know- ledge of the Institution, increafe, and vigour, and likewife of the fu- ture change of things in the *Roman* Common-Wealth, according to this knowledge.

And if it happen that any other Gouernment hath (as wee haue al- ready ſayd) from its beginning this Institution and increafe, by the course of Nature it wilbe changed into its contrary: The which may be well obſerued by that which follows. Wee will deliuere in few words the *Nemotelia of Lycurgus*, which ſhall not be impertinent to our Discouer. Wherefore when he had conſidered all decent things, and how they are neceſſarily perfect by a certaine Nature, he hath al- ſo obſerued how euer forme of Gouernment is variable, which is e- B ſtabliſhed ſimply according vnto a power, ſo as ſuddainly it degenerates into its neighbour Vice, and conſequently by Nature. For as rust con- sumes Iron, and worms Wood, being naturall vnto them, ſo as although they can preferre themſelues from all exterior outrages, yet they are corrupted by theſe, as borne with them: So as according to Nature there is a certaine malice growing and adhering vnto every Common-wealth: As to a Royalty there is a Monarchy: To an Aristocracie an O- lygarchia; and to a Democracia, a Chirocracie: So as it muſt needs follow, that in ſucceſſion of time all the foreſayd change by the ſaid of the people, Chirocracia a Government by the multitude.

C *Lycurgus* hauing foreſeen these things, hath ordained a Common- wealth, which was neither ſimple, nor vnder the absolute power of one man: uniting all the Vertues and properties of the moſt commendable Gouernments, to the end that nothing in it ſhould take a greater increafe then was needfull; nor degenerate into the neceſſit vice: And that their forces by a muſical restraint ſhould not bend or decline to any part, nor any thing therein ruined: Finally, that the Common-weale ſhould remaine of an equal weight for euer, according to reaſon and equality, and that by this meaſes Loyalty ſhould be reſtrai ned from Arrogancy, by the feare of the people, for that a iulf por- D tion of the Common-weale was allotted vnto them. And againe, the Commons durft not diſdaine the Kings, for the reſpect of the moſt aged: Who being chosen by the Grauest, addiſed themſelues continually to equity: So as the weakeſt party was maintained in its Customs, and was ſtrong and to be feared by the Succour and aide of the Sena- tors. The Common-weale being thus eſtabliſhed, he hath preſerued the liberty of the *Laccedemonians* longer then hath come to our know- ledge. When he had foreſeen the Fountaine and ſource of all of them,

and what did viall happen, he establisched the sayd Common-wealthe with our danger.

The Romans.

In regard of the *Romans*, they haue done the like in the Institution of their Common-wealthe, not by one reasoun, but as chooing that which seemed best vnto them, being made wife by the event of things, by many Combats and altertions: And by this meanes they haue attainted vnto the same ende which *Lycurgus* prescribed: setting a better forme of a Common-wealthe then wee haue in *Greece*. Finally, hee that will judge of Writers with reasoun, doeth not iudge of matters as they are omitted, but according to those which are mentioned. And A if he finds any thing false, he must conciu that omission hath beeene by ignorance: but if all which they haue spoken be true, let him thengrant that what they haue omitted, hath beeene done for some cause, and not through ignorance.

These three parts, (whereof wee haue formerly spoken,) rul'd in that Common-wealthe. They were all established and ordered so equall, and proportionably by them, as no man, no not the inhabitants themselves, could ever say whether this Common-weale were Aristocraticall, Democraticall, or Monarchicall. The which hath not hapned without reason: For if wee obserue the power of the Consuls, it appeareth plainly to bee Monarchicall and Royall: and if that of the B Senators, it seemes to bee Aristocraticall: But if we duly consider the popular power which consisteth in many, it is apparently Democraticall. In like manner, no man can say by what part the forme of the Common-Wealth was then guided and gouerned, except in some things.

*The Office of
the Consuls.*

The Consuls being present at *Rome*, haue the Gouvernement of all the publique Affaires, before they draw the Army to fiedle. To whom all the other Princes obey and are subiect, (except the Tribunes of the people) appointing Lieutenants in the Senate, from whom they demand adiuce in pressing Affaires: moreover they haue the Charge C and power to make Edicts. Finally, they haue the care of all that which concernes the publique Affaires, which the Commons are to decide. It is their duty to call the people together, and to pronounce their Edicts, and to iudge of the plurality of Voices. Finally, they haue the power and Authority to prepare for Warre, and generally of all the Gouvernement which is vnder the Heauens, to conclude, they haue in a manner a most stately and Royall authority. It is lawfull for them to dispose of their Allies in what they shall thinke fiting for matters of Warre. To appoint and ordaine Captaines of Thousands, to leuy an Army, and to choose the most able and sufficient. D It is also in their power to punish all their Subiects wheresoeuer they remaine: and to dispose of the publique Treasure as they shall think good, being to that end followed by the Questor who presently obeys their Commandment: So as he which shall consider this part of the Common-weale, hee will say with reasoun that it is Monarchicall and most Royall.

Finally, if it happen that any of things which wee haue spoken, or shall

shall speake, shall change presently or hereafter, they may not in any fort derogate from our opinion. Next after, the Senate hath the ouer sight of the publique Treasure: For they may dispose of the Reuenewes and Expences. It is not in the power of the Questors to imploy mony, no not in particular Affaires, without their ordet, but for the Consuls. Finally, the greatest and heaviest expence, as that which many times the Questors are accustomed to imploy, at the returne of the Quinquinal, or space of five years for the repairing of publique Building, the Senate decrees: And whatsoeuer is allowed the Consuls, depends theron. Of all offences committed throughout Italy which deserve a publique punishment, as Treafon, Conspiracy, Poysoning, and Murthers by secret practices, the punishment belongs vnto the Senate.

B And moreouer if any priuate person, or any City hath neede of thankes or blame, or of succours and assistants, the Senate hath the whole charge. Finally, if they bee to send an Embassie into any part out of Italy; to reconcile some, or to admonish them, be it to Commaund any thing, or to declare Warre, the Senate hath the power. In like manner when as Embassadors come to *Rome*, the Senate giues order for their entertainment, and what answere shalbe made. Finally,

B the Commons haue no hand in all that which wee haue sayd: So as whatsoeuer thou shalt see done in the absence of the Consull, will seeme to bee an Aristocraticall government: The which many *Grecians* and Kings imagine, for that in a manner all their affaires are vnder the Authority of the Senate, without any contradiction whatsoeuer. For this cause one will demand with reasoun, what portion of the Common-weale remaines to the people. Seeing that the Senate hath the Gouvernement of things, which wee haue delivered in particular, and that it disposth (which is much more) of the Reuenewes and publique expences: And that moreover the Consuls making Warre with C out the City, haue a Royall power over the preparations, and other affaires which are in the Campe. And yet there is a part reserved for the people, the which is of greater esteeme. For they haue the authority of honours and punishments: wherein is contained the power and government, and finally the generall life of men.

D Believe me, there is nothing that concerns the Subiects, that can be ordered by reason, by such as haue not the knowledge of this difference, or hauing it doe abuse it. What reasoun were there that the Wicked should be equal in Honour with the Good? The people therefore iudge and many times diuersly, when at the iustice which they are to punish is of great consequence, and namely in those which haue had great and Honourable charges. They alone condicme to death: Wherein there are some actions parr worthy of praise and memory: For viall they suffer those that are accused of a Capitall or haynous crime, to retire in the sight of all the World, although there remaine an opinion in some which confirms the iudgement and Sentence, by the which a free and Voluntary Banishment is taken quite away.

*The duty
of the Senate.*

Townes for the rest of such and in other Confederates. Finally, the people give Principalities to ~~as are volunt-~~ the most sufficient : which in a Common-wealth is a goodly reward of honeye. They haue also Authority to confirme the Lawes and Peace

and Warre lies in their will : Judging of the Succours, Reconciliation, and Accords of their Allies. Finally, the people confirme the things in approuing or disannulling them : So as now some may iustly say, that the greatest part of the Common-weale is in the peoples hands, and that it is Democraticall.

The naturall
kniting to
gether of three
Common-
weales. We haue deliuered how the diuers formes of Common-weales, are A diluted among them : Wee must now shew how they may assist and giue comfort one vnto another. When the Consull hath receiued his power, and drawne an Army to Field, hee stenes a King, yet hee hath neede of the people and Senate, to bring his resolutions to an end, without the which hee cannot possibly finish his Affaires. It is certayne that hee hath neede to furnish and prouide Victuals, pay, and munition for the Armies. But it is not possible to furnish him with Coric, Apparell, nor pay, without the will of the Senate : So as the attempte of the Consulls are of necessity made fruitlesse, if the Senate doth willingly fail him or hinder him.

By this meanes it is in the resolution of the Senate to make the Enterprizes of the Commanders effectuall or not. It is also in their power to send another Commander when the yeare is past, or continue his Authority that doth enioy it. Moreouer the Senate may make his Exploits seeme great and admirable, and augment and increase his Actions, in like manner they may blemish and disgrace them. In regard of that which they call Triumphes, by the which a certaine visible shewe of their Actions is brought by the Consulls to the viewe of the people, they dare not attempt them, as it is fitting, neyther (to speake plainly) bring them to an end, valesse the Senate allow of them, and furnish the charge. The content of the people is wonderfull necessary, C be they never so farre off, for it rests in them, (as wee haue formerly said) to confirm or disannull all Accords and Leagues. But behold another case : For after their Gouvernement is ended, they are forced to yield and submit their actions vnto the judgement of the Common people, so as they ought not to bee carelesse of the loue and good likynge of the Senate and vulgar sort.

Although the power of the Senate be very great, yet they must of force haue respect vnto the multitude of publique affaires, and drawe them to their ends and intentions : Neyther can they put generall and great doubts in Execution, nor punish crimes committed against the Common-weale, if what the Court ordayne bee not confirmed by the Common people. Matters which concerne the Senate it selfe, are of the same condition. For if any one propounds a Law, by the which it doeth in any sort abridge the Authority and power of the Senate, or ouerthrows their Prerogatiue and Honour, or pursues them in their liues, all these things are to bee done by the power of the people.

It is

It is likewise certaine that the Senate cannot execute any of their resolutions, nor hold a Councell, nor assemble themselves, if any one Tribune of the Commons oppoeth. The Tribunes must alwaies doe according to the opinion of the people, and obscrue their will. In regard of these things the Senate feares the people, and obscrues them : In like manner the people are bound vnto the Senate, and forced to wine them : For as there are many Farmers which the Censors dispouse of throughout all Italy, for the great multitude of publique reparations, and in many places of Riuers, Pooles, Gardens, and Mines, and finally all other things of that nature, which are vnder the Roman Empire: they are all mannged by the people, hiring all the Rentis and profits which grow thereby.

Some take their Leaves from the Censors, to whom others associate themselves, others become fuiters for the Farmers : and some bring the Inventory of the goods into the Treasury. Of all which things the Senate hath the knowledge. For it rests in them to prolong the Termes, and to graun some abatement, if there hath beene any losse : Finally, to remit the whole Debt, if there hath happened any impossibility.

B There are infinite causes wherein the Senate may helpe, or hurt, but those much, which hire the publique Rents, whereof the Senate hath the charge. They allo name the Judges in most of their Conventions as well publique as priuate, as farre as the greatnesse of the cause shall require. Wherefore relying vpon their wisdome, and fearing the vncertainty of their affaires, they carefully obscrue the instances and oppositions of the Senates aduice. They do not willingly oppose against the attempts of the Consuls : For that all in generall (wherefore the Roman Empire doth extend) are vnder their Command, as well in priuate as in publique. As therefore the power of either of them is such, as they may mutually bring profit or prejudice, yet they are so silvily vnitied against all crosses and disasters, as we cannot finde a better forme of a Common-wealth.

C For when as any common treour shall present it selfe, and that they are forced to succor one another, the forces of this Commonwealth are so great, as there is not any thing wanting, neyther doth any man fail, in his Charge, but all tend ioyntly to bring to a good end that which hath bee reuolted : and that whatsoeuer hath bee reuolted, may not be delayed beyond the opportunity of time. Finally, all employ themselves as well in publique as in priuate to finish the Enterprize. Wherefore they haue this peculiar vnto them, that their force is vnsurpassable, and they accomplish whatsoever they resolute. Again, if D (freed from the publique fear of Strangers) they abandon themselves to prosperity and abundance of wealth, which they enjoy by meanes of their good fortunes, then vsually they grow insolent and proud, alured by flattery, and giuen to delights and idlenesse. Then may they easilie see how the Common-wealth studieth to helpe it selfe : For when as any one of the parts will be Mistresse, and rule more then is fitting, it manifest, that neither of them being newly erected, according to our discourse, the Enterprize of either of them may be mutually restrained

Kk 4

and

and hindred, so as none of them can fly off, nor aduance it selfe, either of them continue in their charge, as well by an oppositon to their Enterprise, as through a prefent feare of punishment.



A Parcell of the Sixt Booke touching the Order of the Roman Armies.



Hene the *Romanis* haue chosen the Consuls, they B appoint the Tribunes of the Souldiers: that is to say, fourteene of those which haue followed the Warres five yeares, and ten others which haue continued ten yeares. Among the which there are foure on Horse-backe, and sixe on Foote: who must of necessitie goe vntill they come to the Age of sixe and forty yeares: except such whose estate doth not amount to about seauen pounds sterling: For thole they leaue and reserue them for the Sea. But if the affaires be urgent and pressing, the Foote-men are C bound to serue twenty yeares. In regard of the City-magistrate, no man can execute it before he hath serued ten years.

When the Consuls ordaine aleuie, they make Proclamation by the Trumpet, on what day all the *Romanis* of sufficient age to bear Armes, to mette; the which they doe yearly. When the prefixed day is come, and that all the able men are come into the City, and assembled before the Capitole, the youngest Tribunes diuide themselves into foure parts, as the People and Consuls haue ordained: For that they make the generall and first diuision of their Bands into foure Legions. Then the foure first chosen are appointed to the first Legion, the three D following to the second, the foure subsequent to the third, and the three last to the fourth. They ordaine the two first of the most ancient to the first Legion, the three next to them of the second, the two following to the third, and to the fourth the three last of the most ancient. When the diuision of the Tribunes hath beeene thus made, so as all the Legions haue their Captaines equally, they cast lots vpon every Race, being set apart one from another, right against either Legion: And they call their Company, most commonly fallen by lot: out of which

which they choose four Young men of like constitution. After which the Tribunes of the first Legion make the first choice: Then the second, the third, and the fourth last of all. And againe, vpon the presenting of other foure, they of the second choose first, and so the rest in order: They of the first begin the last. Then of the foure which are presented after these, the Tribunes of the third Legion choose the first, and they of the second are the last. By this meanes making alwaies this election by portion, and as it were by a kind of circulation, it falleth out that to every Legion the men are equally diuided.

A When they haue chosen this number, (the which they doe to the end that every Legion may consist sometimes of foure thousand two hundred Foote, sometimes of five thousand if the danger seemes great) and that the diuision is thus made, they were wont to muster their Horsemen after the Leginaries. At this day they are the first, by an election of the richest made by the Censor, of which they appoint three hundred to every Legion. The leuii being thus made, every Tribune drawes together his Legion, and in choosing one of the most sufficient, they take an Oath from him to obey his Captaines faithfully, and to execute their Commandments: Then the rest sweare particularly in their first man had done.

B At the same instant the Consull aduertiseth the Gouernours of Townes allied in Italy, from whom they think good to draw succours, acquainting them with the number of men, the day and the place when they should meete which should be leuied. Who after they haue made their leuie accordingly, they tend them having taken an Oath, and given them a Commander and a Treasurer. But when the Tribunes at Rome haue taken the Oath of the Souldiers, they send them backe, appointing a day and a place to every Legion when they ought to come C without Armes. When they are drawne together on the day appointeed, they make choice of the youngest amongst them, and weakest in their estates, to carry Iauelings or Darts: Then such as are more advanced in years, they carry Armes which they call forked Darts or Iauelings: And they which are strong of Body and more aged, are made principals: But the Triarij are chosen out of the most ancient. So many differences of Names and Ages are among the *Romanis*, and likewise of Armes in every Legion. They diuide them in such sort, as the Triarij are the most ancient, to the number of sixe hundred: The principals twelve hundred, to whom the forked Iauelings are equal: The rest which are younger, are light Iauelings. If the Legion contains of a great number, they diuide it proportionably, except the Triarij, whose number is alwaies the same.

D The youngest are bound to carry a Sword, a light Lueling, and a Buckler. This Buckler is firme as well for its art, as for the creature it selfe. The formes of a Buckler, sufficient to defend the body. It is round, having three foote in Diameter. The Souldiers haue moreover a light Head peecce, whereon cloth hang a Wolues skin, or some such thing, which serues for a covering and marke, to the end that every one may be knowne by his Captaine being

The manner of the Tribunes in the choice of the Legions.

Souldiers in e.

city Legion.

The light Iaueling.

being in fight, doing his duty or not. The light Iaueling is most commonly three foote long, of the bignesse of a mans finger, with an Iron head a good spanne long, and is so slender and sharpe, that vpon the first cast it must of necessitie bend, and so is made vnprofitable to cast againe: Otherwise they will serue the one as well as the other. Then they command those which are more aged, whom they call forked Iauelings to be armed.

The forme of Targets.

The Roman Armes are first a Target two foote and a halfe broad, and bending vpon the superficies, and fourte foote in length: The greatest hath fourte fingers more, and is made of two boards glued together with A Oxe-glew: And is couered with a Calues skinne, or that of a Goate, or some such like Beast. All the circumference hath a hooke of Iron, the better to bearc off the blowes of a Sword, and that leauing it on the ground, it may not weare. In the midste there is a Bosse of Iron, which beares off all blowes, and the violence of Stones; of long Pertwifans, and of all manner of Darts be they never so violent. The Sword which they call Spanish, and hath two edges with a very sharpe point, hangs commoduously with the Target vpon his thigh. It chargeth home for that it is strong and stiffe. Moreouer, they haue two spits, a head-piece of Brasse, and greaves for the defence of their leggs, amongst B the which spits, some are great, others slender: The strongest which are long and round, haue three inches in Diameter: Those which are square, haue the sides equal: The slenderest are like unto the lesser forked Darts, which they carry with the said Armes: The staffe whereof doth not much exceede the length of fourte foote and a halfe: and they arm them with a head of Iron, equal in length to the staffe, the which they ioyne so close with so many ligatures and crosse-nailes, as they never dissoleue vntill the Iron breake: although at the neather end it be a finger and a halfe thicke, where it ioynes vnto the staffe, so carefull they are in setting them together.

The Spanish Sword.

Besides all these things, they are adorned with a Crowne of feathers, with three red or blacke feathers standing right vp almost a foote and a halfe, the which set vpon the top of the head, together with his other Armes, make a man seeme twice as big, and by this meanes of a goodly appearance, and terrible to the Enemy. Others taking a piece of Brasse a span broad, which they lay vpon their stomackes, which they terme the guard of their hearts, are compleatly armed. But they which are held to haue aboue a hundred and fifty pounds sterling in their estates, take for the defence of their body, with their other Armes, shirts of maille. The Principals haue the same kind of Armes, and in like manner the Triarij, but in stead of spits, they carry forked Iauelings. They choose the heads of Bands out of all these sorts, except the youngest) to the number of ten, of the most ablest men: Besides the which they make another Election of ten others, whom they call heads of Ordinance. Among the which the first chosen is admitted to Councell. These againe chooze as many Lieutenant, These things done, they diuide with the Captaines every age into ten parts, except the light Iauelings: appointing to every Band two Captaines and two Lieutenant of those

C
D

The manner of choosing the heads of Bands.

which

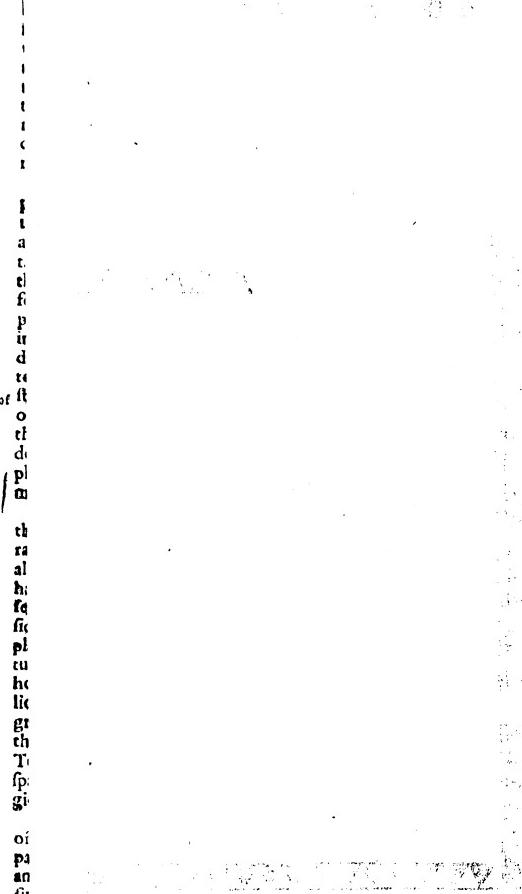
which haue beeene chosen. In regard of the light Iauelings or Darts which remaine, they distributre them equally throughour all the Bands: which Bands they haue called Orders, Troupes, and Ensignes: and their Capitaines Centurions and Heads of Bands. These choose out of every Troupe two strong and resolute men to carry the Ensignes. They make two Capitaines to every Troupe, and with reason: For as it is certaine what either of them can doe or suffer, and that the actions of War haue no excuse, they will never haue the Troupe remaine without a Commander or Gouvernour. If they be both present, the first chosen leads the right wing of the Troupe, and the second those which are vpon the left wing of the Ensigne. If one miscarries, he that is present gournes all. Finally, they desire not so much valour nor didaigne of Gouvernement, Constance, and death in their Commanders, as gouernment, constancy, and good count good Coun- sell: and not to ingage themselves first in the fight, nor to begin it: But sell required in being vanquished and prest, they should stand firme, and rather dye a Capitaine, then to abandon their place. They haue also diuided their Cauallery into ten Troupes, drawing from every one of them three Capitaines: who likewise made choise of three Lieutenant, of which the first is Chiefe of the Troupe, and the rest hold the ranke of Dizeniars or Commanders of ten, and so they are called. The second holds the place of the first in his absence.

The Armes of the Horse-men are at this day very like to those of the Grecians: Formerly they had no Guyrasses, being in danger by reason of their Lionen breeches, with the which they were more active to mount on Horsebacke lightly, but they found themselves in great danger in fight, being in a manner naked. Moreouer, their forked Iauelings were vunprofitable for two respects: For first they made them slender and fit to dart, so as they could not take their aims, and many times they were broken before the point could sticke, for that they were continually shaken with the trotting of the Horses: and withall they were

The Roman Cauallery ar- med after the Greek manner

C of no vse but to thrust forward, being unarmed at the other end. In truth they were of no seruice after they were broken. They had also Targets made of the hydes of Oxen, like vnto putt vp Gakes, which they vsually make at Sacrifices: The which they could not well vse in fight, for that they were not firme, but swel'd with raine. By this means they grew vunprofitable. Wherefore as the vse did not seeme good, they preffently changed, imbracing the fashion of the Grecians Armes, in the which the thrust with a Iaueling is suddaine and certaine, neither is it without effect, for that it shaketh not, but is firme. Moreover, in turning the point behind, the vse is firme and violent: Their Target is the like, for both in defending and assailing it, it is firme, strong, and profitable. The which when they had seene, they preffently followed it: for the Romans are as apt as any others to imbrace the best The doctry of the Romanis. course of life. When the Tribunes haue made their diuisioun, and the orders concerning Armes, they send them backe to their houses. The day comming whereon they haue sworne to come to the place appointed by the Consull, (for that every one doth affigne it apart vnto his Legion, considering that most commonly they ordaine to every one a part,

The manner
of the Romans
camping.



Hath one certaine length ioyning to the way, being 100. foot long. The y
study often to make the depth equall, except vnto the Allies. But if their
Army be greater, they adde both to the length and depth. And as the
lodgings of the Horse-men answere to the middle of the Tribunes Tents,
there is a certaine way made crossing the afore said streight line, and the
void place before the Tribunes. The passages are like vnto streets. For as
of either side the troupes are lodg'd all along, but after the Horse-men of
the said two Legions, they lodg'd the Triarij in the same forme, ioyning
A troupes to every Ensigne, so as the figures touch one another, having their
aspects to the other side contrary to the Horse-men, reducing the depth
to halfe the length in every forme: For that they are most commonly
but halfe so many in number as the other troupes. Wherefore as the
number of men is often found vnequal, it happens that the parts are al-
waies made equall in length, for that they differ in depth. Then they
lodge the Principals 50. foot distant, and opposite to the Triarij. These
being turned against the said paces, the two streets are compleate, taking
their beginning from the same streight line, with such approaches as the
Horse-men haue, that is to say, of 100. foot distance, which is before the
Tribunes, and ending on the contrary side: The which formerly we haue
B propounded to be opposite to all the forme of the Campe. After the
Principals they lodge the forked Iauelings behind in an opposite aspect,
the figures being ioyned. And as by the first division all the parties haue
ten Ensignes, so the streets are alike and equall behind, as well in length as
in separation, vpon the sides opposite to the Rampus and Palliadae;
where turning the last Ensignes, they campe. Then after the forked Iau-
elings leauing a space of eight fathome and two foot, against them they
lodge the Horse-men of the Allies, taking their beginning at the same
streight line, & ending on the same side. The number of the Allies Foot-
C men is equall to the Roman Legions, only excepted extraordinaries, but
the Horse-men are double in number, from whom a third part is drawne
for extraordinaries. The Commanders of Bands take the first lodgings
in every quarter: placing on every side the first Band after the first, they
reare eight fathome and two foote, the like they doe with the Bands of
Foot-men: so as there is another passage made through the Legions, and
cross the streets: the which is a way equally distant from the Tribunes
Tents, which they call the fist, for that it is drawne after the fifty five
Bands. The place which remaines behinde the Tribunes Tents, and
which of either side ioynes to the Consul's Pavillions, serues partly for
the Market-place, and partly for the Questor and his munition. In regard
D of the two last Pavillions, of either side of the Tribunes, some chioce
Horse-men and other voluntaries following the Campe for the loue of
the Consul are lodged there, towards the sides crossing the Rampiers,
some looking towards the Questor's munition, and some to the Market-
place, with an order bending towards the Tents of the extraordinaries.
It often falls out that these men are not only lodg'd neare the Con-
sul, but they also doe their duties about him and the Questor,
when the Army marcheth, and in their other affaires.
To these are ioyned Foot men looking to the Rampus, who doe the
like service: after which they leue a space of 16. Fathome and 4. foote
broad,

broad, equally distant from the Tribunes Tents, besides the Market place, the Praetorium & the Questory, extending throughout all the parts of the Rampire: At the vpper end whereof the extraordinary Horse-men of the Allies Campe, looking towards the Praetor and Questor. In the midst of their Pavillions, there is left a way to the Praetors place, of 8. fathome and 2. foot, drawing to the further end of the Campe. After these are lodged the extraordinary Foote-men of the Allies, turning their backs to them, and looking towards the Rampire and the further end of the whole Campe. In regard of the void place remaining of either side of the crossing flanks, it is for strangers & new commers. Matters being thus disposed, the whole forme of the Campe remaines square with equal sides. As for particular figures as well of separation of streets, as of other ordinances, they are much like a Towne. They cast vp the Rampire 33. fathome and 2. foot from the Tents: for that this voide space profiteth them much. For it is commodious for the cleansing of the Campe, so as every man goes forth into that place by the street which is nearest to him without crossing inc another. There they also keepe their Cattell safely in the night, & the booty which they haue taken from the Enemy. And it is of great benefit, for if the Enemy assailes them by night, neither Fire nor Darts can touch them, or very little, and without any offence, considering the great distance and the Tents about them. It is then easie for a man to judge how spacious this Campe is, whether they giue it a multitude of Foot and Horse, or they make the Legion of four or five thousand men, with the length, depth, and great number of quarters: adding thereunto the spaces of waies with all other things. If at any time the number of the Allies be great, whether they followed the Campe from the beginning, or came afterwards vpon some occasion, they fill vp the places which are about the Praetorium, with such as are new come, & they draw the market place and the Questory into one, for the necessity of the time. Also if the number of those which are come to Field with the Army be great, they adde on either side of the Roman Legions a streete towards the crossing Flanks. And if all the fourre Legions & both the Consuls be ioyned in one Campe, we must conciuie that they are two Armies, equally camped and ioyned backe to backe, the lodgings of their extraordinaries touching one another, the figure being somewhat long, and twice as spacious, with a circumference halfe as big againe. The Consuls being in one Campe, they doe alwaies thus: But if they be separated, they obserue the first order. In regard of the Market place, the Praetorium and Questory, they place them in the midst of the two Armies. But when they are encamp't, the Tribunes assemble, taking a particular Oath of all men, be they free or bond, who sware not to stekle any thing in the Campe, and if they finde any thing to bring it to them. Then they dispose of the Ensignes, and depute out of the two Legions two of the Principals and of the forked Iauelings, for the guard of the place which is before them. For thither the greatest part of the Romans repaire daily: and therefore they haue the charge it shoulde bee kept cleane. Every Tribune chooses three out of the other two and twenty Ensignes which remaine. According to the said diuisioun, there are so many Ensignes of Principals and forked Iauelings in every Legion. There

are

are sixe Tribunes which gouerne in their turnes, and particularly three Ensignes, the which set vp the Tent in the place appointed for him that hath the government, pausing the place which is about it. Moreover they haue charge to fortifie if it be needfull, for the guard of the Baggage. They also appoint two Watches, either of them consisting of four men whereof some are before the Tent, and others behinde neare vnto the Horses. As every Tribune hath three Ensignes, and aboue a hundred men in either of them, except the Triarij and light Iauelings (which are not bound to that seruice) the charge is found light: for that the Watch falls to every Ensigne but the fourth day. Finally, as for these duties, the necessary Command, with the honour and obedience is due vnto the Tribunes. The Ensignes of the Triarij are freed from the Tribunes charge, but they serue daily among the Troupes of Horse men, as they are lodg'd neare them: and they haue a care of the Horses, lefft they should intangle and hurt themselves, and so be made vnfitnesseble: or being vnted fight together, whereby an Alarum might grow in the Campe. Moreover, one out of euery Ensigne keeps a guard dailly before the Consul, whereby he is in safety from Treason, being the most honourable Magistrate. The Allies haue the charge of either side of the Ditch and Palliade, where every one of their Troupe is nearest, and the Romans of the other two, and every Legion hath one. And as every flanke is distributed by the Ensignes, the Capitaines of the Bands are present at the particular guard, but in general two of the Tribunes had the oversight, who in like manner had the charge of the rest of the Legion. For their diuisioun being made by two, they gouerne by their turnes two Moneths in sixe, and they (to whom the lot is fallen) haue the p'rechimene of all the affaires. The same manner of government is obserued among the Commanders of the Allies. The Horse-men and Capitaines of Bands, come at Sun-rising to the Tribunes Tents, and the Tribunes to the Consul, to whom he giues order for preffing affaires: They likewise to the horse-men and Captains, who command the Troupe in time convenient. As for the watch-word by Night, they giue it safelie thus: A man is chosen both of the Horse and Foot of the tenth Ensigne, which camps behind vpon the extremity of the streets, who is not bound to watch, but comes only every day at the Suns setting to the Tribunes Paullioti, and when he hath receiued the word, (which is written downe) he returns, and being come vnto his Ensigne, hee deliivers it with the word vnto the Commander of the next Ensigne in the presence of witness. The like he doth vnto the next, and so consequently of all the rest vntill it come vnto the first Ensigne which are lodged neare vnto the Tribunes. They must bring backe this Paper to the Tribunes before night: and if all those which haue bin deliivered be returned, they know that the word hath bin giuen to all in general, hauing past through them all. If there be any fault, the Tribune enquires presently of the captaine, and knows by the inscription from what quarter the Paper came, and when the error is discouered, they presently condemne him to a certaine Fine. Moreover, they appoint their guards after this manner: An Ensigne watches about the Consuls Tent: the like doe the Deputies of euery Ensigne about the Tribunes and the Troupes of Horse men. Thus they

The order of
two Watches.The Remains
manner ingi-
ng the word.

they of every Band dispose of themselves, and the Consuls of the other guards. There are most commonly three guards, one about the Quester, and two to others about the Lieutenants and Councillors. But the light Iauelings remaine without the Campe, making a guard by day about the Palliادoe, for it is their charge: Of which there are ten appointed for the guard of every Gate.

The Lieutenant of every Ensigne brings in the Eueping vnto the Tribune those that are appointed for the first watch: to either of which the Tribune giues little Talleys, having Characters: After the receipt whereof they retire to the places affiged them. Concerning the suruey of the A Watch, they trust Horse-men for the chiefe Capaine of the Band must giue order to one of his Lieutenants to carry this Commandment to every Legion: That is to say, to fourte young men of his Band before dinner, that the charge belongs to them, to visite the Watch the Night following. This being done, the like command must be giuen to the Capaine of the next Band, that it belongs to his charge to make the Round the day following. This being heard, the day following he doth the like to others, and so consequently of the rest: Finally, they which haue bin chosen by the Lieutenants of the first Band, to whom the Watch is fallen, repaire vnto the Tribunes, and take in writing what portion, and how many Watches they are to visite, which done, they remaine in the guard neare vnto the first Ensigne of the Triarij, of the which the Capaine of the Band hath the charge, to the end the Trumpet may sound in fit time for the Watch. The time being come, he that hath the charge to make the Round, doth it to the first Watch. He not onely visiteth the places neare the Palliadoe and streets, but altogether going about the Ensignes and Troopstands if he finds the Watch of the first guard waking, he takes their Tally: But if he finds any one sleeping, or the place abandoned, he departs, taking witness of them that are neare. The like also they doe which afterwards goe the Round. The charge to cause him to sound to the Watch, belongs to the Captaine of Bands of the first Ensignes of the B Triarij of every Legion, who serue as visiters for the guard. Either of which in the morning brings the Paper to the Tribune, and if they haue brought all they returne. If any one brings lesse then the number of the guards, they search by the Character where the fault was committed: This being knowne, they call the Capaine of the Band, who brings those whom they had appointed for the Watch. These debate it with the Visiter: And if the fault be in the Watch, the Visiter deliuers it presently with the testimony of those that were neare: For he is bound to doe it: But if he hath err'd himselfe, the blame is laid vpon him, and they make his proceesse presently before the Tribune, in the presence of C the assembly: if hee be condemn'd, they whip him. This is their punishment: The Tribune when he hath scarce toucht the condemned with the rod all the Souldiers of the Campe fall vpon them with rods, and kill them for the most part, and if any escape, yet they are not preserved: for how were it possible, seeing that the returne into their Countrey is forbidden, neither haue they Friends or Kinsmen that dare receiue them into their houses. Wherefore they which fall into this calamity, perish totally. To the like punishment are also subiect the Lieutenant

To whom the
suruey of the
watch belong.

The manner
how they pun-
ish such as
falle in the
Watch.

enant and Capaine of the Band, if they haue failed in their Command, the one as Visiter, and the other as Capaine of the Band, who must shew himselfe in time conuenient, wherefore as the punishment is seuer and irremissible, the watch never commits any fault. The Souldiers must obey the Tribunes, and they the Consuls. It is true the Tribunes haue power to condemne in a Fine, to absoluie and to whip. The Capaines haue the like priuilege ouer the Allies. If any one hath stollen any thing in the Campe, he is whipt: so is a false witness, or any one that is apprehended abusing the flower of the youth. Moreover, if any one

A hath bin thrice reprehended for one and the same crime, they punish him afterwards grievously as a depraved person. They hold these crimes infamous and base in a Souldier, as if any one hath bragged falsely to the Tribune of his proesse to winne honour: Or if any appointed to the guard of a place, abandon it cowardly, or leavens any of his Armes for feare in fight. Wherefore some hauing apparent death before them in the place where they are set, as being ensorled by a great Troupe, will never abandon the station where they haue bin once appointed, fearing the punishment due to their offence. Some in the like dangers losing by chance their Bucklers and Swords, or some other Armes, thrust themselfes among their Enemies, hoping to recover that which they haue lost by force: or enduring some unfortunate accident, to sile a manifest infamy and reproach of their Companions. If these things happen to many, and that some Ensignes haue by a generall consent abandoned their place, they held it not fit to whip them, nor to kill them all, but they haue another expedient which is profitable and terrible: for after they haue drawne the Army together, the Tribunes bring them into the midle of it, accusing them with big words. Finally, he drawes forth by lot five or eight, sometimes twenty, hauing regard vnto the Troupe, so as there be the tenth part of the delinquents, whom they whip as hath bin said, without any remission. Moreover, he commands the rest to lodge without

B the Rampiers and Palliadoes of the Campe, delivering them Barley for Wheat. By the apparent danger and feare of the lot equally incident to them all, seeing the event is vncertaine, with the example of the Munitiōn which they giue them of Barley, concerne them all, and serues for a terror and restraint from offences. Moreover, they encourage young men to undergoe danger: For when necessity requires it, and that any one of them hath performed an act of valour, the Consull assembles the Army, where they are presented which haue done any memorable act: There he commends every man in particular, laying open what they haue valiantly performed, or any other thing that hath bin worthy of D memory, during the whole course of their liues: Finally, he gives a gaulish Dart to him that hath wounded the Enemy: To a Foot-man which hath overthrowne a Horse-man and stript him, a vessell of Gold: To a Horse-man the Furniture of a Horse. In former time they had none but the gaulish Dart: which are gifts which they receive, which in skirmishes and such like actions haue done valiantly and couragiously, where without any necessity they enter voluntarily, and fight man to man in single Combate, not hee which in Battaille or the

E taking

The manner of
recompensing
the Souldiers
valour.

taking of a Towne hath wounded or stript an Enemy. It is true they give a Crowne of Gold to those which haue first ascended the wall : The Consull in like manner makes shew of such as haue defended and preferued any Citizens or Allies, and makes them honourable by gift. Moreover the Tribunes compell those which haue beene preferued, if they doe it not willingly, to crowne their preferuer, to whom they beare a reverence and respect during their liues, as to their Fathers, to whom they yeeld the like dutie. By these inticements they not onely encourage the affitantes to fight, and by their example to vndergoe danger : but likewise the Inhabitants which remaine in the City. For they which haue obtained these gifts, besides the glory and esteeme of the Souldiers, the same flying to their family, they haue solemne pomps made for them, being returned into their Countrey with great honour and dignitie, for that they to whom the Captaines haue done such honours, are onely worthy to be so magnified and esteemed. They also set vp in the most apparent places of their City the spoiles, as markes and testimonies of their virtue. As they are thus curious and diligent in the Campe, for honours and punishment, it is reasonable and fitting the events of War should prove prosperous and honourable.

The pay or entertainment of
Foote and Horse.

A Septier is
two Mince, and
a Mine two
London bushels.

The order of
the Campe in
marching.

The Foote-men haue by the day fourteene Deneers, the Captaines of Bands two Sous and foure, the Horse-men haue three Sous and five, a Foote-man hath monethly almost four Bushels of Wheate, a Horse-man hath by the moneth three Septiers and a Mine of Barley and a Septier of Wheate. As for the Allies, the Foote-men haue the same, the Horse-men hath eight Bushels of Wheate, and two Septiers and a Mine of Barley, which are things done in fauour to the Allies. The Questor deductes a certaine portion of the Romans pay, for the Wheate, Apparell, or Armes, if any of them haue neede. They march in Battaille after this manner, when the first warning is giuen, they packe vp their Tents and Baggage. The which no man may take downe, or let vp, before those of the Tribunes and Consuls be ordred. At the second sound of the Trumpet, they lay the Baggage vpon the Sumpters. But at the third the first must march, and all the Campe must move: whereas sometimes the extraordinaries march first, being followed by the right wing of the Allies, with their Baggage in the Reare. After these march the first Roman Legion, with their stiffe after them. Then followes the second with their carriages, following the Army close.

It is true, the left wing of the Allies makes the Rearward when the Army marcheth. Sometimes the Horse men follow in the Reare, every one to his Quarter: where they are vpon the wings of the Baggage, to assist them for their safeties. But if there be any doubt of the Rearward, all march in one order, except the extraordinaries of the Allies, who are brought to the front of the Rearward, and every other day the same Legion & wings make the point. Then againe they follow behind, to the end that all may be partakers of Forrage and water, changing their order daily, to the end every one may be first in his turne. They observe another kind of march in dangerous times, and in a plaine Champaigne. They make three Battalions in equall distance, consisting of forked

forked Iauelings, Principals and Triarij's, putting before the Baggage of those Ensignes which march first. After the first those that are second: and then doth march the Baggage of the third, and they order their Baggage and Ensignes by this proportion alternatiuely. Marching in this order, if there happens any great affaires, they cause the Ensignes to march thorough the Baggage, somerimes presenting their Targets, sometimes their Iauelings to the Enemy. And in one instant and the same march, the Souldiers put themselves in order of Battaille, vnlesse it be when as you forked Iauelings fetch a compasse: For then the Baggage with their attendants, stealeing behinde the Souldiers, recouers some place of safety.

B But when in marching they are neare to plant their Campe, the Tribunes and they which are vsually appointed to that charge, gye before: who after they haue viewed the place fit for the Campe, they first marke out the place for the Consuls Tent, (as hath bee said) and vpon what aspect and flanke of the square thus markt our, the Legions shoulde bee lodg'd. Then they measure out a plot for the Pretorium: after which a streight line, whereupon are ioyned the Tribunes Paillions: Then a line equally distante, after which are lodg'd the Legions. In like manner they measure on the other side of the Pretorium, the places whereof we haue latey spoken in particular. This is soone done, for that the measures are easie, the spaces being certayne and ordinary: they set downe a maike, and first of all that where the Consuls Paillion must stand: Then the second on the side which is chosen: The third to the line in the midst, to the which the Tribunes set their Tents: The fourth where the Legions are lodg'd. Of which these lat are red, and the Consuls white. As for the other side, there they sometimes fasten forked Darts, or other markes of divers colours. This done, they consequently make the streets: At every one they fasten a forked Dart, to the end that all things might be knowne more commodiously to them that approach to the Army, and to the view of the Campe, by a conjecture and consideration of the pretors marke.

C Wherefore every man knowing plainly in what streete and in what part his Tent is, for that they alwaies hold one place in the Campe. It falls out in like manner as when an Army enters into its owne City, which is well knowne. Every man from the Gate turning, marcheth presently and comes to his owne lodging without wandring, for that all in generall and particular know in what quarter of the City their dwellings are. It happenes likewise in the Romans Campe, wherein they (following this custome) to take a contrary course to the Grecians in regard D thereto. The Grecians make great accompt of the strength of a Campe, and keepe it principally, flying partly the labour of ditching, imagining that fortifications made by hand, are not so effectuall and good as those of nature, wherefore they are forced in Camping, wholly to change their formes according to the scituacion on places: so as all mens lodgings are vncertaine. In regard of the Romans, they desire rather to endure the labour of ramping, and to doe all other things necessary for their ease, and to haue the knowledge of every one in the Campe. These are the generall

general parts of the contemplation of an Army, and the scituacion of a Campe.



A Parcell of the Sixt Booke of Potentates, and which is the most excellent.



LL Historiographers in a manner haue in their writings made great esteeme of the Excellency of these kinde of Common-weales, as the *Lacedemonians*, *Candots*, *Mantiniens*, and *Carthaginians*: Some likewise haue mentioned the *Athenians* and *Thebeins*. For my part, I differ from the rest: in regard of the *Athenians* and *Thebeins*. I doe not hold it needfull to vte many words of them; for that they haue had no great increase, nor any firme forces, neither are they fallen into any moderate alteration: But as they seemed to be in vigour and force by a certaine new temporall Fortune, so they haue felt a contrary change. The

Thebeins. The *Thebeins* haue purchased an esteeme of virtus among the *Grecians* by the fault of the *Lacedemonians*, and the hatred of those which were of their League, adding thereto the excellency of one or two in regard of the afore-sayd things. That the virtue of Gouernours, and not the estate of the Common weale hath beeene the cause of the *Thebeins* felicity, the suddaine following Fortune hath made manifest. Their D power hath augmented and confirmed, and againe ruined during the liues of *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*. Wherefore we must conceive that these Men and not the Common weale, haue beeene the cause that the City of *Thebes* hath purchased so much honour whilst it was in esteeme. We must likewise for the same reason judge the like of the *Athenians*: the which hath many times, especially by the virtue of *Themistocles*, made it selfe glorious, but hath presently tryed a contrary change by the disorder of its nature.

It

It hath alwaies happened to the *Athenians*, like vnto shippes vnfurished of Pilots. For when the Company resolute to agree, and to obey the Gouernour of the shipp, either for feare of Enemies, or for the danger of a storme, they performe their duties cheerfully. But when through arrogancy they begin to dildaine their Gouernours, and to mutine, for that the same things doe not please all men: so as some haue a will to saile, others to force the Pilot to goe to harbour, and that some lay hold of the Oars, and call vpon him to set saile: this caueth an infamous spectacle to those which behold it, by reason of the mutuall disordre and mutiny. The humour of those which are Companions in the Navigation, hath no stay: wherefore flying many times the great depth of the Sea, and great stormes which doe vsually arise, they saile along the shore. The like hath often happened to the *Athenians*. For as they haue sometimes repell'd by the virtue of their people and Commanders, great and greuous calamities, yet they haue er'd wonderfully by their great rashnesse and indiscretion, haing a prosperous gale and all things successfull. Wherefore it is not needfull to hold any longer discourse, neither of it nor of the *Thebeins*: where the Commons attempt all things according to their owne humours, the first being brutish and rude, and this other accustomed to violence and fury.

Comming then to that of the *Candots*, it is fit to know two things; why the most learned among the ancient writers, as *Ephorus*, *Xenophon*, *Callisthenes*, and *Plato*, say first that it is like and the same with that of the *Lacedemonians*, and secondly that it is commendable: For neither of them fecmes true in my opinion: The which may bee conceited by that which followeth, shewing first that it differs; they lay that the *Lacedemonians* haue this proper: that it is not lawfull for one man to haue more land then another, being necessary for every Burghell to haue an equall portion of lands in the Citie. Secondly that hee isto bee amerced as a wicked man, that hath greater possessions then the rest: By this meanes ambition is wholly or in part rooted out of this Common-weale. Thirdly, their Kings enjoy the Crowne for ever: and they only for life, whom they call ancients: By whom and with whom all the affaires of the Common weale are managed. In regard of the *Candots*, all the things are governed by contrary meanes. For the Lawes allow them to possesse what Lands they can get: by this meanes Excellency is in esteeme amongst them, so as the possession of Lands is not only held necessary, but also most honest.

Finally, the desire of infamous and auaritious gaine is so powerfull among them, that among all mortall men onely the *Candots* find no kind of gaine worthy of blame: Although that in that which concerns their principallity, they haue an Annall and Democraticall government: so as we are in doubt, and wonder often, how Writers haue deliuered them vnto vs to be familiar and as it were Germanies, seeing they haue so contrary a Nature: Neither haue they without doing ordained so many differences, not lightly, but with a great shew of words: saying that onely *Licurgus* among the Ancients, had aim'd at time and solid things: And that as there are two meanes for the preservation of every Common-

The Lacedemonian Comon-weale.

The Common weale of Candoty

Common-weale, which are force against the Enemy, and mutuall concord and agreement among themselves: that in chasing auarice, hee had withall taken away all ciuill discord and mutinie: and that by this means the *Lacedemonians* being freed from these mischies, haue better then any other *Grecians* governed their Common-weale, and with greater unyon. And although the *Candyots* bee of this aduise parralelling themselves, Yet they thinke it concernes them nothing, liuing in many publicke mutinies, murthers and ciuill warre by their naturall auarice, presuming to say that these two Gouvernments are alike. *Ephorus* speaking of these two Common-weales, vseth the like speech, except their names: If any one doth not obserue the proper names, who can discerne whereof he speakes. These are the causes for the which in my opinion they differ.

Wee will now shew the reasons for the which the *Candyots* Common-wealth, doth not seeme commendable nor worthy to be immitated. I conceiuie that of every Common-wealth there are two Principles, for the which their estate and power is desired or detested: Which are their manner of liuing and their Lawes. That is to bee desired and the best, by the which the life of men in priuate is made religious and honest, and the common course of liuing in the City gracious and iust. Finally that is to be detested and auoyded, where they doe the contrary. And as we judge confidently that the men of a Common-wealth apply themselves to virtue, when we see their course of life, and the lawes to fauour of honesty in some of them: So we may with reason say, that a Common-weale is altogether deprated, alwyl by the lawes, as by their course of liuing, when we see any given to covetousnesse, and the publike Arts vnjust.

Moreover you shall not finde aby liues in priuate more cunning and crafty, nor enterprizes more vnjust then among the *Candyots*, except some few. Whereof we approve it by this comparision, the reason why we hold their Common-wealth not to be like the *Lacedemonians*, nor to be chosen, or worthy to be followed. I say moreover that *Platoes* Common-weale is not to be preferr'd. Although that some of our Philosophers make great esteeme. As we doe not receiuue among handicraftsmen, nor wrestlers, those which haue not excercised their bodies, nor beene accustomed to wrestling, So we may not receiuue this: So as compared with the former, we may not bring it in competition, before wee see some effects. I will for the present onely propound this: If wee must esteeme and parralell it to the Common-weales of *Lacedemon*, *Rome*, and *Carthage*, it were even as if a man should propound an Image, to be compared with men that are liuing and animated. For although he deserues commendation of his Art, yet the comparison of things which be dead, with the liuing, seeme to the eye poore and obscure. Leauing them therefore, let vs returne to the *Lacedemonian* Common-weale. *Licurgus* without doubt, seemes to haue made the law, and well prouided that the Burgesses might agree together, for the preseruation of *Lacedemon*, and the maintenancce of their liberty: So as his consideratiōn seemes more diuine then humane. An equality of possessions, with a simple

Platoes Com-
mon-weale
is to be rejected.

simple and common course of liuing, shoud cause a modest life in priuate, and make a City quiet and peaceable. Finally, exercise in labour, and to indure all toyle, was to make men strong and valiant. Being certaine that these two which are magnanimitie and temperance, concurring together in a priuate person of a City, malice can hardly creape in amongst them, or be drawn from their neighbours. By these means the Common-wealth being settled, it hath procured safetē to all the Country of *Lacedemon*, and a very durable libertē. But as for that which concerns the conquest, and principallity ouer their neighbours, and A finally the enterprize of a warre, it seemes he never thought of it: but onely that they shoud bring in a certaine friendship or resolution, by the which the common course of liuing of the City, shoud rest contented with their moderate estate, even as their liues in priuate were modest, and contented with their choise. And although he had instituted in such sort, as they were freed from ambition, and were very wise as well in priuate as in the common course of their liuing in the City: yet he hath left them towards the other *Grecians* more then ambitious, and of an insatiable desire to raigne, with an extreme auarice: So as it is partly notorious, that first in a manner among the *Grecians*, greedily de- B siring the countries of their neighbours, they made warre against the *Messentians*, to draw them into subiectiōn: It is also partly manifest, that they had obstinately sworne amongst themselves, not to raise the siege, before they had forc't the City of the *Messentians*. It is also notorious that for the great desire they had to rule ouer the *Grecians*, they had againe submited themselves to the yoke of those whom they had vanquished in bataile, So as they had patiently obeyed their commandē.

C They had vanquished the *Persians* making a dissent, in fighting for the preseruation of the *Grecian* libertē: to whom notwithstanding being returned and fled, they haue deliuered the *Grecian* Townes which were restored, according to the peace made by *Antalcides*: to the end that haiving money, they might fortifie themselves against the *Grecians*. At what time the establishment of their law seemed to decline: for whil'st it gap't after the command of their neighbour, and finally of *Morea*, they helpt themselves with content, by the meanes which *Lacedemon* did furnish, haiving necessary preparations speedily, and making a suddaine retурne unto their houses: But when they began to put an Army to Sea, and to march out of *Morea* with forces by land, it is certaine that their Iron money, nor the trocking of their Aymall fruits, could not supply their necessities according to the lawes of *Licurgus*. Their D enterprise required currant money, and traffique with strangers for victuals: so as they were forced to haue recourse vnto the *Persians*, to impose a tribute vpon the flanders, and to exact money from all the *Grecians*: knowing it impossible (according to the lawes of *Licurgus*) to hold the principallity of the *Grecians*, nor to bee able to keepe their owne Common-wealth. But why haue I wandred so farre in this discourse. To the end it may really appere, that the institution of *Licurgus* lawes, is onely sufficient for every man to preserue his owne, and

The Roman
Common-weale
more excellen-
t than the Laco-
demonian.

The Carthagi-
nian Common-
wealth.

A Comparision
betwixt the Ro-
man and Car-
thaginian Com-
mon-weales,

to maintaine his liberty : And we must confess to those which respect a Common-wealth to this end, that there is nothing more to be desired, then the estate and order of the *Lacedemonians*. But as any one tends to greater matters, and thinkes of the command of the Empire, and Signify ouer many, their hope in him and his fauour towards them, to be more specious and magnificent, we must then confess, that the *Lacedemonian* Common-wealth is defective, and that the *Romans* is more excellent, and of a more powerfull foundation. The which experience

A
For when the *Lacedemonians* laboured to conquer the principality of the *Grecians*, they sudainly brought their owne liberty into danger: whereas the *Romans* after they had reduced *Italy* vnder their obedience, within a short time they subdued the whole world, being sufficiently supplied with abundance of all things, and prouision of munition and victuals to effect their Enterprize. In regard of the *Carthaginians*, it seemes to haue beeene well instituted since its beginning, according to all differences. They had Kings, and an Aristocratical power of Senators: The Commons also had their prerogatiue in matters which belonged vnto them. Finally, in that which concernes their general assembly, was like vnto that of the *Romans* and *Lacedemonians*. It is true, that in the time of *Hamibis* Warre, that of the *Carthaginians* was lesse, and that of the *Romans* better. In every Common-wealth and action there is a certaine naturall increase and vigour, and consequently a diminution: so as all things are perfect in their vigour. Moreover these Common-weales were at that time different: For the greater the *Carthaginians* were in the beginning, hauing had many better fortunes then the *Romans*, the more they haue beeene weakened. In regard of *Rome*, it flourished then euuen in order and policy. And as the people of *Carthage* tooke great authority vpon them in Councill, so the Senate had great power among the *Romans*. Wherefore as in publique resolutions the Commons in the one gaue their aduise, and the best men in the other: so the *Romans* haue beeene more excellent in their publique affaires: where if they haue beeene in danger of their whole estate, yet vsing good Councill, they haue in the end vanquished the *Carthaginians*.

B
But for that which concerns a sudainne preparation to Warre, the *Carthaginians* are more active at Sea, and prepare their Fleets better: For that this practice is hereditary and ancient vnto them, and they traffique more by Sea then any other men. But as for the Foot-men, the *Romans* make better vse then the *Carthaginians*, for that they wholy addicte themselves vnto it. In regard of the *Carthaginians*, they are carelesse of Foot-men: As for Horse-men they take some good order. The reason is, for that they employ forceine forces which are Mercenaries: and the *Romans* their owne Nation and Burgesses. Wherefore this Common-wealth is more commendable then the other, the which commits the hope of their liberty to the proweesse of mercenary men: and the *Romans* to their owne virtue and the succour of the Allies. Wherefore if at any time the *Romans* haue made losse in their Principallities,

lities, they resist with all their forces. The *Carthaginians* on the other side, fighting for their Countrey and Children, cannot abate their fury, maintaining the Combate vnto the last gaspe, vntill they haue vanquished the Enemy. Wherefore although the *Romans* be (as I haue said) inferior vnto them in Sea-fights, yet they exceed them in the bountie of their Souldiers. And although that in dangers at Sea, the experiance of nauall combats be of no small importance, yet the proweesse of Souldiers at Sea, is of great profit for the Victory.

C
The *Italians* in truth are of a more excellent disposition then the *Phe-
nicians* or *Lybars*, as well in force of body as in courage: whereunto they vsually incite their Youth. I will tell you on thing which may serue for a great presumption, of the diligence of this Common-wealth, ordained to breed vp such men as will endure any thing, to the end they may purchase praise, vertue, and fame vnto their Countrey. If at any time a man of great fame and note, dies, they bring him with great pompe to the place which they terme for valiant men, where hee is sometimes vpon his feete, but seldom laid along. When as all the people are assembled, if there be any Sonne of his sufficient age, he goes into the Chaire of Orations: if not, some other of his Race, who lets forth the vertue and valour of him deceased. Hence it growes that many, not onely of his Companions in valour, but also others being admonished, and seeing visibly the deeds, haue so great compassion, as the misfortune seemes not onely proper to those which undertake the danger, but common to the people. Finally, after they haue interred him and performed likewise his obsequies, they set his

D
Image vpon the most apparent place in the house, building about it a Chappell of Ioyners worke. The proportion of his face is carefully wrought to the life, according to the forme and stilements. Which Images being shewne in publique Sacrifices, they adorne honourably. What man of some excellent Race is dead, they make his obsequies, and they being about him which seeme to be of the same height, stature, and proportion, they put on a garment bordered with purple, if he had beeene a Consull, or Generall of an Army: or else a Robe of Purple, if a Censor: Or of cloth of Gold, if he hath triumphed, or done any such like thing. These march in a Chariot in this order: Before the which goe the bundles of Rods and Maces, and other things accustomed to honourable persons, according to euery mans authority, with the which during his life he hath beeene honoured in the Common-wealth. Being come to the place of interment, they are all set in Chaires of Iu-

E
dry according to their order: so as a young man that thirsts after glory and fame, can behold nothing more beautifull. For who would not be encouraged, to see the Images of men whom they honour in regard of vertue, and as it were alive? What other spectacle can wee finde more beautifull? Moreover, he that makes the Funerall Oration, begins to speake of his other Kinmen there present, and first of all the most ancient, relating the deeds and imployments of either of them. So as it falls out that by the Commendation of good men, many times remembred by their vertue, their glory is immortall which haue performed

The pompe
of the Romane
to an honourable
pereson.

any honourable action : and their honour which haue serued their Country well, is made knowne to many, and multiplied to posterity. Moreover, young men are encouraged to that resolution, that they are ready to endure any thing that prents it selfe for the publique good, to the end they might purchase the renoume which accompanies good men. Many *Romans* for this cause haue fought man to man, to get an estimation among the people: Others haue chosen an apparent death: some to save others in Battaille: Others to the end they might procure a safety in peace to the Common-wealth. Some also hauing the command of an Army, haue contrary to all custome and law, flaine their owne Children, hauing more regard to the good of the Country, then to the naturall alliance of those which were neerest vnto them. They write diuers other things of many *Romans*: but it shall suffice at this time to produce one for an example and prooef.

They report of *Horatius Cokles*, that when he fought against two, right against the Bridge of *Tiber* before the City, and seeing a multitude of Enemies come to succour them, fearing lest they should force the City, he retired to those that were at his backe, crying vnto them that they should breake the Bridge, and in the meane time maintained the fight with great courage and resolution, receyving manywounds, and stayed the fury of the Enemies: so as they wondred not so much at his forces, as at his resolution and courage. When by the breaking of the Bridge the Enemies enterpize was disappointed, *Cokles* casting himselfe armed into the Riuier, died according to his resolution, esteeming more the preferuation of his Country, and his future glory, then his present life, or that which hee had remaining to liue. It is likely that by such courtes young men were inflamed with a desire to honest actions.

As for that which concernes gaine, the custome and proceeding of the *Romans* is much more excellent then that of the *Carthaginians*, to whom nothing is infamous that brings profit: where there is nothing more vile and base among the *Romans*, then to be corrupted with gifts, and to wrest from another man contrary to duty. The more honourable they esteem a benefit gotten from a great and powerfull man, the more they blame and condemne as infamous abundance purchased by unlawfull meanes. For prooef where of, among the *Carthaginians* they attaine vnto the government which haue openly given presents: whereas among the *Romans* that corruption is punished with death if it be discovered. Wherefore as the rewards of vertue are contrary among them. It is apparent that the institution of these Common-wealths is vnequall in these things. Finally, it seemes that concerning the opinion of the Gods, the *Roman* Common-wealth followes not the best. And I imagine that all the world holds it a dishonour that this is found among their actions. I speake of their superstition. It is in truth preacht among them for so excellent, and so anchored in men, as well in priuate as publicke, as they cannot add any thing, the which in truth will seeme admirable. I am of opinion they haue done it for the common sort. For if the Common-weale could haue assembled wise men

men, this course happily had not beeene necessary. But for that the multitude is light and inconstant, and subiect to disorderd affections, and to vnreasonable distempers of fury and violence, it was fit to restraine them by a disguised feare, and by this kind of strange language. Wherefore the Ancients did not without reason invre the Common sort with the knowledge of the Gods, and with Tales of Hell, which some at this day oppote foolishly and without consideration.

Wherefore in passing ouer with silence others which governe Com-mon-weales, if a man lends to *Grecians* but sixe hundred Crownes, they cannot keepe their Faith, although he hath ten promises, and as many Signatures, and twice as many Witnesses. In regard of the *Romans*, in all their Commands, they which manage great affaires and wealth, performe their duties according to the Faith of their Oaths: whereas in other states thou shalt find few men carefull and sparing of the publique good, and performing the duty of an honest man: so it is a rare thing among the *Romans*, to finde any one accused of such a Crime. That there is corruption and alteration in all things, it is not needfull to speake: For the necessity of Nature will giue sufficient prooef. And as there are two menes by the which every Common-wealth is vsually overthrown, whereof the one is exteriour, and the other of it selfe: That which is exteriour is in its consideration inconstant: But as for the order within it selfe, we haue formerly deliuered what kind the first is, what the second, and how it ends in a third Common-wealth: so as they which can appropriate the beginning of this prefent Subiect to the end, may also fore tell the future: the which in my opinon is manifest.

For when a Common-wealth hath gotten (after many and great dangers avoided) an excellency and vnrifistable power, it is apparent, that growing (as of custome) to abundance of wealth, the expences are more sumptuous, and men grow more quarrelome touching Gouvernments and other Enterprizes. By the continuall whereof begins a change to worse, as to ambition which is a kind of ignomy: Moreover, an arrogant kind of living and sumptuousnesse. The people will leaue this Title of change, when as growne proude with ambition, sweetned with their good words which seeke to gain them by couetousnesse. For then being furious, and managinge all things with rage, they will no more obey their Princes, nor be equal to their Gouvernours, but most commonly will haue all the power. This done, the Common-wealth will change its name into a goodly shew of liberty and a Democracia; but in effect to a most wicked Orchlocracia. Finally, as we haue declared the establishing, increaſe, with the vigour and disposition of the Common-wealth, and the difference from others, and what is good or bad in it, we will here make an end of this Discourse.

Resuming then the parts which coherre with the time of the History, from whence wee strayed, we will in few words make a briefe relation of an action: to the end that not onely in speech, but also in effect, after the manner of a good workeman, we may plainly shew the vigour and power of the Common-wealth, as it was at that time, propounding some

*Hannibal pro
cedding after
the Battaille of
Cannes.*

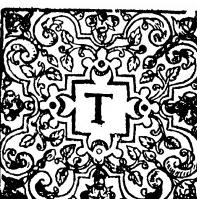
some excellent action. When as *Hannibal* had won the Battaille of *Cannes* against the *Romans*, he tooke eight thousand men Prisoners, which had bin appointed for the guard of the Fort or *Camp*: suffring them all to send to their houses for their Ransome and safety. He sent *teme*, of the most apparent to *Rome*, vpon their Faith to returne againe. Wheras one of them being out of the Fort, was returned, laying that he had forgotten something, and hauing taken that which he had left, he went on his way, thinking by this returne to haue kept his Faith, and to haue made his Oath vnde and viprofitable. When they were come to *Rome*, they intreare the Senate not to hinder the delivery of the Prisoners, and that they would suffer them to pay thirteene *Lucres* for a man, and that they might returne safely to their Families. They sayd that *Hannibal* had so agreed, and that moreouer they were worthy to be preferred, for that they had not playd the Cowards in the Battaille, nor done any act vneworthy of the *Roman* name: But being lefft to guard the *Camp*, all the rest being slaine in Battaille, they had beeene suddenly enuironed and brought vndre the Enemies subiectiōn. But when the *Romans* (hauing made great losses during the *Warres*, and being in a manner abandoned by all their Allies, so as they seemed to be in great danger for their Country) had heard this speech, they were not carelesse of their honour, to yeeld vnto their misfry: neither did they disdaine any thing that was needfull to be done. But considering *Hannibals* intention, who thought by this practice to draw away their Treasure, and withal to dis-inhearten & discourage his enemies in battaille, shewing couerly that the vanquished had yet some hope remaining, and were so farre frome yeelding to that which was required, as they were neither moued to pity the Prisoners, nor made any accompt of the future faule of men: making it knowne (in refusing to redeeme their men) that the conceit and hope which *Hannibal* had in them was vaine. Finally, they haue enioyned their Souldiers by a law, to vanquish infighting or to die, C for that being vanquished there remained no hope of safety. After which things decreed, they sent backe the nine Embassadours, who willingly returned according to their promise, delivering him who had thought cunningly to breake his Faith to the Enemy, bound hand and foote: so as *Hannibal* was not so glad of the Battaille wonne against the *Romans*, as sorrowfull, wondring at the constancy and magnamity of these men in their resolutions.

D

A

A PARCELL OF the Seuenth Booke of the

History of POLYBIVS, concerning the
Accord made betwixt the *Cartha-*
ginians and *Messenians*, with the
taking of the City of the *Sar-*
dines by *Antiochus*.



The City of the *Leontini* is wholly situatēd towards the North: In the midſt whereof is a great place, where there are Pallaces built, Seats of Justice, and a Market place for all Commodities. Vpon euerie ſide of the place is a Hill, with a thicke Rocke, and the plaine of theſe Hills vpon the top, is fill'd with houſes and Temples. Finally, this City hath two Gates: where of the one is towards the South, at the end of the place aboue mentioned, going to *Saragossa*: and the other bendeth to the North, towards the *Leontine* Plaines and the erable Land. But vnder one of the Rocks which lookeſt towards the West, there flowes a Riuere which they call *Lisfor*: where there are houſes builte one againſt another, and many others vnder the Rocke, betwixt the which this Riuere paſſeth. Behold the accord ſworne, which was made by *Hannibal* the Commander, *Maga*, *Mercane*, *Barmecare*, and all the *Carthaginian* Senatores, which were then with *Hannibal*, and the *Carthaginian* Ar-
D my which he had vnder his command, with *Zenophanes* the Son of *Cle-*
omachus, Embassador for the *Athenians*, whom King *Philip* the Sonne of *Demetrius* ſent vnto them as well for himſelfe as for the *Macedonians*, and their Allies: And that before *Jupiter*, *Inua* and *Apollo*: And before the Gods of the *Carthaginians*, *Hercules* and *Iolae*, *Mars*, *Triton*, and *Nep-*
tune: And before the Gods of their Army, the Sun Moone, and Earth: And the Riuers, Gods, and Waues, and finelly before all the Gods which polleſſe *Carthage*, and all those which hold *Macedony* and the rest of *Greece*, and in the preſence of all other Gods which are not compre-
hended

The Riuere
Lifson.
An accord
made betwixt
the Carthaginians,
Macedonians,
and Grecians.

bended in this Oath. Capitaine Hannibal with the Senators of *Carthage* which were with him and the whole Army, haue said: according to your good pleasure and ours, wee Friends, Allies, and Brethren, shall give order to this Accord sworne, concerning the Friendship and good intelligence, so as the Lords of *Carthage*, Capitaine Hannibal and his men, with the other *Carthaginian* Princes, which live vnder the same Lawes, and likewise the *Bisarins*, with all the Cities and Nations subiect to the *Carthaginians*, Souldiers and Allies, and all Cities and people with whom we haue any league or friendship, as wel A in *Italy* and *Spaine*, as in the Countrey of *Genoa*, and if there be any others in this Region with whom we haue any friendship or league, shall be guarded and defended by King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, and all other *Grecians* which are in league with them.

In like manner King *Philip* and the *Macedonians* with the Allies of the other *Grecians*, shall be guarded and defended by the *Carthaginians*, making Warre with them, and by the *Bisarins*, and by all the Cities and Nations acknowledging the Empire of *Carthage*, with their Allies and Souldiers, and all Nations and Citties which are in *Italy*, *Spaine*, and *Genoa*, and all other Allies which are in other Countries of *Italy*. Neither the one nor the other shall haue any practices, nor plot any War B by deuices, being of good affection and intelligence, without fraud or deceit, Enemies to those which shall make Warre against the *Carthaginians*, except the Townes, Citties, and Ports, with whom they haue a sworne league. We likewise shall be Enemies to those which shall make Warre against King *Philip*, except the Citties and Nations with whom we haue sworne friendship. Finally, you shall maintaine our party, in giuing aide and comfort according to the necessity of our affaires, in the War begun betwixt vs and the *Romans*, vntill that by the grace of the Gods you and we may haue a good end. And if by the helpe of the Gods you and we shall consent to treat of friendship with the *Romans* touching the Warre we haue with them, we will treate it in such sort, as you shall be partakers, so as it shall be never lawfull for them to make Warre against you: Neither may the *Romans* rule ouer the *Ceryneians* or *Spolilates*, or *Epidamnes*, or ouer *Phaire*, or *Demale*, the *Partbins*, and the *Antimanica*: And moreouer they shall restore to *Demetrius* of *Phaire* all his Subjects, whom they haue received for BurgesSES. And if it happen that the *Romans* make Warre against vs or you, we shall succour one another as the common necessitie shall require. The like also we will doe, if others make Warre against vs, except the Kings and Nations with whom we are in league. Moreouer, we will adde or diminish what we D shall thinke good of this accord sworne by a common consent.

During these things *Philip* taking the Bowels of the Sacrifices, the which according to the custome were brought vnto him, and bending himselfe a little, he presented them to *Arate*, demanding of him what thole Sacrifices signified, and whether they would abandon that Fort or keepe it still. Then *Demetrius* as the most aged, said: If thou haft the judgment of a warlike King, we will leaue it suddenly, but if the vnderstanding of a warlike King, we will keepe it. And not to abandon it, thou shalt consider

consider of another necessary occasion: For by this meanes in laying hold of the Oxes horns, thou shalt haue it wholy in thy subiecⁿtion. By the horns he meant *Isthomate*, and the *Acrocorinthe*: and by the Ox, *Morea*.

Then *Philip* returning to *Arate*, art thou of this aduise? And when as *Arate* spake nothing, he intreated him to deliuer his opinion: who after he had considered thereon, answered, thou mayst keepe it, if thou canst provide in such sort that the accord with the *Athenians* may not be infring'd. If in taking it thou puts a Garrison, thou shalt loose all the A Fort, and the Garrison it selfe (meaning his fayth) which thou hast received from *Antigonus*, in giving the Guards to the Allies. Consider whether it be now better, that in putting me forth, thou loosest this fidelity, and that by this meanes thou sealest Garrisons over the *Messeniens*, and other Allies. But *Philip* had a great desyre to breake the accord: the which his following actions made manifest. And when he had a little before beeene sharply reprehended by yong *Arate* for the defeat of some men, and that the elder (hauing spoke freely and with authority) had intreated him not to give an easie eare to such speeches as shoulde be vsed vnto him, shame restrained him: and taking his right hand, well sayd he, let vs follow the same course.

In regard of the City of the *Sardins*, there were continually combats and dangerous encounters. For the souldiers of ethyer side studied day and night to frustrate one anothers policies by new intentions: to write all which in particular would be no lesse vnprofitable then tedious. And whenas the siege had continued full two yeeres, *Lagoras* of *Candy*, a man well experienced in the art of warre, hauing considered with himselfe, that many times strong Cities fall easily into the Enemies hands, by the negligence of the inhabitants, who relying vpon their fortifications made as well by nature as art, assire themselves and grow idle: And C knowing likewise how they are accustomed to set guards in strong places, which might make heads against the Enemies attempts: Seeing likewise according to his conceit the despaire of them all, that they should not be able to take the *Sardin* Fort by this meanes; and that want of victuals and munition, remained for their last hope to take it: The more he considers thereden, and studies by what meanes he might finde some occasion to surprize the City. And when as afterwards he found that the courting of the place, which they call *Serie* (it is that which ioynes the City with the Fort) was without guard, it happened A signe of the *Sardin* negligenc^e, that according to his hope and opinion, he discouered the negligence of the guard by his presumption.

D This place was very rough and steepe, hauing a valley neere vnto ie, into the which they of the City cast their dead carriion: Whither reported a great number of vulture and other rauining Birds. When this man saw that these Birds after they were full gorg'd, perch daily vpon the top of the valley, and on the wall, he knew thereby, that of necessitie this courtie was abandoned, and for the most part without guard. Then approaching wifely in the night, hee sought meanes to get vp. And when he found that in a certaine place of the valley they might alced

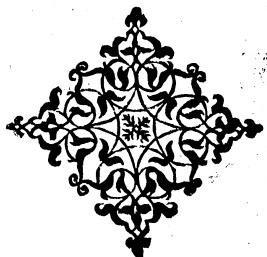
ascend, he aduertised the King. Who conceiuing a good hope, perswaded *Lagoras* to continue his enterprize, promising to doe what possibly hee could. *Lagoras* intreats the King, to give him for companions *Theodore* the *Etolien*, and *Denis* Captaine of his guard, and that hee would command them to bear him company to lay this Ambush: For they seemed to bee able men and sufficient for this enterprize. And when the King had satisfiyed his demand, they agree together, and by a common conseent make choyce of a night, wher as part of the morning had no moone-light. After which the day before at Sunne-setting, they make choyce of fiftene strong and resolute men, A to mount vp the ladders with them, and to gaine the wall, who in this hardy enterprize shalbe their companions.

Then they chose thirtyother, to ly a little distant of in Ambush: to the end that when they had recovered the wall, they should fall vpon the next gate, and striue to breake the hinges and ioynets, and the others within the barres and lockes. They also appoynt two thousand men in the reare of these, who entring with them, should recover the place of the Theater: The which was made so conveniently, as it was opposite to the approaches of those of the Forts and those of the City. Moreouer to auoyd the suspition of the truth, in regard of the choyce of these men, he gaue order that the *Etoliens* shalbe give an assaile vnto the City by a certaine valley: And therefore it was needfull that these shalbe seconde them, according to a signe which shalbe giuen them. When as all things were ready, and the Moone growne darke they which were *Lagoras*, taking the ladders, approacht closely to the top of the valley, and hid themselves vnder the rocke.

When at the breake of day they had relieved the watch which was on that side, and the King had sent (as of custome) others to second them, and had appoynted a good number for a place where they runne their horses, no man suspected any thing of the enterprize: But when C as the two ladders were set vp against the wall, where *Denis* on the one, and *Lagoras* on the other mounted first vnto the top, their grew a great noyse, and alteration in the Campe. It so fell out that they which mounted the ladders, could not be discouered by them of the City, nor by the rest which were in the Fort vnder *Achaeus*, by reason of the Rocke which aduanced ouer the valley. But their courage which ascended the wall and assailed the City, was apparant to the Army. Wherefore some wondred at there incredible resolution, others foreseeing the future, and fearing, remained partly amazed, and partly ioyfull. Wherfore the King seeing the alteration in his Campe, desiring also to diuert D this fancies, as well from his owne men, as from those of the City, he led forth his Army, and besieged the two Gates, which they call *Persides*. On the other side *Achaeus*, seeing the Enemies alteration more then of custome, was in great doubt, being ignorant of the present cause, and could not understand the practise. Yet he sent men to the Gate, which succours came somewhat late, for that they descended by straights and hollow places, *Aribaze* who was Captaine of the City, went simply

simply to the Gates, which he had scene *Antiochus* assaile: appoynting some to goe vnto the wall, others to make fallies by the Gate, to keepe the Enemy from approaching, and to fight with them. In the meane time *Lagoras*, *Theodore*, and *Denis*, with their troupe, having recovered the walls, came to the Gate vnderneath, whereof some maintayned the charge which the Inhabitants gaue them, others brake the barres and bolt of the Gates. The like did they without which were appoynted to that Quarter. When as the gate was opened, the other two thousand entred the City, and seize vpon the place of the Theater. This done, all they which had roghte to the walls, and to the Gate which they call *Perside*, who had bee sent by *Aribaze* to defend it, against the Enemies assaile, came running thither. After which retreate, the Gate was opened, so as some of the Kings troupe purusing those which abandoned it, entred pell mell. When they had taken the Gate by force, some entred the City, others forced the next Gates. They that were of *Aribaze*s band, with all the Citizens, recouerted the Fort by flight, after they had made some little resistance. After this route; *Lagoras* and *Theodore*s band stood firme in the place of the Theater, seruing as a Fort to all the rest. Finally the rest of the Army charging of all sides tooke the City. By this meanes, the City was wholly sackt and ruined, some killing those they encountered, others setting fire of the houses, and some gaping after spoyle for their priuate profit. And thus *Antiochus* vanquished the *Sardines*.

The City of
the Sardines ta-
ken by assault.



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A

A PARCELL OF the Eighth Booke of the History of POLYBIUS, concerning the Difference of a Particular and Ge- nerall History.

B

O man can justly say, if they to whom these kindes of Calamities and disafters haue befalne, ought to be blamed or censured, or shalde worthy of pardon and pity in regard thereof: For that it falls and happens to many (to whom all things haue beeene done conformable and agreeable vnto treason) to bee subiect to those which transgrefſe with great defire, the things which are iust and reasonable before men. Yet wee may not be ſilent here, being neceſſary (hauing regard to the time and circumſtance of accidents) to blame ſome Capitaines, and to pardon others: The which will appear plainly by this. When *Archidamus* King of the *Lacedemonians* ſuſpected that *Cleomenes* adpired to the Crowne, he fled from *Lacedemon*. Who ſoone after being againe perſwaded, put himſelfe into his hands. Being therefore by this meane ſtript of Crowne and Life, hee hath left no excuse to posterity, of thoſe things which he hath ſuffered. For what colour is there, the caufe being ſtill the ſame, and *Cleomenes* power increasing, but he ſhould ſuffer the things which we haue ſpoken, hauing put himſelfe into their hands, from whom he formerly had fled, giuing order for his ſafety contrary to all hope? Although that *Pelopidas* of *Thebes* had beeene the caufe of King *Alexander*’s iniquity, and that hee knew well, that all Tyrants are capitall Enemies to thoſe which defend liberty, yet he perſwaded *Epatinundas*

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to be Gouernour not only of the popular Common-weale of the *Thebains*, but also of the *Grecians*. And as he was an Enemy to *Tessaly*, to the end he might ruine the Monarchy of *Alexander*, yet he preſumed to go the ſecond time in Embaſſie unto him. Wherefore when he fell into the hands of his Enemies, hee was the caufe of great prejuſcie to the *Thebains*, and the ruine of their glory, which vntill that time they had preſerved: for the confidence he had in thoſe, whom he ſhould not haue truſted.

The like hapned to *Cheius* Chiefe of the *Romans*, during the Warre of *Sicily*, for that he had indifferently thrust himſelfe into the Enemies power. Diuers others haue ſuffered the like. Wherefore they are worthy of blame, who without great conſideration, ſubmit themſelves unto their Enemies, and not they who (asmuch as in them lies) managed their Affaires diſcretely: for in trut̄ no man can gouerne them well, relying vpon another. If thou doſt them by certaine occaſions, which are conformable to reaſon, thou ſhalte be blaſmeleſſe. The moſt likely cauſes of this kind are, an Oath, Children, Wife, and for the moſt certaine, the fore-paſſed life. And if it happens that vnder colour of theſe things, thou falſt into an inconuenience, the fauſte ſhall not bee thine in ſuffering, but theirs who commit the wrong. Wherefore we muſt ſeeke ſuch Argumēnts and aſſurances, as in regard thereof, he in whom you truſt, may not breake the faith which hee hath giuen. But for that there are ſew ſuch, the beſt will bee to haue a care of thoſe which are conformable to reaſon: ſo as if wee be deceued therein, wee may not loſe our excuſe with ſtrangers: the which hath hapned to many of our Predeceſſors.

It is a thing much more maniſt in thoſe times whereof we haue made mention, and of a later date, in that which hath befalne *Achens*: who fell into his Enemies hands, although hee omitted nothing that might be done for his ſafety, prouiding for all things as muſt humane ſenſe could eſſect. Wherefore the evenet hath cauſed commiſſion and pardon, in him which hath ſuffered with ſtrangers; and blame and hatred to thoſe which haue done the outrage. Moreouer, I do not find it ſtrange to my Enterprize and firſt intention; to aduerſe the Readers of the greatness of theſe things, and of the ambitious deſire of the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* Common-weales. Who will not hold it fit to be conſidered, how the Gouernours of ſuch great Cities, not being ignorant of the things which had happened in *Italy* and *Spaine*, hauing moreover of either ſide an equall hope of the future, and a preſent danger of the Warre; haue not beeene contented with this apparent diſcommodity, but contended for *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, imbracing the whole, not onely in hope, but with Expences and Preparations of Warre, which will mooue any man to wonder, that ſhall obſerve it all in particular? The *Romans* had two ſufficient Armies in *Italy* with their Consuls for their preſeruations: And two others in *Spaine*, where *Cneius* had the leading of that by Land, and *Publius* of the other by Sea. These are things which happened to the *Carthaginians*. Moreouer they ſent an Army by Sea, to croſſe the attempts

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tempts of Philip in Greece : In the which Marcus Valerius commanded first, then Publius Sulpicius, with whom Appius likewise ioyned with a hundred Quinqueremes. Moreouer Marcus Claudius furnished with an Army at Land, had assailed Sicily : The like Amilcar had done being sent by the Carthaginians.

By the which things I am confident, (the which I haue often spoken in the beginning of this Worke,) to find a certaine assurance by the accidents which consist in this, that it is not possible for thofe which write particular Histories, to be able to obserue the general disposition of things: For how is it possible, that he which doth barely read the Exploits of Sicily and Spaine, can know or conceiue the greatness and continuance of Actions, nor is what sort or forme of a Commonwealth, Fortune hath brought it to an end? The which is very admirable to vs, for that all the Countries of the World, which are come to the knowledge of men, are subiect to one Empire and Power, the which hath not formerly bee[n]e.

It istre, that it is not impossible to vnderstaund in some sort by particular Histories, how the Romans haue Conquered Sicily and Spaine: But it is a difficult thing to know in what sort they haue attained to this Vniuersall power and Command: Nor to what v[e]r particular Actions haue serued to their general Enterprise, nor with what succours, nor at what time they haue attempted it, without a full and general History of the proceedings: neither will it be easie for the same causes, to consider the greatness of Actions, nor the power of this Commonwealth. For in that the Romans haue Conquered Sicily and Spaine, and haue made Warre there both by Sea and Land, it is no wonder if one man deliver it is particular. But if we consider that when these things hapned, this powerfull Commonwealth had ended many others, and at the same time, and how it was effected, and with what calamities and Warre, they were afflictid in their own Region, which performed these Exploits at that time, finally their deedes wilbe held glorious and admirable; and then the knowledge of these things will square well. This Discourse shalbee directed vnto thofe, who by particular Commentaries, thinke they are able to attaine vnto the knowledge of a generall History.

Marcus furnished with an Army of threescore Quinqueremes, sailed to Aetrandine, either of which were armed with men, carrying Bowes, Slings, and Darts to repulse thofe which shold defend the Forts. Hee had also eight Quinqueremes furnished with Palliades, awfull on the right as left side: with the which being ioyned together with two thin inclosures, they approach vnto the Wall, by means of the Pallida. Dido set without the inclosure, and they call them Sambuques. The manner of ording the same Engines was in this sort. They had within the Ship a Ladder of fourte foote broad, to the end that at the Descent it might come to the top of the Wall: Vpon the sides thereof they made stayes, and armed them with a covering for defence, setting them crosse the inclosures, which kept the Shippes united together, so as they did passe much beyond the Prowe or fore part of the Shippe. There,

The order of
the Engines of
Battery.

There were pulleys fastned with Cords to the top of the Masts: and when as necessity required, they drew thole which were at the poope or hinder part by the pulleys, with Cords tyed to the top of the ladder. The others which were at the Prowe, assurid the Engine with stayes: and finally they approach it to the wall, drawing neare to Land by the nauigation of the ships, which was done by the meanes of two Palliades which are placed without. On the top of the ladder ther was a planke, which couered thre superfcies with Persian Targets, to the which fourt Souldiers mounted, and fought against thofe which from the Forts sought to hinder the approach of the Sambuques. When by the ioyning of the ladder they haue gained the wall, in disarming the sides of their Targets, they mount to the Forts or Towers. The rest follow them by the Sambuques, by meanes of the transport of the ladder from Vessel to Vessel by ropes. Finally, this Engine was not vnfitly so calld. For being finished and set vp, the figure of the ship and ladder reduced into one, make it like vnto a Sambuque. They imagined to come close vnto the Wall with this Engine.

But Archimedes having made prouision of Engines fit for all distances, troubled them at Sea much, and thrust them into despair, annoyng them a farre off with casting Engines which were strong and great. But if they went beyond them, he v[er]sed lesser Engines according to the distance, which disappointed and hindred their Enterprize and nauigation: vntill that Marcu[m] being much perplexed, was forced to make his approaches couerten in the Night. When they had recouered Land, and were out of the Battery, he made another kind of Engine against thofe which were to fight by Sea. For hee made many holes in the Wall without, the height of a man, and of the bignesse of a mans hand, where hee appointed within casters of Darts, and of Engines to repulse, making by the meanes thereof the Enemies attempts in their mounting vnproufitable.

C By this meanes he not onely repulsd them farre off, and preuented their attempts neare, but also slew many of them. And whereas they made vfe of their Sambuques, he likewise set vp Engines, to pull them ouer the Wall: and kept them alwaies hidden vntill necessity required, setting them vpon the Walles within, to passe forth and fall vpon the sayle-yards: some of them cast Stones, or Lead of twelve hundred waight. And whenas the Sambuques approach somerimes in turning, they cast from the top of the Engines with a Tower, Stones against them as necessity required. So as not onely the Sambuque hath bee[n]e broken, but also the Vessel: and all they that were within it in great danger. Againe, some Engines cast lesser Stones vpon the Enemy, comming to the assault couered with Targets, to the end they might not bee annoyed with the Darts and other Weapons, which they cast from the Wall, that they which fought in the Prowe might bee repulsd.

They likewise let downe a hand of Iron tyed to a Chayne, the which laying hold of him which governed the toppe, drew the Prowe withia the Walles with the rayle of the Engine. And if at any time in rayling the Prowe, hee set the Shippe vpon its Poope, he

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hee held it firme and vnmoueable by his instrument, then by a kind offaour he let slip the hand and the chaine by the Engine. By this meanes some fell vpon their sides, others were ouerthrowne, a great part of them (the Prow falling from the top to the botome) were drowned with great confusion. *Marcus* discontented with *Archimedes* repulses, seeing likewise his men preuented in their attempts, to his prejudice and disferece, layd (although hee were grieved with his misfortune) in scoffing at the deeds of *Archimedes*, that he vled his shippes as they do potts, to draw water out of the Sea, and that being battred and beaten, they were as disloyall fallen infamously. This was the end of the Siege at Sea. In regard of those which were with *Appius*, they cealed from their attempts, having endured the like afforts and losses. For although they were a good distance from the Wall, yet they were hurt and slaine with their casting of Stones and Darts.

In truthe the Art, the number and the effect of all manner of Engines, whereof King *Heron* had made good prouision, was admirable, the which *Archimedes* had forgd and made, being the Architect and Engineere. And when as they appraocht the City, some of them (as we haue sayd) were flaine with their Arrowes, and continually repulld from their appauches: Others couered with Targets, and therefore assailing with greater force, were ouerthrowne, and flaine with Stones and the bodies of Trees: A good number likewise were flaine by the hands descending from the Engines as we haue sayd. For they cast downe men being taileid vp on high with their Armes. Wherefore they of *Appius* Army retirg to their Campe, and holding a Councell with the Captaines, were all of one opinion, and resoluod to try all manner of hope, to take *Saragoſſe* by siege: the which in the end they did. For when they had besieged this City for the space of eight Moneths, they cealed not daily to make braue and valiant enterprizes of Warre: But they neuer durst attempt to take it by force.

By this meanes a man with good fortune seemed to bring to an end great and admirable things, when as they are fitly loynd together in great affaires. Finally, the *Romanes* hauing such great Armies both by Sea and Land, attened to take the Towne speedily, if they could get an old man out of *Saragoſſe*, not daring to approach it, whilst that *Archimedes* were present and could defend it. Wherefore conceiving that *Saragoſſe* might be taken for want of victuals and munition, confidering the great multitude which was in the City, they relied vpon this hope: and hindred by an Army at Sea that nothing might approach, and by that at Land, that no succours might come. Moreover, the Commanders being loath to spend the time invaine, during the siege of *Saragoſſe*, but withall to vndertake some good thing beside the siege, they diuided their Army in such sort, as two parts should remaine with *Appius* for the siege of the City: And that *Marcus* with the third part should assaile the *Carthaginians*, who sent an Army into *Sicili*.

Finally, *Philip* hauing made the *Atlesiens* his mortall Enemies, could

could in nothing offend them that was worthy of fame: Although hee had assailed their Countrey to torment them, vsing great indigrities to his best Friends. For soone after hee caused old *Arate* to bee poisoined in *Messene*, for that hee was discontented with his course of life. The like hee did to *Taurion*, who had serued him in *Mores*. Wherefore these his Actions were presently divulged and made knowne to strangers. His power over those whom hee then defected was not new, but long before vsed, and practised by custome: neither was *Arate* ignorant of this mischiefe, the which was discouered by this *A* meanes. And as he had concealed it from all others, yet he did not hide it from *Cebalon* one of his familiar Friends: But declared vnto him his infirmitie, the which appeared by the bloody spittle against the wall, saying: Behold *Cebalon*, the recompence wee reape by *Philip's* Friendshipe.

Truely, Mediocrity is so great and honest, as hee which suffers, is more ashamed of the deed, then he that hath committed it. But such rewards they reape of Friendshipe, that haue become Companions in such great Actions, and done seruice to *Philip*. Finally, *Arate* after his death received sufficient honours, both in his Countrey and the Common weale of the *Acheans*, as well for the government which hee had often in charge, as for the many fauours he did vnto that Nation. They decreed him Oblations and Heroyike honours, and finally, all things which serue to perpetuate the memory: so as if the Dead haue any sense, it is likely he commends the acknowledgement done vnto him, and the communication of affliction and dangers which haue happened in his life time.

As *Philip* had long denised how to take *Liffe*, and its Fort, desiring to reduce those places vnder his obediencie, hee drew thither with his Army. Hauing marcht two dayes, and past the strights, hee campt neare vnto the Riuere of *Ardaxana*, neare vnto the City. And when *C* he had viewed the situation of *Liffe*, excellently well fortifiid both by nature and industry, as well towards the Sea as Land: And likewise the Fort ioyning neare vnto it, the which in shew was impregnable to all the World by force, as well for its extent vpwards, as for the other fortification, he despaired to take it, yet he did not wholly despaire to take the Towne. Considering therefore that the space betwixt the Towne & the Mount of the Fort, was reasonable to beseige the Towne, he thought good to make a Skirmish there with his Archers, which was then his manner of proceeding: Suffering then the *Macedonians* to rest a day, whom he aduertised of things necessary, he layd an Ambush in the Night of a great part, and the ablest of his men, in certayne woody Valleys, and neare vnto a Mediterranean place, lying aboue the place wherof we haue spoken: and retaining for the day following those that were armid with Targets, and the rest of the nimbleſt Souldiers, hee takes his way forthwith towards the City, marching of either ſide to-wards the Sea.

When hee had past beyond it, and had made a ſtand there, it was apparent that hee meant to affaile the City in that place. As this coniung

Philip causid
Arate to be
poisoined.

Honours done
to *Arate* after
his death.

A fally made by
them of *Liffe*.

couning of *Philip* was not vndeowne, so a great number out of *Selonia* were come into *Liffe*. It is true that for the great confidence they had in the fortification of the Fortress, they sent but a meane Garrison. Wherefore when the *Macedonians* approach, the Inhabitants presently made a fally, relying in their multitude and the force of the place. The King ordred the Targetteers in the plaine, commanding the most active to recover the hills, and to fight valiantly with the Enemy. The which they performing, the danger seemed something equal. But in the end *Philip's* men retired, for the difficulty of the place and the multitude of their Enemies. And as they retired to them that were armed with Targets, they of the City purusing them with a kind of chalaine into the Plaine, fought with the Targetteers. They likewise whilc had the guard of the Fort, seeing *Philip* retire by little and little with his Troupes, and imagining that he was going away, came running earnestly, trusting in the nature of the place: Then leaving few men within the Fort, they came by vndeowne ways into the Plaine, as if they were to take the spoiles of their flying Enemies.

But in the meane time they which were in Ambush, rise suddenly and gave a furious charge with the Targetteers vpon the Enemies. The multitude was herewith to amazd, as the *Lifians* retired for their safety to the City. In regard of those which had abandoned the Fort, their returne was cut off by the Ambush. Whereby it happened that where, as before there was no hope, now the Fort was presently taken, and without danger, and *Liffe* the next day by the valour of the *Macedonians*; and by their rough and terrible assaults *Philip* having conquered the said places contrary to his hope, he made all the Neighbourhoods therabouts subject unto him, so as a great part of *Selonia*, offered to submit their Townes to his protection. It is true, there were no Forts that could endure the violence of *Philip*: neither any safety for those which resisted, after the taking of the said Forts by assault.

Liffe taken by
Bolis.

Bolis.

Sofibus.

Bolis was a man borne in *Candy*, who had long frequented the Court, and was aduanced to the priue dignitie. Hee seemed to be very wise and resolute, with no lesse experiance in the Warre. Whom when *Sofibus* had gain'd, and made affectionate vnto him, he commanded him (after a long speech) to put a businesse in execution, telling him, that there was not any thing at that time, could be more pleasing vnto the King, then to finde meanes to sauc *Achaea*. The which *Bolis* having heard, and promised to consider thereon, he retired. Two or three dayes after, when he had thought of this Discouerfe, hee came to *Sofibus*, and vnderooke to effect it: saying, that he had long held the porcie of the *Sardins*, and had good knowledge of the Country: Adding moreover, that *Cambyle*, Capraine of the *Candots* which are in pay with *Antiochus*, was not only a Burgesse, but also his kinsman and friend. It happened that *Cambyle* and the *Candots* that were vnder his charge, had the guard of the backpart of the Fortress, which was not fortifiid, but it was guarded by a multitude of *Cambyle's* Souldiers. Whenas *Sofibus* found this aduise good, studying how hee might free *Achaea* from calamity, or whether it were better to attempt it by some other

man

Sofibus.

man then *Bolis*, but his humour concurring with *Bolis*, the businesse tooke this effect. *Sofibus* deliuered money preuently, to the end nothing shold bee wanting for the Enterprize, promising great rewards if it succeeded well. So promising the Kings fauour, and that of *Achaea* if hee might bee preferred, hee fedde *Bolis* with great hopes.

This man being ready to vndertake the Enterprize, without any longer expeciance imbarke: and hauing Letters of Recomendation and credit, hee goes to *Nicomache* at *Rhodes*, who seemed to be affected to *Achaea*, as well for his Fathers loue, as for particular Friendship: And likewise to *Melancone* in *Ephesus*. These in truth were the men, of whose meanes *Achaea* had formerly made vse, as well comming to *Ptolomy*, as in other forreine and remote places.

Being come to *Rhodes*, and afterwards to *Ephesus*, hauing acquainted them with this businesse, and finding them ready in any thing hee desired, hee sent *Arian* (being one of those that were vnder his charge) to *Cambyle*, saying that he had beeene sent from *Alexandria*, to leuy forreine Souldiers, and that he had a great desire to conserue with him concerning matters of importance: And therefore he desired to appoint a time and place where they might meeet vndeowne to the World. *Arian* came to *Cambyle*, discouering vnto him his charge: whereunto hee gaue eare, being ready to doe that whereunto they prest him, appointing a day and place knowne to them both: whither being come in the Night, he sent backe *Arian*.

As *Bolis* was a *Candot*, and cunning by Nature, he studied of the resolution inquiring of althings. Finally, according to the agreement of *Arian*, he goes to *Cambyle*, and deliuers him the Letters: whereon they advise and consult after the manner of *Candots*. For they had no care to succour *Achaea* being in danger, but onely to prouide for their owne safety and commodity.

And as they were both *Candots*, they were soone of one opinion as followeth: That the ten Talents which *Sofibus* had delivered, should be equally diuided betwixt them: and then they shold discouer the businesse to *Antiochus*, to make vse of him, and promise to deliuere *Achaea* into his hands, in giuing them money, and hopes worthy of their attempt. Thesethings being thus concluded, *Cambyle* undertakes that which concernes *Antiochus*: *Bolis* on the other side resolues within certaine daies to send *Arian* to *Achaea* with Letters of recommendation from *Nicomache* and *Melancone*. But certching the meanes how *Arian* might enter safelly into the Fort and returne, he gives him charge to doe his duty. If this were done, and that *Achaea* made answere to those things which concerne *Nicomache* and *Melancone*, *Bolis* held himselfe assured, that he might well deliuere him into the hands of *Cambyle*.

After this resolution they part, eyther of them striving to effect that which they had concluded. *Cambyle* imbracing the first occasion, discouered the businesse vnto the King. As this promise pleased *Antiochus*, which ofter it selfe contrary vnto his hope, so he tooke it partly joyfully, promising great matters: pirtly distrusting, he confidered

Nⁿ 3

A Treason
practised a
gainst *Achaea*
by *Cambyle*
and *Bolis*.

of

of either of their opinions and resolutions. But in the end giving credite, thinking that this Enterprize came Divinely vnto him, he often intreated Cambyle to bring it to an end. Bolis wrought in like manner with Nicomache and Melancombe. Who thinking these things to be guided by God, they suddenly prepare Letters from Arian, directing them to Achæus, Written by their Comonsent, as they had bin accustomed: And in sending them they perwaded Achæus to give credit to those things which Bolis and Cambyle shoulde doe. They were written in such sorte, as being surprized they could not be understood:

Arian enters the Fort by the helpe of Cambyle, and delivers the Letter to those that were with Achæus: and instructs him diligently of every thing, as one who from the beginning had beeene present at that which was practised. And although hee answered ofter for Sofbius and Bolis, then of Nicomache and Melancombe, and likewise for Cambyle, so hee often maintained by his owne inuention, the Argumens which they made: And the rather being ignorant of that which had bene resolued bewixt Cambyle and Bolis. Achæus giuing credit, awell in regard of Arian answered, as of the Letters of Nicomache and Melancombe, made an answer, and sent Arian presently backe. And as this busynesse was handled often of either side, in the end Achæus people sent B word of themselves to Nicomache, that there was no more hope of safety remayning: And aduise him to send away Bolis with Arian at mid-night, as it were to take them. The resolution of Achæus was, that first he would flye the present danger, and then recouer Syria.

Finally, he was in a wonderfull hope, that if suddenly and contrarie to all hope he shewed himselfe to the Inhabitants of Syria, Antiochue being yet tyed at Sardony, he shoulde cause a great alteration, purchasing great prale, awell with the Antiocheinis, as with the inhabitants of base Syria, and Phœcia. Achæus being in this hope and conceit, expected the comming of Bolis. In regard of Melancomes peoples, after the comming of Arian, and the Letters read, they presently C send away Bolis with all spedee, making him great remonstrances, and putting him in great hope, if he effected his Enterprize. Bolis sending Arian before, aduertised Cambyle of his comming, and came by night to the place appointed. And when they had agreed on the day, and had resolued how to bring all to an end, they entred the Campe at night. This was their resolution: If it hapened that Achæus came out of the Fort alone, or accompaied with some one with Bolis and Ari- an, he might be taken with an Ambush as abandoned. But if he came forth well accompanied, the busynesse would prooue difficult, to D those to whom they had giuen the charge. Finally, they thought to take him aliue, knowing that by this meane they shoulde do great pleasure to Antiochue. Wherefore they gaue charge vnto Arian to march before, when he shoulde draw forth Achæus, for that he knew the turnings, by the which he had often entred and come forth. Bolis was to follow the rest behind, to the end that being come vnto the place, where the Ambush shoulde be ready by Cambyle, he might feaze vpon Achæus and slay him, fearing that through the Allarum in the night, he

he might save himselfe through the Forrest; or being in Despaire, he might cast himselfe into some pit: and contrary to their Resolution, fall aliue into the Enemies hands.

Thefe things being thus concluded, when Bolis came to Cambyle, he was the same night brought by him to Antiochue being alone. And when the King had received him graciously, and had assured them of his promises, making remonstrances to either of them, not to be negligent in the busynesse, they then returned to their Campe. In the morning Bolis accompanied with Arian ascended, and at night they enter

A the Fort. Achæus receiuing him with great affection and loue, demanded many things of him diligently. And as hee obserued a well the countenance, as the familiar speech wherewith Bolis assyed the plot, he shewed partly a ioyfull countenance, for the hope of his fately: So he partly languished, for the apprehension of the future danger. But for that he was a man of a great Spirit and great Experience, he did not hold it fit to relye wholy vpon Bolis. And therefore he vled this Speech vnto him: That for the present hee could not goe forth; and that hee would send three or four of his friends with him, and that after conuerence with Melancombe he would be ready. Achæus in B truthe did all that coulde be done: But hee was ignorant of the common Proverbe: *That hee must Candize with the Candyot*. Bolis likewise had fore-seene all things which concerned this busynesse.

But when the night came, in the which he sayd he would send his friends, sending Arian and Bolis before ouer of the Fort, he commanded them to attend vntill the comming of those which shoule goe with them. Wherunto obeying, in the meane time he conferres with his Wifre. But for that he had amazed Laodicea, with a busynesse not fore-seene, he stayed some time vntill he had pacified her, and brought her to an expeciance of good hope. Then making the fist, he arriet C the others meanyly, and himselfe puts on an old and simple Robe, shewing himselfe to be a man of a base condition: and so he goes forth. He had given charge to one of his Friends to answere Arian continually to all that he shoulde propound, and that he shoulde learme of him whither they went, and shoulde speake of the rest as of Barbarians. When they were come to Arian, he went before for the knowledge hee had of the way.

In regard of Bolis he followed behinde, according to the first resolution, being doubtfull of that which was offered. For although hee were a Candyot, and did due into all things nearely, yet he could not D know Achæus, by reason of the darknesse of the night, nor yet whether he was there. And as the descent was rough, and for the most part vna-easie, and in some place vnsafe and dangerous for the steypnies, and being come vnto a certaine place, where as some helde Achæus and o-thers received him, (at that time in truth they could not wholy forbear to yeild him their accustomed reuerence) then Bolis suddenly knew which was Achæus. When hee came to the place appointed to Cambyle, and that Bolis had giuen them a signe by his whistling, they of the Ambush issue forth and take the rest: But Bolis seazed vpon Achæus, ha-

To Candize
with the Candyot.

Laodicea the
wife of Achæus;

*schems taken
and brought to
Antiochus.*

*The Race of
Achæus.*

*The condem-
nation & death
of Achæus.*

*The strong fort
yielded to An-
tiochus.*

using his hands wrapt vp in his Robe, fearing that in discouering the Ambush, he shold attempt to kill himselfe : for hee had a Sword ready. Being thus fuddainly inuironed, he fell into the hands of his Enemies, and was presently led to *Antiochus* with his friends. The King remaining in suspence, expecting what would become of it, hee was alone in his Tent waking accompanied onely with two or three of his guard. But when as *Cambyses* Company was arrived, and had layed *Achæus* bound vpon the ground, his Speech failed him for so strange an accident ; so as he continued long without speaking : And in the end toucht with Commiseration and pity, the teares came into his eyes : A the which in my opinion hapned by a Consideration, that thole things which Fortune brings, are inevitable and vncertainte.

Achæus was sonne to *Andromachus*, brother vnto *Laodicea* the Wife of *Selucus*, and he had married *Laodicea* daughter to King *Methridate*, and withall hee was Lord of all the Region on this side Mount *Tauris*. As hee was then held to liue in a place of his owne wonderfull strong for the Enemy, so he was now set vpon the ground bound and manacled in their hands : Neither was there any man that knew of the fact, but those which had the Execution. But when the day was come, and that the friends (according to the custome) were come vnto the Tent, B and saw this accident, it hapned vnto them as it had done formerly vnto the King. For in wondring at the busynesse, they were in doubt of those things which they saw. When the Councell was assembled, they spake many things of him touching his deafeate. First they decreed, that his hands and feete should be cut off, and then hauing taken of his Head it should be fowed to an Asses skinne, and the rest of his body hanged vpon a Croffe. Which being Executed and the Army hearing thereof, the fury and alteration was so great in the Campe, as *Laodicea*, who knew nothing but the departure of her Husband, looking from the Fort, conjectured of that which had happened by the trouble and alteration in the Campe. C

A Herald was presently sent vnto *Laodicea*, who aduertised her of those things which had besafne *Achæus*, commanding to consider of Her estate, and to leaue the Fort. At the first they which held it made so great cries and lamentations, as they could giue no awnse : Not so much for the affection they bare to *Achæus*, as for the accident which seemed to them all vnlooked for and not fore-seene. Finally, they were in great doubt what they shold do. *Antiochus* after the ruine of *Achæus*, preft the besieged more violently, perwading himselfe that in the end hee shold haue meanes to take it by the Souldiers themselues : D the which happened accordingly. For they beeing diuided among themselues, they parted into Troupes, some holding for *Ariobaze*, others for *Laodicea*. After which, both parties yeilded for their mutuall distrust, and deliuere the place.

To conclude, as *Achæus* had done what hee could in reason, (being vanquished by the wickednesse of those which assured him) lost his life, seruing for a profitable Example to posterity for two catiles. First, that no man shold rely simply vpon any : And next, that no man shold

mistake

mistake himselfe for his good Fortune, but be prepared for all accidents, which may happen to man. And therefore in the beginning they goe forth, as it were to take some spoiles, and come by night to the *Carthaginians* Campe : Others held the close way, staying at a certaine place full of Woods. But *Philimeone* and *Nicon* approach the Campe : Who on the Watch led Prisoners to *Hannibal*, they never discouering whereof whence nor what they were : making onely a signe that they would speake with the Generalls.

Being then brought vnto *Hannibal*, they told him that they would speak with him in secret. Who giving them Audience with great affection, they excuse themselves and their Countrey, accusing the *Carthaginians* in many foirs, to the end they shold not seeme to be come forth about this busynesse without cause. Wherefore *Hannibal* com-mended them much, and enterained them curteously : Finally, hee sent them backe to retorne speedily to conferre with him, ordering for the present that these men should be let goe : when they were out of the Campe, and in the meane time he would consider what shold be most fit. This he did to haue conference with these young men, and to inquire of their affaires : And to the end they shold keepe their credit ^{Trumpon bei-} ^{tryal to Hanno-} ^{withal.} with the Citizens, as if by the Captaines leaue they had made incursions for spoile.

When as *Nicon* had Executed his Charge, *Hannibal* was very well satisfied and ioyfull : For that he might haue meanes to effeit his Enterprize which was then difficult. *Philimeone* on the other side affected the busynesse propounded, for that they had giuen him a safe access to speake, and he had found *Hannibal* very attentive, promising him to giue store of Victuals to the Citizens. Then they not onely got credite with the *Tarantins*, but moreover they had good Traime, as well for the accord made, as for the Victuals wherof they had sufficient. Afterwards making a second incursion, and putting every thing in Execution, they assurid *Hannibal* : and were likewise assurid by him, (that is to say,) that the *Carthaginians* shold leaue the *Tarantins* in their Liberty, nor oppressing them with any Subdigne or Tribune, nor with any other impost : Being also lawfull for them, after they had Conquered the City, to ruine the *Romans* Houses. Finally they agreed, that when they shold come vnto the Campe, the Watch shold presently take them.

Which things being concluded, they had power to come and speake often with *Hannibal*: parting from the City sometimes to get spoile, and sometimes to Hunt. These things being thus agreed vpon for the future, most of them had a care of the occasion. In regard of *Philimeone*, more, they appointed him for Hunting. For as he was much inclined to ^{Philimeone} ^{Hunting,} it, they thought he could do no other thing but to attend it. Wherefore they gaue him this Charge, to the end he might take wild beastes, fit to winne *Caius Lycius* Gouvernor of the City, and afterwards those which kept the Gates, which are called *Tarpedes*. Inbracing this Commission, he tooke some Beasts in Hunting, others were prepared for him by *Hannibal*. For his part hee contynually brought ^{Prize,}

prize, whereof he shared part to *Caius* and to the Guards of the gates to the end they might speedily open the Gate called *Rhinopile*. He entered and went forth often in the night by this Gate, vnder colour of feare of the Enemy, but in the meane time hee made vse of it for his Enterprize.

When *Philimente* had obtained this course with the Guards, so as without suspition approaching to the Wall, if he whistled, they opened unto him the Gate *Rhinopile*. And without obseruing that the Roman Gouvernor of the Gate, shoule be on a certaine day with great Company at *Musea* neere the Market place, they appointed that day to *Hannibal*. He had long before invented this fiction, as if hee were sicke, to the end the Romans shoule not hold it strange, that he staid so long there; and then he feind himselfe to be more sicke. Hee had not beeene in the Campe for the space of three daies vpon the approches of *Tarentum*. The day being come, he makes chiose of a thousand of the ablest and resolutest men, both Horse and Foote: to whom he giues charge to carry Victuals for fourtaynes. Finally hee marcht speedily, remouing his Campe at the breake of day. Hee gaue command to foure-score *Numidians* Horses to marcht thirty Furlongs before the Campe, and that they shoule run of eyther side of the Country, to the end that no man might discouer the whole Campe, but taking some of them that fled, the rest which escaped might aduertise the City of the *Numidians* courses. When as the *Numidians* were about twenty Furlongs off, they set downe to Supper neere vnto a certaine Riuere, in a Rocco which was not easie to discouer.

Then *Hannibal* drawing the Captaines together, he discouers his Enterprize vnto them, and perswades them, that first of all they shoule carry themselues like braue men: for that there were never such great rewards propounded vnto them: And that secondely every man shoule keepe his Soulđiers in obedience during the Voyage, and punish those seuerely, that shoule abandon their places thorough Disobedience. Finally, they shoule haue a care of thosse things which shoule bee Com-
maunded, and that they shoule not attempt any thing of their owne fancy, contrary to his Commandement. This Speech being delivered in the presence of the Captaines, he marcht, (being yet night) meaning to come vnto the Walls about mid-night. Hee had *Philimente* for his Guide, to whom hee gaue synagrie for a Companion in that same Action.

VVhen as *Caius Lgbius* with his Company were in the day time at *Musea*, according to the conception of the Youth, they aduertised him that the *Numidians* ouer-ran the Country towards the West, when as their desire of drinking increased. Yet thinking to stay them, hee called for the Captaines, giuing them charge to go forth at the breake of day with halfe the Horse-men, and repulse the Enemy which spoyled the Country. This was all the conceite he had of the businesse. As for those which kept Company with *Nicon* and *Tragisque*, assembling suddenly within the City, they looked for the returne of *Caius*. And being suddenly ready, for that they had dranke in the day time, some retiring

retiring to certayne places stayed there: Others among the Youth go to meeet *Caius*, sporting and playing among themselves, making shewe to bring them backe which shoule be found at the Banquet, and moreover as it were, transported by reason of the Drunkernesse of *Lybius* Company, as soone as they met they fell to laughter and immoderate sport of either side: then turning head they conducted *Caius* vnto his Houfe. He layd him downe to rest as a man soundly drunke, after the manner of thosse which drinke daily, hauing nothing in his braine that troubled him: finally, he was full of ioy and negligence. But *Nicon* and *Tragisque*, hauing assembled the Youth, diuided themselves into three Band: and after aduice, they leazd vpon the most commodious approaches to the Market place, to the end that nothing might be vnknowne vnto them, of that which was practised, aswell within the City as without.

They also approached neere vnto *Caius* Houfe, being resolved that if he shoule haue any suspition of the Enterprize, to kill him first: And that whatsoeuer they did they shoule beginne with him. As it often times happens at the returne from Banquets, when as the Tumult was suddenly past, and that the multitude was layd downe and a sleep, and by the advancement of the night, the hope of the Enterprize remained entire, then altogether attend the Execution. The Youth had *An accord*, to the City, neere vnto *Musea* on the East, and to the Gates which ^{youth of Tarēti} ^{carthaginians} they call *Temenides*, he shoule make a fire vpon a little Hill, which some call the Hill of *Hyacinthe*, and others of *Apollo Hyacinthe*. And that when *Tragisque* Company shoule see it, they shoule answere him by the like signe of fire: This done, *Hannibal* shoule quench the fire which hee had made without the City, and then approach with a slow pace.

C These things thus concluded, the Youth of the City hauing past the inhabited part, they came to the Monuments of the Deceased. The Esterne part of the City of *Tarentum*, was full of Monuments: For that all the dead are buried within the Walls of the City, according to a certayne old Oracle. They say that God gave the *Tarentins* to understand by an Oracle, that it would be best for them when they had most Inhabitants. For their parts they thought, that they shoule haue a good dwelling according vnto the Oracle, if they retained the dead within their City. For this cause they interre them within their wals. When as the Youth of the City was come to the *Pishyonique* Hill, they expected what would succeede. *Hannibal* approaching did what had beene concluded: and the Company of *Nicon* and *Tragisque* seeing the fire, they tooke courage, and kindled another fire. Againe seeing *Hannibals* fire quencht, they made hast and ran vnto the Gate, meaning to prevent *Hannibals* men in killing the Guards: for that the *Carthaginians* preparing to enter march slowly. When they had preuailed in their Enterprize, and the Guards being surprized, some slew them, others brake the Bolts. The Gates being suddenly opened, *Hannibals* men came with such a measured March, as without any delay they assailed

*Tarentines taken
by Hannibal.*

assailed the City. When they had made their entry safely and without Tumult, thinking they had done the greatest part of their busynesse, they entred the Market place boldly, on that side which ioines to the Sea. In regard of the Horse-men, they leue no lesse then two Thousand within the Walls for their supply, as well for the accidents which might happen without, as for other expected things which do vsually chance.

When they were come vnto the places neare vnto the Market, the Army made a stand. *Philimene* likewise being much troubled, how he A might execute his Charge, staid without. For when they made the assaile, they ranne not to that Gate: and they had sent him with a wilde Boare, and about a Thousand *Lybiens* with him to the next Gate, meaning to execute their Enterprize, not by one meanes only but by many. When as *Philimene* was according to his Custome come vnto the Walls, the Guards fuddainly were ready descending to *Rhinopole*. When as he called vnto them to open the Gate, for that hauing a Boare, hee was soare laden, the Guard hearing those words open speedily, expecting to haue a share of *Philimene's* prize, as formerly hee had done to others.

Philimene being the first of this Battalion enters, accompanied by another, wearing a *Numidian* Habite, as if hee had beeene of that Countrey: after whom followed two others, carrying Venilon. When there were foure entred, they slew him which opened the Gate, running simply and without feare, to handle the Boare, there entred to the number of Thirty *Lybiens* by the little Wicker, which followed them a slow pace and secretly. This being done, some brake the Hinges, others slew the Guards at the Gate, and others called the *Lybiens* by signes being yet without, leading them to the Market place, as it had beeene ordred. *Hannibal* ioyfull of the adiunction of these men, for that matters succeeded according to his desire, he was attentive to that which he had begunne. Hee therefore drawes two Thousand *Gawles* C a part: and dividing them into three Bands, hee appoints to ethyer of them two of the Youth which had manngaged this Enterprize, with some of his Captaines, giuing them charge, that they shold gaine the most commodious approaches to goe vnto the Market place. After which they shold receive the Youth of the City, and haue a care to preferue the Citizens, and that they shold crye out to the *Tarentins*, to stay in the place which was assigned them for their safety. Finally, hee Commandys the Captaines of the *Carthaginians* and *Cels*, that they shold kill all the *Romans* they shold encounter. Diuiding them D selues one from another, they dispatch that which they had in charge. The Enemies entry being knowne to the *Tarentins*, the City was full of crics and vncpected Trouble.

When as *Caius* was aduertised of the Enemies entry, thinking that he should not be able to prevent the danger, by reason of his drunkenesse, he gets fuddainly out of his lodging with his family: And when hee was come to the Gate which leads vnto the Port, and that the Guard had opened the *Rhinopole*, he escapes that way, and imbarques with his

*They kill the
Porter.*

Caius leaves
his scelle.

his people in a little Cocke boate which lay in the Port, and was carried to the Fort. Afterwards *Philimene* makes prouision of Roman Trumpets, whereof some sounded neare vnto the Theater, as they had vsually done. And when the *Romans* ran in Armes according to their Custome to the Fortresse, the Enterprize was dispatcht to the liking of the *Carthaginians*. But they which being dispersed and without order entred into those places, some fell into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, others among *Cels*: Who by this same meanes flew a great number.

A The day approaching, the *Tarentins* rested in their Houses, not able to prevent this inconuenience. For they thought by reaon of the sounding of the Trumpets, that this combustion had beeene made by the *Romans*; for that they made no spoile in the City. But when they saw some of their men slaine in the place, and some of the *Gawles* striping the dead bodies of the *Romans*, they beganne to think of the comming of the *Carthaginians*. When as *Hannibal* had drawne his Army into the market place, and that the *Romans* were retired to the Fort, the which they held before with their Garrison, he caucht a Proclamation forthwith to be made and proclaimed, that all the *Tarentins* should come vnto the Market place without Armes. In regard of the Youth, they went vp and downe the City crying liberty; redauising and persuading the Citizens to rest assured that the *Carthaginians* were there for their good. But all the *Tarentins* which held the *Romans* party, being aduertised of this Action, retired to the Fort: The rest assembled without Armes at the sound of the Trumpet. To whom *Hannibal* spake graciously.

When the *Tarentins* had generally conceitid by his Speech, and vnxpected hope, he sent many of them away, giuing them charge at their returne, to be carefull to Write the name of the *Tarentins* upon their doores: And if by fortune or chance any one did it to a *Romans* House, he shold be punished with Death. Wherefore hee made chiose of men accustomed vnto this charge, and sends them presently to spoile the *Romans* Houles, willing them to hold and maintaine the *Tarentins* lodgings for Enemies, which had not the marke of a *Tarentine*. Finally, hee kept the rest in battaile to succour the others. When he had drawn together great storie of goods by this spoile, and that the commodities anwering the conceitid hope of the *Tarentins*, came to good, they then returned to Armes.

The day following *Hannibal* holding a Councell with the *Tarentins*, D decreed to seperatethe City from the Fort, and to fortifie it, to the end they shold be no more in feare of the *Romans* holding the Fort. Wherefore he beganne first to fortifie the City with pallisadoes, right against the Wals of the Hill which is before the Fort. And knowing that the Enemies would stirre and make some attempt, hee appointed sufficient Forces: Thinking that for the future, there would bee nothing more necessary, to amaze the *Romans*, and to assure the *Tarentins*. When as they begane to set vp their impalement, and that the *Romans* assailed their Enemies with great confidence, courage and resolution,

At skirmish betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians. resolution, Hannibal fighting with them a little, prouoked them to the Combate. But when as many of them past beyond the Hill, he giuing courage to his men encounters the Enemy. When the Combate grew hot, as much as might be in a streight place inuironed with Wals, the Romans in the end beeing roughly repuls'd gaue backe, so as many of them fell into the Numidians hands: Finally the greatest part being repuls'd, and falling into the ditches, dyed.

After this, Hannibal fortifyed the City with Pallisadoes without danger, and hauing done all things to his liking hee was at quiet. He likewise forced the Enemies to remaine shur vp in their Fort, in feare not only of themselves, but also of the Fort. In regard of the Citizens, hee hath so pust vp their Courage, as they helde themselves able to resist the Romans, without the helpe of the Carthaginians. Afterwards Hannibal leauing some little space, from the pallisadoe towards the City, hee made a Ditch answering the Pallisadoe and the wall of the Fort, from whence some time there were Souldiers drawn vnto the wall of the City. Moreouer hauing Pallisadoed this Ditch, this fortification proued not lesse strong then a Wall. Besides the which within towards the City (leauing a reasonable space) hee begane a VVall from that part which they call the Savior, vnto that B which they call Deepe: So as without any Garrison, these fortifications would bee sufficient to cause the Tarentins to dwell in safety. Leauing then a sufficient Garrison of Horse for the Guard of the City and wall, hee planted his Campe forty furlongs from the City, neere the Riuere which some call Galle, others Erosa, which name it hath taken from that other Riuere, passing neere vnto Lacedemon, which they likewise call Erosa.

The Tarentins in truthe haue many such, as well in the Country as in the City, for that vndoubtedly they haue takentheir Collony and Race from the Lacedemonians. The wall beeing finished and ended, C aswell by the diligence and industry of the Tarentins, as the helpe and assistance of the Carthaginians, Hannibal resolute to ouer-thowre the Fort. And when hee had prepared and made all things ready for the siege, the Romans hauing received into the Fort succours by Sea, from Metapontia, they were somethinge refresh and comforted, and in the night assailed Hannibals Engines, ruining them all with their preparations. This made Hannibal to despairre of the siege of the Fort.

And when the City wals were made perfect, he assemblies the Tarentins, and lets them vnderstand, that it was very necessary for them to be masters of the Sea, against the discommodities of the present time. But as the mouth of the Port was in the Commande of the Fort, it was not in their power to helpe themselves with shippes at their pleasure, or goe out of the Port: VVhere as the Romans had all necessaries brought vnto them safely. So as the City should neuer enjoy a perfect freedom and liberty. Hannibal considering this, he let the Tarentins understand, that if they which held the Fort, lost the hope of the commodity of the Sea, they would presently yeild it to them.

The

The Riuere of Erosa.Hannibals Resistance to the Tarentins.

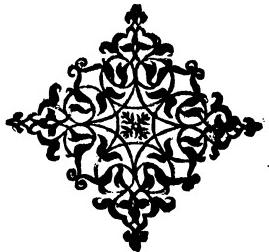
The which the Tarentins hearing, they allowed of his Speech, but they could not at that time effect it, vniuersally they were affisted by the Carthaginians Army: The which could not then be done. Wherefore they could not conceiue whereto Hannibal tended, propounding these things.

And when he maintained that they might well be masters of the Sea without the helpe of the Carthaginians, they wondred more, not being able to vnderstand his conception. When hee had viewed the place within the Wals, from the Port vnto the outward Sea, he was A of opinion that the Ships might faire close vnto the Wall towards the South. When hee had given this advise vnto the Tarentins, they not only imbraced it suddenly, but commended Hannibal wonderfully. Presently after they had made Wheeles, they prepared a way for ships, which was sooner done then spoken, for that affection and Tarentins past their ships into the open Sea, and safely besieged those of the Fort, who received their succours from abroad. In regard of Hannibal, leauing the City he raised his Campe, and returning three dayes after, to the Pallisadoe which he had made in the beginning, hee stayed to spend the rest of the Winter.

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A PARCELL OF the Ninth Booke of the

History of POLYBIUS.



Ehold the most renowned and excellent Actions, comprehended vnder the aforesayd Olympiade, and within the space of four Yeares which it containes: Of which wee will endeauour to speake of in two Bookes. I am not ignorant that our Commentaries haue beeene somthing rough, and C that they are pleasing to a certaine kinde of Auditors, and blamed by others. In truth other Historiographers, and in a manner all, or the greatest part, helping themselues with all the parts of a History, draw many men to the reading of their Commentaries. The manner to Discourse of Genealogies causes a desire to heare: That also which speaks of Collonies, Voyages, Possessions, and Races, which please a curious man of little judgement, as that of *Ephorus*. And to a ciuill man, that wherein they Discourse of the Actions of Nations, Citties, and Potentates, whereunto applying our selues plainly, and D disposing all our Treaty to these things, wee direct and guide our selues by a certaine kinde of Discourse, as wee haue formerly promised.

It is true, wee direct most Readers to that which is not much pleasing and delightfull. Finally, wee haue at large delivred the cause, why in reproaching the other parts of a History, wee will thus write the Actions. There is no hinderance that for the better expressing and declaration, we shal not briefly aduertise the Reader hereof.

But

But as many of these things are related in diuers manners, of Genealogies, Fables, and Collonies, and moreover of Races, Alliances, and Possessions, it will be necessary for him that would Write, to speake consequently of strange things as proper, which were an infamous thing: Or if he will not, hee must labour in vain, in promising publickly to pursue and Comment of those things, which haue bin sufficiently declared, and delivered to posterity by the ancient.

For this cause, and for many others we haue left them, receiving a relation of Actions: For that first, that as many new things offer A themselves often, so it is very necessary to vse a new kinde of Discourse: The which happens not in the beginning of the Relation, so as we deliver the subsequent Actions. And secondly, for that this kinde hath beeene before, and is most profitable, by the which the experience of things and Policies, haue so much preuailed with vs, as they which haue a desire to know the Actions, may helpe themselues by an easie way, in all that which happens by the course of time. Wherefore hauing no such regard to the pleasure and delight of those which shall read and peruse our Commentaries, as to the profit of the Readers, we haue (leaving the other parts) fixed vpon this. Finally, they which shall diligently consider of our Commentaries, wilbe more certaine witnesses.

When as *Hannibal* had inclosed the Campe of *Appius Claudius*, *Appius* besieged being at the siege of *Capua*, at the first hee vied skirmishes, seeking to draw the Enemy to Battaille. But when as no man presented himselfe, in the end he besieged them, which was an Enterprize wherein hee was frustrated aswell as of the first, although the Horse-men of the Wings assailed them in Troupes, casting Darts into their Campe, with great cries: And the foote-men charge them by Bands, labouring to breake the Palliado. Yet they could not disert the *Romans* from their former resolution, repulsing those which assailed the Palliado with great strength and Courage: And being well armed, they went not out of the Campe with their Ensignes, *Hannibal* bearing these things impatiently, and the rather for that the *Romans* could not any way bee annoyed from the Towne, studied what order he might take for the present Affaires. For my part, I thinke that the case falling out thus, seemes to haue made not onely the *Carthaginians* to doubt, but all other men to whom the knowledge thereof hath come.

Who will not wonder, hearing how the *Romans* haue often beene vanquished by the *Carthaginians*, and durst not present themselves, nor fight with them, haue not abandoned their Fort being in the open field? It is certaine that in times past, they had alwayes Camped onely at the bottome or foote of Mountaines against the Enemies: But now being in a faire Plaine, and in the openest place of all Italy, besieging a strong Towne, they were assailed by them of all sides, againt whom they durst not once think or imagine to make head, being so much disheartned. And although the *Carthaginians* preuiled continually fighting, yet they were no litle annoyed by the vanquished;

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Finally,

Finally, I hold this to be the cause, that they consider the Enterprize one of another: That is to say, that the Troupes of *Hannibals* Horse-men, purchased the Victory to the *Carthaginians*, and a defeat to the *Romans*: Wherefore the vanquished made suddaine fallies after the fight. They also lodg'd their Troupes in such a place, as the Horse-men could not annoy them. The case falling out thus neare vnto *Capua*, was common to them both. The *Romans* in trueth durst not come foorth to fight, beeing terrifid with the Enemies horse. They kept themselves within their Fort, knowing well that the Cauallery vanquishing them in fight, they could not annoy them.

The *Carthaginians* likewise could not with reason stay long with so great a number of Horses: For that the *Romans* had for that cause wasted the whole Countrey: Neither could they give order to haue Hay and Barley brought on Horse-backe so great a way vnto the Cauallery and Sumpfers: Neither durst the *Carthaginians* besiege the Enemyn without Horse, being fortid with Ditches and Pallisadoes: Against the which in fighting without Wings vpon an equall danger, they shold hazard an vncertaine Fortune. They feared likewise that the *Roman* Subiects, would ioyne with them and succour them, and that cutting of their necessary Victuals, they would draw him into B great distresse.

*A wife Comi-
stration of
Hannibal.*

Hannibal considering these things, hauing opinion that they could not rale the siege directly, he takes another adiice. Finally, he makes his reckoning, that if in stealing away suddainly, he shold shew himself about *Rome*, he might do something that might be profitable for the *Carthaginians* affaires, the inhabitants beeing amazed with such a new accident: Or if that did not succeede, hee shold force *Appius* Army to rale the siege to succour and supply their Countrey, or else foorth-with diuide themselves, so as they which shold succour the Country, and they which remained at the siege would be easie to vanquish. Considering these things, hee sent a certaine *Lybian* messenger to *Capua*, perwading him to retire to the *Romans*, and so into the City, prouiding wisely by this meanes, that his Letters might bee safely carried. He feared much, that the *Capuanas* seeing his departure would yeilde, following the *Romans* party, as destitute of hope. For this cause hee acquaints them with his intention by Letters, for the which he sends the *Lybian*, after the departure of his Army, to the end that knowing his resolution and dislodging, they shold maintaine the siege couragiously.

When as they which besieged *Capua*, had intreated the people of *Rome* for assistance, that *Hannibal* held them besieged, they were all in great doubt and feare, for that the present Affaires required a final end, and therefore they sought by frequent Embassies and attempts to assit that party concerning the Generall. The *Capuanas* on the other side (after they had receiued the Letters by the *Lybian*, and knowne the *Carthaginians* adiice) hold good against the Enemy, resolute to adventure and trie their Fortune. Wherefore *Hannibal* hauing fedde his Army the fifth day after his comming, and leauing fires burning, he

herald his Campe, so as he was not discouered by the Enemy. Taking then the difficult way by the *Sannide*, discouering & gaining by his Cauallery the nearest places to his way, he past the Riuere of *Annon* secretly, whilst that the Inhabitants of *Rome* were in suspence for *Capua* and that Warre: Approaching in such sort, as he planted his Campe within forty Furlongs of *Rome*. And as he assailed it by this meanes, it hapened that they of the City were troubled and dismayed with feare, for that this accident came suddenly and contrary to their hope, and that *Hannibal* had not formerly besieged the City so neare. They had also A a conceit, that he approaching so neare the City, their Army besieging *Capua*, must of necessity be defeated. The men flye to the *Walle*, *men of the Ro-* and out of the City to places of aduantage. The Women on the other *mari-* side make professions about the Temples, washing the pavement with *The habita-
on of the Ro-
man Daues.*

When as *Hannibal* was thus incamp, thinking to assaile the City the day following, there happened an admirable and casuall accident, workeing for the preferment of the *Romans*. *Caius* and *Publius* had taken an Oath of the Souldiers which had beeene leuied, to come to *Rome* the same day in Armes. They also made another Leuie: so as at a certayne time a great number of men of Warre transpored themselues sudainly to *Rome*.

With the which the Capitaines made a bold fally: and planting their Campe before the City, they restrained *Hannibals* fury. The *Carthaginians* in trueth at the first made luch an attempt, as they despaireid not to take the City by assault. But seeing the Enemies to hold a Campe, and aduertised by a Prisoner of that which had hapened, they deslid from their Enterprize to take the Towne, falling *The Carthagini-
ans waste the
Country a-
bout Rome.*

C kind of hunting, to the which never Enemy thought to attaine. And when as afterwards the Consuls taking courage, had planted themselves within Eleuen Furlongs of the Enemies Campe, *Hannibal* lost all hope Field, of taking the City, notwithstanding the great spoiles which he had made; and which is more, he parts at the breake of day with his Army, keeping a good reckoning of dayes, in the which according to his adiice taken from the beginning, he was in hope that *Appius* aduertised of the danger of the City, would wholly rase the siege, and that he would succour *Rome*, or leauing some portion of the Army, and taking the greatest part, he would make haft to succour his Countrey: either of which happening, his affaires would succeed well. But *Publius* breaking the Bridges of the said Riuere, forced him to passe his Army at *Fourde*, being alwayes in the tale of him, and annoyng him much.

D It is true, he could not defeate him for the great number of Horses, and the dexterity of the *Numidians* fit for all purposes: yet he retired to his Fort, hauing recovered a great part of the booty, and taken about three hundred men. Afterwardes imagining that the *Carthaginians* hastned their retreate for feare, hee purfled them in the Reare by *Skirmishes.*

A deafe of
the Romans by
Night.

Skirmishes. In the beginning *Hannibal* made haste pursuing his designe. But when as on the fift day he had beeene aduertisched that *Appius* continued still at the siege of *Capona*, he stayed: then suddainly receiuing those which pursued him, he charg'd them in the Night, making a great slaughter, and chasing the rest out of their Fort. When as the day following he saw the *Romans* retired to a certaine Hill, strong by situation, and rampred, he despaires to take them: Yet making his voyage by *Dauina* and *Brette*, he assailes the neighbour places to *Rhegium* so suddainly, as he had in a manner taken the City: yet he surprised all those that were stragling in the Fields, with a great number of the *Rheginou* at his comming. In my opinion we ought with reason to obserue at that time the vertue and enuy of the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* in the conduct of the Warre.

For as all the World wonders at *Epaminundas*, Generall of the *Thebeins* in this, that when he was come with the Allies of the Warre to *Tegée*, and was aduertisched that the *Lacedemonians* were with their league at *Mantinea*, assembling there to giue Battaille to the *Thebeins*, hee gaue order to his Troupes to feede presently: By this meanes hee caueth his Army to march in the Evening, as it were to recouer some convenient places to put them in Battaille. VVhen he had drawne many in to this concuite, hee parts to assaile the City of *Lacedemon*. VVhere entring about three houres in the Night, contrary to all hope, and finding it naked and destitute of helpe, he tooke it, and kept it on that side which was paued to the Riuere. As this disaster happened with a great alteration, and that a certayne Fugitiue flying to *Mantinea*, had aduertisched King *Agesilaus* of that which happened, and that they of the league made haste to succour *Lacedemon*, hee was out of hope to bee able to keepe it. But when he had fed neare vnto the Riuere of *Erota*, and had drawne his Army together, after that he had suffered many miseries and dangers, he returns to *Mantinea*, taking the same way, with hope to finde it destitute and un furnished of *Lacedemonians* and their league, as being gone to succour *Lacedemon*: the which succeeded accordingly. Wherefore giuing courage to the *Thebeins*, and marching in the Night with great labour and toile, hee arriued by noone at *Mantinea*, being destitute and void of succours. It is true that the *Athenians* who at that time held the party of the *Lacedemonians*, against the *Thebeins*, were come to their succours. When the foreward of the *Thebeins* arriued at the Temple of *Pofidon*, standing feuen Furlongs from the Towne, it happened as a thing fore-taft, that at the same instant the *Carthaginians* shewed themselves vpon a Hill neare to *Mantinea*, who D being discouered by them which remained in the Towne, they went to the VValles, taking courage to repulsthe *Thebeins* attempts. Historiographers therefore haue reason to complaine of the said actions, saying, that the Commander had done all that was fitting for a wiser and more excellent Captaine then the Enemies were, and that *Epaminundas* was vanquished by Fortune. Some others likewise may say with reason, that the like hapned unto *Hannibal*.

For who will not wonder at this Commander, in obseruing that hee
endea-

Lacedemon taken
by *Epaminundas*.

Epaminundas
vanguished by
Fortune.

endeauoured to raise the sieg, in assailing the Enemy by Skirmishes: And when hee was therein frustrated in his attempts, hee assailed *Rome* it selfe: And when this Enterprize did not succeed, for the casfull events, hee againe endeauoured (turning head with his Army) to charge the Enemy, and to try if hee might trouble those which besieged *Capona*: And when in the end he prevailed not in his Enterprize, he resolved to annoy the Enemy in ruining them of *Rhegium*. It is true that some one will happily judge that at this day the *Romans* are to bee preferred before the *Lacedemonians*. Who vpon the fift aduertisement parting together, deliuered *Lacedemon*, yet losing *Mantinea* for their parts: But the *Romans* preferred their Countrey without raising the sieg from before *Capona*, growing constantly obstinate in their Enterprize, and haue in the end assailed the *Caponians* resolute. I have propounded this Discourse not so much to praise the *Romans* or *Carthaginians*, (for we haue many times shewed them to bee excellent) as well for their present Capaines, and for those which hereafter shall haue the government of these two Common-weales: to the end that remembraunce them, and hauing these things before their eyes with a desire of imitation, they may take courage, not of a desperate and dangerous rashnesse, but of a politique resolution, with an admirable industry and good discourse, which shall neuer be subiect to forgetfulness, retaining still in memory actions well managed; and Enterprizes without our reason.

B For this cause the *Romans* haue decreed to set a part, and to carry into their Country the things we haue spoken of, not omitting any thing. If this be well done and profitable to them, or otherwise, it requires a longer discourse: And moreover whether it hath beeene in former times, or is onely necessary at this day. If considering these things, they had instructed their men, it is certaine that according to reaon they had transported to their selfe the things for the which they had growne

C great: But if leading a simple life, they flye abundance and sumptuousnesse, and yet they vanquish those which many times haue storne of such good things, why shouldest their actions be turned to vice? Some one may confidently say, that they erre which haue left the Victors course of life, to follow that of the vanquished, and hauing incurred envy, a Companion of such things: which is a case much to bee feared in Great men. Doubtlesse a man thus possest, will neuer hold them happy which possest another, and beares them enuie. Moreover, who will take compassion of those which degenerating lose their principali-

D ties? If Fortune smiles, and if a man drawes together all the wealth of another, and moreover, invites in some for the dispossess to see it, he shuns doubly. First the Spectators haue no compassion, but are admonished as of their owne miseries: whereby not onely enuy but also choller inflames them against the fortunate. The remembrance of their owne calamities is as it were a stirring vp to hatred against the Authors. It is true, that it may be there is some shew of reason for the drawing of Gold and Siluer. For they could not haue attained to the Empire, if they had not gotten the power taken from others.

In regard of those things which concerne not power, they might leauem them with the enuy in those places where they were before, and make their Countrey of better fame, in beautifying it with honesty and magnamity, not with Images and figures. I hold this Discourse for thofe which Potentates alwaies vpurp, to the end that in facking Cities they may not conceiue that the miteries of other men, are the glory and beautifying of their Countrey. Finally, it is necessary that the accidents which happen in the Art of Warre, bee diligently confidered of. It may happen they shall duly fore-fee every thing, if any one doth execute speedily that which is propounded.

If any man will know that executions done openly with violence, are of leſſe conſequence then actions of policy and time, hee may easily iudge by the actions past. It would be no difficult thing to understand by the events, that in matters which are done by time, there are more ſound executed through errors then by reaſon. For no man doubts that many faults are committed through the ignorance and dulneſſe of Commanders. Wherefore we muſt conſider the reaſon of this kinde. It is not fit to hold for good ſervice the accidents which without foreſight happen in the profeſſion of Warre, but rather for events and cauſal accidents : and wee muſt leauem them, for that they are not governed by reaſon ; whereas thofe ſhould be apparent which are done with a ſetled reſolution wherof we now ſpeak. But for that every action hath time, ſpace, and a determinate place, and hath neede of ſecretie, and of conſident reſolutions : and that it doth impoſt by whom, with whom, and by what meaneſ they ſhall execute them : it is apparent that he which ſhall duly conſider every one of theſe things apart, ſhall not ſtray from reaſon : if he omits any one of them, he ſhall be defrauded of his whole reſolution. Nature in truthe makes one of all the parts, and every one of them (alough vulgar) ſufficeth to cauſe a diuice or aduice if it be forgotten : Finally all the parts doe ſcarce ſeffice, althoſh they be employed to bring any worke to a good end. Wherefore Commanders ſhould not omit any thing of this kinde.

The duty of a Commander.

Silence is the chife of thoſe things which we haue ſpooken of : to the end that through ioy if any vnexpected hope preſents it ſelfe, or for feare and amazement, they do not through familiarity or friendſhip, communicate their enterprize to any stranger, but only to thoſe without whom they cannot execute their reſolutions : nor yet to them, but ſo far forth as neceſſity ſhall force them. He muſt be ſecret not onely in words but also in his affections. For it happens to many to diſcover by ſigues, and ſometime by their actions, their reſolutions which the tongue hath kept ſilent. Secondly, it is neceſſary not to be ignorant of the wayes both by day and night, and the meaneſ to paſſe them as well by ſea as land. The third point, and the moſt exquifite, is to know the opportunity of times by the circumſtances, and to be able to coniecture it with judgement. He muſt make no little eſteeme of the manner how to execute it. For many times thereby things which ſeeme imposſible, prove poſſible, and thoſe which viallually haue beene poſſible, are made imposſible. Finally, he muſt not disdaine the Accords and Articles an-

nexed,

nexed, nor the choife of things by the which, and with whom that which hath bin resolute, is brought to an end. Of theſe things ſome are conſidered by the exercife, others by Hiſtories, and ſome by the courſe and reaſon of experience. The knowledge likewiſe of the waies, and whether he meaneſ to go, and its nature would be very fitting : and conſequently by whom and againſt whom they make Warre, and carefullly to conſider of the buſineſſe, and not to truſt all men. It is true that they which are led and gouerned, muſt alwaies in ſuch affaires give credit to thoſe that lead them. Moreouer, Commanders may happily leauem theſe things and other ſuch like from a ſimple Souldier : ſome by their owne industry, and others by Hiſtory, in conſidering the actions by experience. It is alſo neceſſary to understand the Mathematiqves, and the Theoriqe, especially of Astrology and Geometrie, the Art wherof is not very neceſſary in this trade : yet the vſe may help much in the alteration of things. Their chife neceſſity conſists in the conſideration of the Day and Night. If they had beene alwaies equall, there would be no diſſiculty therin, and the knowledge would bee common to all.

But as the aforeſaid things haue a diſference not onely betwixt them, but alſo in themſelues, it is moſt neceſſary to know what bee theiſ augmentations and diminutions. How can the courſe and perfections of the Day and Night be knowne without the conſideration of the ſaid diſference ? No man can without their experience attaine vnto thoſe things which conſcincs a competency of time, being otherwise forced to worke ſooner or later then is needfull. Haste in theſe affaires is more defectiue then the delay of an Enterprize. Hee that exceeds the time appointed, is frustrated of his hope : But hee may repair it in giving good order, knowing after what time it may be done : whereaſ hee that preuentſ the opportunity of the approaching time, and being C diſcouered, not onely failes of his Enterprize, but is in danger to be wholly deafeated. Occasion is the Miftrefſe of all humane affaires, and especially in the Art of Warre.

A Commander therfore of an Army muſt haue knowledge of the Solſtice of Summer, and of the Equinoctials, and of the intermixt in- The knowledge creates and decreaſes of Dayes and Nights. By this onely meaneſ hee ſhall attaine to a good end of the diuerſities of Dayes and Nights necessary for Land. Moreouer, hee muſt know every point of the Day and Night, to the end that hee may understand the time when to plant his Campe and to raise it. It is not poſſible that hee ſhall attaine to a good end D which doth not conſider the beginning. It is not imposſible to ſee the houres of the Sunne by the ſhadowes whileſt he makes his courſe, and the diſtances which are made by it in this world : In regard of thoſe of the Night, it is a diſſicult thing, vniſle ſome doe follow and obſerve the Starres after the diſposition of the Heaven, and the order of the twelve Signes in the Zodiacke. It is in truthe eaſie for thoſe which diligently obſerve the Celeſtiall Starres. For although the Nights be vnequal, yet in every one of them ſixe of the twelve Signes do mooue, ſo as it is neceſſary that to every part of the Night an equall portion of the Zodiacke

Homer.

The error of
Arate.

Zodiacke be turned, and as daily it is apparent what part the Sun drives behind, which is that which it separates from the Diameter; it is necessary that accordingly there should be so much consumed of the Night, that after this part it appears elevated from the rest of the Zodiacke. The Signes of the Zodiacke being knowne as well for their number as greatness, it falls out afterwards that they shew themselves such all times of the Night. But when the Nights are cloudy, we must obserue the Moone: for her greatness, her light appears vnuersall in what part of the world soever she be. And wee must sometimes search by the times and places of the East, and sometimes of the West: for that in this part there is a knowledge, so as she follows the Diurnall differences of the East. There is also in this knowledge a manner of caske consideration. There is likewise the same end almost within a figure, and all are of Sence. For this cause they iustly commend the Poet, who brings in *Phis*, an excellent Prince, taking conjecture of the Starres, not only to direct a Navigation, but also to mannage Warre at Land. Wee may in truth exactly fore-see vnxpected chances, although that many times they be of great perplexity, as inundations by Raine and Riuers, Snows and violent Frosts, and finally Foggs and Clouds, with such like things. Shall we not with reason be destitute and voide of many things by our owne fault, if wee disdaine those which wee may fore-see? B Wee may not therefore contemne or despise any of these things, lest wee fall into such a consideration which they say hath happened vnto many others: Concerning which wee must now speake by way of Example.

Arate Chiefe of the *Acheans*, labouring to surprize the City of *Cynetho*, appointed a day to them of the Towne which had the same intelligence: who comming by Night to the Riuere which falleth to *Cynethe*, he was to stay there with his Army: and they of the Towne taking their occasion about Noone, should send forth one of them secretly out at the Gate, couered with a Cloake, and should command him to stay before the Gate vpon a Dunghill: and in the meane time the rest should take the chiefe men sleeping, who were accustomed to guard the Gate about Noone. Which being done, comming out of their Ambush, they should plant their Battalion against the Gate. These things thus concluded, *Arate* came at the time appointed, and keeping the accord, he laid his Ambush neare vnto the Riuere. But about fift of the Clocke, a man hauing weake Sheepe of those which are accustomed to feede about the Towne, came forth of the Gate in a Cloake, as it was needfull, who according to the reaon of the time, enquired of the life of the Shepheard. And staying vpon the syd Hill, looked where hee was. D *Arate* thinking they had giuen him the Signe, makes haste to gaine the Towne with his men. But when the Gate was suddenly shut by the Guards that were present, for that they within had nothing ready, it happened that *Arate* was not onely frustrated of his purpose and intention, but was the cause of extreame calamities to the Burgesses, with whom hee had intelligence. For being apprehended, they were presently chased away or slaine. What shall wee thinke to be the

the cause of this accident? Doubtlesse for that this Commander had executed this agreement with more lightnesse then was fit, who being young had not an exquisite knowledge of these two accords, nor of the things annexed. The affaires of Warre haue an alteration in a moment, waering from one side to another in the Euent. When as like wife *Cleomenes the Lacedemonian*, had resolued to take the City of *Megalopolis* by practise, he agreed with the Guards of the Waller, that hee ^{The error of Cleomenes.} should come in the Night with his Army to the Gate which they call *Pbole*, at the third renewing of the Watch. For they which held A his party, had then the guard of the Wall. But when he had not foreseen, that the Nights were shorter at the rising of the *Phides*, hee parting from *Lacedemon* with his Army at Sun setting, and as hee could not come thither in time, arriuing whenthe Sunne was vp, he was repulst, making his attemptes in vaine and without reason, with a great and shamefull losse of his men, and in danger to lose all: Whereas if hee had aim'd truly at the time appointed by the agreement, and had brought his Army when as his Confederates had power to let him in, he had not failed in his Enterprize.

In like manner *Philip* (as wee have formerly layd) hauing plotted a secret surprize of the City of the *Melissens*, failed doubly. ^{The error of Philip.} He brought B not Ladders of a sufficient length, as the businesse required, neither did he obserue the time. For hauing resolued to arriu at Mid-night, when as all the World slept, hee did before the time from *Larisse* with his Army, and came too soone into the *Melissens* Country. For this cause as he could not stay, fearing to be discouered by the Citizens, nor yet steale away, he gave an assault to the City, the Inhabitants being yet awake. So as it was not in his power to get to the top of the Wallies by his Ladders, for that they were not of a just length, neither could hee enter by the Gate, for that the Confederates which hee had in the City, could not succour him being excluded by the time. And as hee had incensed the Citizens, and made a great losse of his men, hee returned with shame and disgrace, it being a warning and cautele vnto all others, not to put any trust or confidence in him hereafter.

As likewise *Nicias* which was Chiefe of the *Athenians*, might have preferred the Army which hee had neare vnto *Saragossa*, and ^{The error of Nicias.} had taken a fit occasion in the Night to lay an Ambush, to the end hee might not bee discouered by the Enemy, hee retired into a safe place: Afterwards hee remoued not his Campe through superstition, for that the Moone was Eclipsed, as if shee had fore-told some ensuing danger and misfortune. But it happened vnto all, as well to the Army as Capitaines, to fall into the hands of the *Saragossins*, when as the Night following *Nicias* raised his Campe, being discouered by the Enemies. Notwithstanding hee might in such affaires haue beene made wiser by such as haue had experience, that the commodity of time ought not to be neglected for such things, making the ignorance of the Enemy his comfort. Ignorance in truth gives a great helpe to men of experiance, to bring their affaires to a good end. Pp

Wee

What a Ladder
for the Warre
ought to be.

Wee must then for the afore-said things haue recourse to Astrology, in regard of the measure of ladders, the manner is as followeth. If any one of the Conspirators haue giuen the height of the Wall, they may presently know of what length the ladder shall be: As if the Wall bee ten foote high in some places, the ladders must bee twelve foote long. Finally, they must giue vnto the ladder good footing, according to the proportion of the itaues: lest burthening it too much, it breake not easily by reason of the multitude: and againe set vp straight, it will be very dangerous vnto them. If there be no meane to take the measure, nor to approach the Wall, let them take the greatnesse of those things which are elevated on the Plaine, by the space of all the height, which is a kinde of measure not onely possible, but also easie for those which study to learne the Mathematiques:

Wherefore it is necessary for them that will aime truely in their resolutions of the course of Warre, to know the vse of Geometry: If not perfectly, yet at the least that they haue the knowledge of proportions, and consideration of Similitudes. It is not onely necessary for this, but also for the comprehension of Desigines in the sciuition of a Campe: to the end that when wee sometimes change its generall disposition, we may obserue the same proportion of things which are there comprehended: And if sometimes we retaine the same Desigines of Camps, we may extend the place comprehended by them, or straighthen it, according to the reason of things before decreed, or set apart: the which we haue declared more exactly in our Commentaries for the ordning of Battailles. I doe not beleue there is any man that will be discontected with our study, for that wee charge the profession of Warre with many things, commanding those that loue it, not to disdain Astrology nor Geometry. For my part, I striaue especially, and with great desire to command things necessary, as I doe reprehise and blame the excesse of vaine and superfluous things, in regard of the subtleties and dreames in every Science: So doe we those which are out of necessary vse. It is a strange thing that they which practise Dancing, or playing of the Flute, take the preparations which concerns the accords and Musick: And likewise Wresling, for that this kind of Art seemes behouefull to bring this exercise to an end: And yet they which terme themselves Souldiers, are discontented if they must allow of any other Studies: So as they which practise Mecanique Arts, are more carefull and studious then those which challenge an Excellency in things which are of great honour and glory: the which no man of Sence will deny. But wee haue spoken enough of this Subiect.

Many conjecture the greatnesse of things by the Circuite: to whom notwithstanding it seemes incredible, that although the City of *Megalopolis* bee contained within the Circuite of fifty Furlongs, and that of *Lacedemon* within forty eight, yet it is twice as great as that of *Megalopolis*. And if any one (meaning to make this doubt greater) sayth, it is possible that a City, or the Pallisadoe of a Campe, hauing the Circuite of forty Furlongs, may bee more ample and compleate

Geometry ne-
cessary for the
Warre.

The carefenes-
ses of Souldiers
for the Scienc-
es.

The circuite of
Megalopolis and
Lacedemon.

compleate then that of a hundred, this will seeme vnto them a mad and extravagant speech: the cause is, for that wee remember not the things which inhumane Disciplines ~~are~~ delivered vnto vs by Geometry. This is the cause why I haue undertaken this Discourse. For that not onely many people, but also some of those which gouerne the Common-weale, and likewise Commanders and Capaines are amazed and wonder how it can be possible, that the City of *Lacedemon* should be greater then that of *Megalopolis*, seeing the circuite is leſſe: and that consequently they conjecture the number of men by the circuitte of the Campe.

There is another such like errore which they commit in the description of Townes. For many conceiuē that Cities containe more houles which are crooked and hilly, then those which are in a flat Country. But this is not true, for that the houses are not of a good building in a declining Streete, but in a plaine Countrey, for the which it happens that the Hills yeeld: the which may appear by that which is apparent in a Plaine. If thou doest consider the houles which are built high, and set vpon the declining of a Hill, so as they are all of an equall hight, it is apparent that their tops being leuell, the distance is equall, as well of those which are built vnder the Hills, as those which are seated on the Plaine neare vnto the foundations of the Wall. It sufficeth at this time to haue spoken to those which (desiring the preheminence ouer others, and to gouerne Common-weales) are ignorant of these things, being amazed and wonder at this relation. The City of *Agragās* is not onely more excellent among many other Cities, but also for the force of its Ramente, and for the grace and building. It is built eightene Furlongs from the Sea, so as every man may be partaker of her commodities, the Walles are excellently fortifyed by their scituacion and the industry of man. The Wall is setted vpon a hard and inaccessible Rocke, as well by Nature as by Art. It is enironed with Rivers. For towards the South runs a River of the Townes name, and on the Westerne part towards the Winter Solstice, passeth the River of *Hypē*. The Fortresse is seated vpon the side of the Summers East. The which hath without an inaccessible valley and within it one approach to the City. On the top is built the Temple of *Minerva*, and of *Jupiter Atabarin*, like as at *Rhodes*. For as *Agragās* hath beeene peopled by *Rhodiens*, their God with good reaon hath the same name, as at *Rhodes*. Finally the City is stately adorned with Temples and Porches. In regard of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympian*, it is none of the most sumptuous: But likewise it seemes not leſſe in its height and greatnesse then any other of Greece.

*The City of
Agragās.*



The Oration of *Chlensee*, Embassadour for
the *Etoliens* to the *Lacedemonians*.

A T is so true my Maisters of *Lacedemon*, that your power hath beeene the beginning of Seruitude to the *Grecians*, the which I hold so certaine, as no man at this day will say the contrary. Wee may judge of it in this manner. For what a multitude of *Grecians* are there in *Thrace*, whereof the *Athenians* and *Galfidoniens* haue planted Collonies? What City hath had a greater estate and power then that of the *Olynthians*? The which when as *Philip* had made Captiue, and ordained to serue for Example, hec hath not only beeene Lord of all the Cities of *Thrace*, but hath moreouer made subiect the *Thessalians*, being terrifid with feare. And when as afterwards hee had subdued the *Athenians* by Armes, he vved his Fortune nobly, not so much for the good of the *Athenians* (for there wanted much) but to the end that by the fame of his benefits towards them, he might draw others to a voluntary obedience.

B In regard of the authority of your City, it seemed for a time to fauour the other *Grecians*. Wherefore propounding what hec thought good, he went to Field with an Army, and in spoiling the Country, he hath ruined and sackt your houses, and finally your Country, distributing part to the *Argives*, part to the *Tegeates*, some to the *Megalopoliains*, and the rest to the *Messeniens*: seeking without reason to be nefit others, to the end he might endammeage and annoy you. C *Alexander* hath since taken vpon him the power and command. Who thinking that there was yet remaining some comfort for *Greece* in the City of *Thebes*, I conceiue you all know how hec hath ruined it. But what neede is there to relate in particular the Deeds of those which haue succceded them, and how ill they haue intreated *Greece*? There is no man so negligent of the actions of Warre, which doth not know how *Antipater* (the *Grecians* being vanquished neare vnto *Lamia*) did most wickedly intreate the miserable *Athenians* and others: To whom hec was so outragious and vnjust, as hec sent Inquisitors for Fugitives, and sent to the Cities, against those which had contradicted him, or in any sort offended the honour of the *Macedoniens*. Wherof some being violently drawne out of the Temple, and others from the Altars themselves,

Philip subdued
the *Theßalians*.

Alexander rui-
ned *Thebes*.

Antipater.

themselues, haue beeene miserably defeated and slaine: the other Fugitives haue beeene chased out of *Greece*. There was no freedome but onely in the Nation of the *Etoliens*. In regard of the executions done by *Cassander*, *Demetrios*, and *Antigonus*, who is ignorant of them? The knowledge hath beeene manifest, seeing they haue beeene done without any disguising. Some of them placed Garrisons in Townes, others settled Tyrants: By which meanes there hath not beeene any City free from the name of this kind of seruitude.

But leaving this Discourse, I come in the end to *Antigonus*: to the A end that none of you considering plainly my intent, may think himself beholding to the fauour of the *Macedoniens*. *Antigonus* in truthe hath not made Warre against you for the preseruation of the *Acheinians*: neither for that he was offended with the Tyranny of *Cleomenes*, he desired to set the *Lacedemonians* at liberty (it were too great a folly, if you were of this opinion) but for that he saw his power was not assured, if the principallity of *Morea* were vnder your governement, and withall he saw the industry of *Cleomenes*, and that Fortune smilid vpon you, the which he feared with eniuie. He came not to give succours to *Morea*, but to rauish your hopes, and abate your greatness. Wherefore the *Macedoniens* are not so much worthy of loue, Lording it ouer this B City which they haue ruined, as to be held for Enemies and odious, seeing he hath alwaies hindred you, when you had meanes to command all *Greece*. In regard of the iniquity of *Philip*, what neede is there to vfe any long discourse? His execration towards the Gods, for the outrages committed in the Temple of *Thermes* is plainly declared: And as for his crueltie to men, it is fully explyct by this prevarication, and the accord violated with the *Meſcenians*. Finally, the *Etoliens* haue alone among the *Grecians* made head against *Antipater* in the view of all the World: so as they liued in saftey which were outrageously afflicated. They haue also withflood the attempt of *Brennus* and C the *Barbarians* which accompanied him: And they alone being calld, haue endeauoured with you to set the principallity of *Greece* at liberty. But it is enough of this Subiect: Wee must now aduise in some sorte, and take order touching this present Councell, as with them that resolute for the Warre. Wee must consider it according to the truth.

I am also of opinion that as the *Acheinians* as the weaker, should not onely forbear to spoile your Country, but also giue great thankes vnto the Gods if they may preferue their owne: The *Etoliens* and *Messeniens* will make Warre against them for the league they haue with *Philip*, the like you will doe. As I understand, *Philip* will desist from his Enterprize, being assailed by the *Etoliens* at Land, and by the *Romanes* and *Attaluses* by Sea. It is moreouer easie to judge of the future by the actions past. For making Warre onely against the *Etoliens*, hec could never subdue them, how then will he support this present Warre? Take these words according to my first proposition: that it may be noxious to all men, that you ought not by a rash and vnadvised Councell, but by a mature & settled deliberation rather giue succours to the *Etoliens* then

the *Macedonians*. And if you haue formerly preuented, and giuen order for those, what meanes can there remaine? If you haue granted vs present succours, before you haue received the benefits of *Antigonus*, wee must with reason enquire, if it be firthat in yeilding to the succeding benefits, you shoulde contemne the precedent which you haue enjoyed. How this liberty and safety being published hath beeene consumed by *Antigonus*, there are some which reproach it vnto you, and turne these things to euill, demanding often whether you shoulde follow the party of the *Etolians* or *Macedonians*: You would enter League with vs in many things, to whom in these affaires you haue A giuen your faith, and you haue it mutually from vs, having manngaged the former Warres with vs against the *Macedonians*. Who can doubt iustly of these things.

It is certaine that the Affaires which you haue with *Antigonus* and *Philip*, is palliated vnder the Title of courtesie. Finally, what neede is there to declare that, which since hath beeene done vnto you? Either in regard of the outrage of the *Etolians*, or the bounty of the *Macedonians*, or for any other thing which hath beeene availeable vnto them. How can you being now changed, confirme the Accords and Oathes with them, (which are great Testimonies and Tyes among men) to whom formerly you had wisely refolued not to obey? Whas *Chlence* had Discouered of these things, and had spoken in such sort, as hee thought no man could contradict him, hee made an end of his Speech. After whom *Lucisque Embassadour* for the *Acaranians*, entring, contained himselfe at the first, seeing many discoursing of the afore-sayd things: But when silence was made, hee beganne in these Termes:



The Oration of *Lucisque Embassadour* of the *Acaranians* to the *Lacedemonians*.

 Ou Masters of *Lacedemon*, we are come hither, as sent by D the Common-weale of the *Acaranians*. We conceiue that this our Embassie, is common to vs and the *Macedonians*: For that in a manner daily, they and wee are Companions in the same hope. And as in dangers wee are involved together, by reason of their excellency and the greatness of their Virtue, to the end that by their forces wee may lie in safety: In like manner the commodity of the *Acaranians*, is according to the care of the Embassadors, contained in the right of the

the *Macedonians*. Wherefore you haue nocause to wonder, if we make a long discourse of *Philip* and the *Macedonians*. Chlence making an end of his Oration, adedes a briete recapitulation of the right by the which you were bound vnto them: For hee hath said, if therein bee nothing which hath beeene done Since by the *Etolians*, which doth hurt or discontents, after the Succours granted vnto them: or any courtesie done by the *Macedonians*, this present deliberation, is of a iust consideration. If likewise they haue not committed, in producing the things which concerne *Antigonus*, the which formerly haue beeene allowed by you, I am of opinion that you are the simplest men in the World, if you renew the Oathes and Accords. For my part, I say you are the simplest men in the World, and take the vainest resolution, if when as there hath beeene nothing done according vnto his Speech, and the *Grecian* Affaires remaine such as they were before, when you made the League with the *Etolians*.

B But if this cause hath a very different disposition, as I will shew in continuing my Discourse, I thinke it will appere plainly, that I say somerthing which will be commodious vnto you, beeinge unknowne by Chlence. We are come hither to that end, being perswaded that we are to speake it, to make it knowne. Wherefore it is necessary, if it may be done, that when you haue heard the calamities which hangs ouer all *Greece*, you should resolute on that which may be honest and fit, and to enter into League with vs in the same hope. If this cannot be done, but at this present you will rest your selues. Yet I hold it necessary, that in Discoursing in few words of this Subject, (for that the others haue presumed to accuse the House of the *Macedonians*) wee should cleare the ignorance of those, which haue giuen credit to their Speeches.

C Chlence hath sayd that *Philip* the sonne of *Aminatus*, Conquered the Principallity of *Thebess* by the ruine of the *Olynthians*. Contrariwise I am of opinion, that not onely the *Thebaliens*, but the rest of the *Grecians* haue beene preferred by *Philip*. Who is there among you, that knowes not that at such time as *Nomarche* and *Philonome*, going to *Delphes*, had vsurped the Gouvernement vnjustly, and rauished the *Nomarche*, and *Philonome*, of the Treasurie of the Gods execrably, what great forces they then raysed, against the which none of the *Grecians* durst once open his mouth publikely. As they were wicked towards God, so they laboured for to vnappe the Principallity of all *Greece*. At what time *Philip* employing his forces willingly, defeated the Tyrants, and restored the things safely which belonged to the Temple: Deliuering whall vnto the *Grecians* an occasion of liberty, as the effect doth testifie to Posterity. The *Grecians* did not make chioce of *Philip* to be their Commander, both at Sea and Land, as hauing offended the *Thebaliens*, as this man hath presumed to say, but as a Benefactor vnto *Greece*: Which dignety no man before had euer receiued. It is true, hee came to *Lacedemon* with an Army. This was not by his owne aduise, as you know: But being called and often prest by his Friends and Allies of *Morea*, whom hee obeyed vniwillingly. And when hee arriued there, consider Chlence how

how hee carried himselfe. When it was in his power to make vse of the fury of their neighbours, alswell in the spoile of the *Lacedemonian* Region, as in debasing the Cityt; whereby hee shoulde purchase their fauour, but he would not follow this aduise : But terrified both the one and the other, and forced them to make an end of their Quarrell, for their common good and profit. Neither did hee Constitute himselfe a ludge in this Contentions, but establisched men chosen throughout all *Greece*.

Is this an Act worthy of reproach and reprehension? Thou hast likewise made the same reproach to *Alexander*, as if hee had wrongfully afflixed the *Thebeins*: But thou hast made no mention of the punishment which hee inflicted vpon the *Persians*, to reuenge the common outrage done to all the *Grecians*: Nor how hee deliuered you from great miseries, reducing the *Barbarians* into seruitude, and defeating their Succours, with the which they ruined *Greece*, making Warre sometimes against the *Athenians*, and their Ancestors, sometimes against the *Thebeins*: and that in the end he made *Asia* subiect to the *Grecians*. As for his Successours, how dares he presume to speake? They haue beeene themselues many times the cause of good to some, and of hurt to others, during the Galamities of their time: Against whom some happily may haue caused to remember outrages: But it becomes not you, from whom they never diuerted any good, but contrariwise preuented you many times from harme. Who are they which haue called *Antigonus* the sonne of *Demetrius* to subiect the *Acheans*? Who are they moreouer which haue made a League, and sworne it with *Alexander the Epitome* to ruine *Aeacaria*, and to diuide it: Haue you done it? Who hath sent such Commanders contrary vnto the publicke good, as you haue done? Who were not ashamed to infringe the liberties.

Alexander the Epitome.

How hath *Tymenus* sackt the Temple of *Neptune* iiii *Tasmanie*, that of *C* *Artimedes* at *Lusus*? In regard of *Pharisaes*, he hath ruined the Temple of *Inno* in *Argos*. And *Polyclates* that of *Neptune* in *Mantinea*. What hath *Laisabe* and *Nicostates* done? Haue they not infringed the Accords of the *Pamboliates* with *Panegyre*, and practized the crueltie of *Sytheans*, and *Gallatians*, or *Gaules*, so as nothing hath beeene done by the Successours? And when you could not excuse them, you holde it a glory that you haue broken the attempts of the *Barbarians*, falling vpon *Delphos*: Saying moreouer that for this cause the *Grecians* ought to give you thankes. And if they must acknowledge this commodity from the *Etolians*, what honour do not the *Macedonians* deserue, who employ the greatest part of their liues continually, to maintaine the safety of the *Grecians* against the *Barbarians*? What is hee that doeth not know that the *Grecians* haue beeene continually subiect to great dangers, if the *Macedonians* and the bounty of their Kings had not served them for a Rampus? VVhereof beheld a great Argument: For when as the *Gaules* disdaining the *Macedonians*, had vanquished *Ptolemy* surnamed *Ceraune*, they came presently into *Greece* with *Brennus* Army: The which had often happened, if the *Macedonians* had not had the charge.

charge. And although I could holde a long Discourse of ancient deedes, yet I thinke these presents will suffice. But for that which among other things *Philip* hath done, hee turnes to crueltie the ruine of the Temple: But hee doth not adde their outrage and infolencie, which they haue committed in the Temples and Oratories of the Gods, which are in *Die* and *Dodone*, the which hee shoulde haue spoken first. You relate the wrongs and miseries you haue indured, and make a greater shew then is needfull, passing ouer in silence, thole which you haue formerly committed in great numbers: For you know, that every outrage and wrong that is done, is by all men reiectet vpon those, who haue first done the wrong vnjustly.

As for the deeds of *Antigonus*, I will onely make mention, to the end his Actions may not seeme to you worthy of contempt: neither must you lightly regard a deede of great esteeme. I doe not think there were euer so great a benefit seene, as that which hee hath imparted vnto you. It seemes vnto me so excellent, as there cannot be a greater: The which may appearre by this. *Antigonus* made Warre against you, then in giving you *Battaille*, he vanquished you by Armes: Hee was in the end Lord of the Country and City, hee might by the Law of Armes haue intreated you roughly: But hee was so far from offering you any outrage, as beside other Benefits, he bath (chasing the Tyrant) restored your Lawes and proper rights. For which Faue ordaining a Testimony to the *Grecians* by publicke praiers, you haue calld him *Antigonus* your Benefactor and Sauour. VVhat shold you then doe? I will tell you, seeing there is hope of your good Audience: The which I will doe, and not without reason, not to charge you with reproches, but for that the quality of matters for eth mee, to speake that which is necessary in publicke. VVhat shall I then say? That in the former VVarre you should haue imbraced the League of the *Macedonians*, and not of the *Etolians*: And that at this day you should rather revniate your selues with *Philip*, seeing hee calls you then with them.

You answeare, that in doing so, you shall breake your Accords. But tell me, if you shall commit a greater mischiefe, in leaving the Accord which you haue made in particular with the *Etolians*, then in Transgrefsing those which concerning all the *Grecians*, are grauen and Consecrated vpon a Pilar? Why doe you so superstitiously sic the disciane of those, from whom you never received any benefit: And bear no respect to *Philip*, nor to the *Macedonians*: from whom you haue the power to hold this Councell? Think you that right and equitie, ought to bee preferred to Friends? Yet the Sancttie is not so great to obserue the Faith reduced in Writings, as the sinne is prophane and execrable in bearing Hatred, and making Warre against a publicke body. What the *Etolians* require now of you? But we haue spoken enough of this Subiect, the which would be held by the Enuious, not to concerne the present busynesse. I retorne therefore to the Continuation and Discourse of the cause which consists in this. If the Affaires be at this day alike, as when you made an Alliance of Warre with them, the

the election of things propounded in the beginning must remaine in you. If they be altogether changed, it is fit you should consider iudiciously upon that which they require.

I demand of you *Cleonice* and *Eblence*, what allies had you when as you called these men to a Common warre. Had you all the *Grecians*? With whom at this day haue you communication of your hope? Or to what league doe you invite these men? Is it not of *Barbarians*? Thinke you this present warre is like unto the precedent, and not different? You contended then with the *Acheans*, and your kinsmen the *Macedonians*, and with *Philip*, for principallity and glory: And now the warre is made by strangers against *Greece* for its seruitude, whom you thinke to draw against *Philip*. Are you ignorant that their forces are call'd in against your felues and all *Greece*? Like unto those which during a warre retire into their City a greater Garrifon then their owne forces for their owne safety, make themselves subiect to their friends, as soone as they are freed from the feare of their Enemy: The *Etolians* thinke the same at this day. Whilst they desire to vanquish *Philip*, and to humble the *Macedonians*, they doe not obserue how they blind themselves with a western fogge, the which happily may bring some darknesse to the *Macedonians*, and in the end be the cause of great miseries to all the *Grecians*. It is therefore necessary for all *Greece*, to prouide for the threatnings of this time, and especially for the *Macedonians*. Otherwise what cause thinke you my Masters of *Lacedemon*, had your Ancestours, when as *Xerxes* demanded by an Embassadour which he sent vnto you Water and Earth, they cast him that was sent into a Well, and cast Earth vpon him: Then taking him out againe, they gaue him charge to tell *Xerxes* that hee had Water and Earth in *Lacedemon*: Moreouer, for what reason did the Company which was slaine with *Leontides*, cast themselves vpon the Enemy in view of all the World? Was it not to the end they might see them undergoe the danger, not only for their owne liberty, but also for the rest of *Greece*? Consider now, if it be decent and fitting for their posterity, to take Armes, and to make VVarrre with the *Barbarians*, in allying themselves with them, against the *Epirotes*, *Acheans*, *Acaranians*, *Bocrians*, *Thebaniens*, and in a manner against all the *Grecians*, holding nothing infamous, so as it were profitable. VVhat must they attend that doe such vnlawfull things?

As the *Romans* haue beeene vnted to them, so the others haue endeauoured (hauing the said comfort and aide from the *Sclavonians*) to make the war by Sea, and to breake the Accord at *Pyles*: And haue by Land besieged the City of the *Clitorians*, ruining that of the *Cynethians*. It is true, they first made an Accord with *Antigonus*, in regard of the *Acheans* and *Acaranians*. But at this day they are Confederates with the *Romans* against *Greece* in general. These things understood, who doth not suspect the comming of the *Romans*, and detest the fortishnesse of the *Etolians*, who presum'd to enter into such a League? They spoile the Vines, and the Iland of *Acarania*, which they

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they with the *Romans* haue ruined, who carry away their VVives and Children, suffering (as it seemes) the common accidents of those which fall into the hands of strangers in regard of the vyle of these miserable people, the *Etolians* enjoy it. It were without doubt a very honest and pleasing thing that the *Lacedemianians* should imbrace this League, who would haue the *Thebeins* alone among the *Grecians* live in peace, when the *Perians* descended: and haue resolued to make vowes unto the Gods to vanquish the *Barbarians*.

Your dutie and Honor, my Masters of *Lacedemon*, depends thereon, to the ende that haung recourse vnto your Ancestors, and fearing the comming of the *Romans*, and suspecting the bad intent of the *Etolians*, and putting you in minde of the deedes of *Antigonus*, you may detest the League of the wicked, and sette the amitie of the *Etolians*, allying your felues by a common hope with the *Acheans* and *Macedonians*. And if some of the chiefe yeild not vnto it, at the least budge not, neither make your felues Companions of their Outrages. It is true, that affection to friends is very profitable, if it bee commodiouly made: But if it be forced, and finally slow and defetive, it hath no comfort: and therefore you must obserue, if onely in words, or else in actions they will keepe their League with you.

A parcell of the Riuere of Euphrates.

Euphrates takes its source and beginning in *Armenia*, running its course by *Syria*, drawing towards *Babylon*, and falls as it seemes, into the Red Sea; whereof the signe is. It looseth it selfe in holow places vnder ground made in that Region, before it falls into the Sea. Wherefore it hath a different nature to other Riuers. The course of others augment as they passe by many places, and are very high in *Winter*, and low in *Summer*. But *Euphrates* growes very high at the rising of the *Canicular*, especially in *Syria*, and continuing its course decreaseth. The cause is for that it is not augmented by the concurrence of the winter raine, but by the melting of the Snow: It decreaseth likewise for that it extends vpon the plaine, and is dispersed for the watring of the Land. Then the transport of Armes is slowly made, for that the shippes stay in regard of the burthen, the Riuere beeing low; and finally the swift course of the water is some hinderance vnto the Navigation.

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A PARCELL OF the Tenth Booke of the History of POLYBIUS.

The Coast of
Tarentum.



S from thence vnto the Sea, and from the City of *Rhegium* vnto *Tarentum*, there aboue two Thousand Furlongs, yet the Coast of Italy hath no Ports, except those which are at *Tarentum*. That Coast turns to the Sicilian Sea, and bents towards Greece. It is much peopled with *Barbarians*: So there are very famous Grecian Cities. For the *Brucians*, *Zucain*, and some Countries of the *Sannites*, and moreover the *Calabriens*, and many other nations inhabite this Country: Even as among the *Grecians*, lies *Rhegium*, *Carloue*, *Lacres*, and *Crotone*: Moreover the *Metapontins*, and *Thurins*, possesse this Maritine Region. And therefore they which come from *Sicily* and *Greece*, are (when as they faire vnto any of the said places) by necessity carried to the Ports of *Tarentum*: And are forced to Traffique with their Merchandizes in that Cittie, with all the inhabitants of that Coast. Some happily may conjecture, that the Commoditie of this place, proceeds from the abundance and fertilite of the *Crotonates*. And although the *Crotonates* they haue some Summer stations of small reunew, yet it seemes they will challenge to themselves a great fertilite, and from no other thing but from the fruitlefulness of the place, which is not to bee compared to the Ports and Region of the *Tarentins*. There is also a Commoditie from

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from this place to the *Adriaticke Ports*, at this day great; but in former times greater. All they which sailed from high *Ponile vnto Sippones* in Front, and were carried into Italy, landed at *Tarentum*, and made vse of this City for their Commerce and Traffike, as in affaires. Then the City of the *Bretensins* was not yet built. Wherefore *Fabi* us much esteeming this abode, was addicted vnto it, leaving all other things. All others hold him for a very fortunate man, and that many times, and for the most part, he ended his Enterprizes without reason and accidentally: holding this kinde of men to bee more diuine A and admirable, then those which attempt all things by a discouer of reason: Being ignorant withall, that by these wards the actions of the one are worthy of Commendations, and those of the other happy and fortunate. Moreover, the one is common vnto the people: But the other is proper to wife and iudicious men, whom we must hold diuine and beloued of the Gods.

For my part *Fabius* seemes to me to haue a Nature and disposition like vnto *Lycurgus*, the Law-giuere of the *Lacedemonians*. We must not thinke that *Lycurgus* had bee so superstitious, as obeying *Pythas*, he had established the *Lacedemonian Common-wealthe*: Nor likewise *Publius Scipio* moued with Dreames and Diuininations, had purchased so great a power in the Country. But for that the one and the other few many men not greatly to affect doubtfull affaires, nor likewise to perfume to undertake matters that were graue and dangerous without the hope of the Gods: For this cause *Lycurgus* making vse of the same drawne from *Pythas* in his opinion, hec made them more pleasing and certaine. *Publius Scipio* in like manner had made an impression in many of a conceite of him, that hec executed his Enterprizes by a certaine Diuine Councell. By this means he made his men more assured, and willing to attempt difficulte things. That he hath brought every thing to an end by sufficient reason and wisdome, and that C for this cause all his actions haue had an end concurrent to reason, will appeare manifest and plaine by the Discouer which I shall hold concerning him.

It is certaine he was bountifull and generous: But as for his industry, sobrietie, and vigilancy in his resolutions, no man can conceiue them, but such as haue liued with him, and haue exactly searcht the depts of his disposition: among the which was *Lethys*, who had bee his Companion from his Infancy in all his actions and discourses vnto his Death: for that hee seemest to speake likely things, and confor-mable to his actions. First hee reports this Noble deede of *Publius Scipio*, when as his Father had refolued to fight with *Hannibal* neare vnto the Riuere of *Pot*. For at that time being as it seemes but seuen-teeen years old, going into the Field, hee had received from his Father a Troupe of the best and strongest men for his defence and guard.

And when he saw his Father in danger, and enuironed by the Enemy, accompanied onely with two or three Horfe, haunting receiued a dangerous wound, he began at the first to encourage his company to succour his

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Understanding
more commen-
dicable then For-
tune.

The courage of
Publius.

his Father : But when they wayered, for the great multitude of the Enemies, hee cast himselfe desperately as it seemes, and charged them couragiously. Afterwards when the rest were forced to fight, the Enemies amazed with feare, ceas'd the Combatte. Old *Publius* being thus preserued contrary to all hope, hee was the first who (in hearing of them all) called him his Sauiour. When by this action the fame of his prowesse and dexterity began; hee afterwards ingag'd himselfe in greater dangers, whensoever the supreacute Hope of the Country required it by necessity : This was not with a courage relying in Fortune, but of a iudicious Captaine.

Afterwards *Lurio* his elder Brother, aspiring to the Dignity of *Edule*, the which among the *Romans* was the Noblest command of the Youth, and that by custome they made choise of two *Edules* among the *Patriot*, and that there were many at that time which aim'd at it, he was long before he durst demand it of his Brother. When the Election grew neare, and that he had made a coniecture by the humour of the multitude, that his Brother would hardly obtaine it, seeing himselfe on the other side in great fauour with the people, and might attaine vnto his attempt, if with their consent he vnderooke the cause, he fell into this conceit. When he saw his Mother visite the Temples, and sacrifice vnto the Gods for his Brother, and that she entertained a great hope of the future, which she had in singular recommendation, and that his Father being then Commander of the Army in the sayd War, had fayled into *Spaine*, he told his Mother that hee had one dreame twice, and that it seemed vnto him that he returned being made *Edule* with his Brother, from the place to goe vnto thair house : And that running vnto the doore, shee had saluted them with imbracings. When hee had ended this Speech, the Mother being very passionate with an effermate affection, and answering I know not what, shew added; Oh that I might see that Day : will you faies he, that wee make a tryall ! C Whereroon consenting, for that she did nor thinke he would dare to attempt so great a matter, considering that he was very young, shew required (as it were in sport) that he should prelentyly prouide him a long Cloake. For they which stand for government, are accustomed to be so attired. In regard of his Mother, shew had no confidence in his words.

Publius Bro-
ther created
Edules.

Publius when he had this brane Robe, went suddainly to the place, his Mother being yet asleepe. When the Multitude had received him with amazement, as well for this nouelty contrary to all hope, as for the loue and affection they had formerly borne him, and afterwards drawing to the place appointed, he was neare vnto his Brother, many adiudg'd this government not only to *Publius*, but also to his Brother for the loue of him : and being both of them created *Edules* in this manner, they returned to their house. When the Mother had receiu'd the newes, she ran vnto the Gate, and with affection and loue saluated them. Wherefore although that *Publius* disdained Dreames, yet it seemed by this action to all those which haue heard speake of it, that he had speech with the Gods, not only sleeping, but much more in the day waking.

waking. But for that he was bountifull and pleasing in his words, and had well obserued the affection of the Commons towards him, and had accommodated the time to the people and his Mother; hee not onely perfected his Enterprize, but also seemed to haue dispatch it by some Divine inspiration. They without doubt which cannot duly consider the occasions, nor the causes and dispositions of every thing by the vice of Nature, or ignorance and dulnesse, referre vnto the Gods and Fortune the causes of things which are decided by industry and discrete reason. These things I speake for the Readers, to the end that falling A through errou into the vulgar opinions of this man, they should not leauie good and commendable graces that were in him, that is to say, his Dexterity and Industry. In regard of that which I speake of him, it will appare manifestly by his actions.

Publius Scipio being then Generall of the Army in *Spaine*, calling his Troupes together, he aduised them not to be amazred for the aduentures and disgraces past. For the *Romans* had never been vanquished by the prowess of the *Carthaginians*, but by the treason of the *Celiberians*: And the rashnesse of the Commanders seperated one from another, for that they trusted in them : which are things he sayd were then among the Enemies. For besides that they made Warre being farre B distant one from another, they offer'd outrages to their Allies, and made them Enemies: And that for this cause some were already sent home: and the rest will speedily (when they shall be assured) come when you haue once past the Riuier, not so much for the good will they beare you, as to seeke a reuenge for the wrongs receiu'd by the *Carthaginians*. But moreouer the Captaines are in dissencion among them selues, and will not willingly ioyne together to fight with you : And being thus diuided, they would be defeated, and fall easilie into their hands. Wherefore he perswaded them, that considering these things they should passe the Riuier boldly, promising to give good order for the rest. When he had vised this speech vnto the other Captaines, he left his colleague *Marcus* vpon the passage of the Riuier, accompanied with three thousand Foote and five hundred Horse, to the end hee might succour his Companions being in the Riuier : hee himselfe past with the rest of his Army, holding his intention secre from all the World. Hee resolu'd things which he did not impart to many men. His resolution was to lay siege to the City of *Carthage* scinate in *Spaine*, by the way of course : The which every man might vnderstand, and that it is an excellent presumption of his esteeme, whereof I haue formerly spoken. For as hee was but seuen and twenty years old, he gaue himselfe first to things which in the judgement of the World seemed desperat, for the great precedent dangers and misfortunes : leauing all things that were vulgar and easie : and resolu'd and attempted those which seemed impossible vnto the Enemie, every one of which required an exact wisedome, knowledge, and understanding.

In the beginning being yet at *Rome*, when hee had considered by himselfe, and enquired diligently of the treason of the *Celiberians*, and of

Accondance
of *Publius* act-
ions to his Army.

of the division in the Armies, what might happen, and what fortune had befalne his Father, he was nothing amazed at the *Carthaginians*, neither did he faſt as many vifually doe. But after that he vnderſtood that the Allies on this ſide the Riuere of *Ebro*, continued conſtant in their Friendship, and that the Commanders of the *Carthaginians* were in diſcord, and opprefte the Subiects, hee affeſted the Warre with an affured courage, haueing no confidence in Fortune, but in wife Councell. When he arriued in *Spaine*, hee mooued them all, and haueing enquired of the Enemies actions, hee vnderſtood that the *Carthaginians* Armies were diuided into three : and that *Mago* made his abode within the Pillars of *Hercules*, at certayne places called *Conies*: And that *Aſdrubal* the Sonne of *Scone*, was neare the mouth of a Riuere by *Portugall*; the other *Aſdrubal* in the *Carpentines* Country held a City beſieged: Either of which places were many dayes iourney diſtant from the City of the *Ceneſeſins*. Studying then whether he ſhould reſolute to giue Battaille vnto the Enemy, if it were againſt all their forces, he ſhould be in danger to be defeated, as well in regard of that which had befalne his Predeceſſors, as for that their Armies were great. If likewiſe he laboured to fight with the one, it was to be feared that in flying the Battaille, the other Armies would come, and by this meaneſ ſhe ſhould be incloſed, falling into the like Diſtaſters, whereunto his Uncle *Caius* and his Father *Publius* had beene ſubiect.

Wherefore leauing this aduice, when he vnderſtood that *Carthage* was a great caſe vnto the Enemies, and would be a great annoynce to him in this Warre, he confidered of every thing, wintring among the *Gilotes*. When he was aquerted in the beginning that it had Ports which miſt conteine all the Sea-army of *Spaine*: haueing likewiſe a Maritime ſituation, ſpacious and commodious for the *Carthaginians*, for the Navigation which comes from *Lybia*: and likewiſe for that the Treaſure and Baggage for the Army, with all the hoffages of *Spaine*, were kept there: adding thereto the great aduantage, for that the Fort had not above a thouſand Souldiers in Garrifon, for that they never ſuſpected that any man would preſume to beſiege it, the *Carthaginians* beeing in a manner Maifters of all *Spaine*: and that finally the reſt of the people are in great number, yet they were Artizans, Mechañickes and Fishermen, who had no great expeſence in the Warre: He imagined that his coming to this City would be vneſpected with amazement. He was not ignorant of the ſituation of the Towne, nor of its fortiſcation, nor likewiſe of the diſposition of the Poole: which things he had learned from Fishermen which had frequented the place: This Poole was generally muddy, and yet wadeable for the moſt part: and withall the water retired daily about Sun-setting. Wherefore concluding that if he preuailed in his Enterprize, he ſhould not onely annoy the Enemy, but it would bee a great benefit for the Warre: And if his aduice and councell ſucceeded well, hee might preſerve his Subiects as Maifter of the Sea, if he might once fortiſe and strengthen his Army. The which was caſe: for that the Enemies were far off.

Leauing

Leauing therefore all other reſolutions, hee attends this during Winter.

And when he had once reſolved, being of the age we haue mentioned, he concealed his reſolution from all the World, (except to *Caius Lelyus*) vntill he thought it fit to maniſt it. Although that Historiographers giue testimony of this reſolution, yet when they come to the end of the action, they attribute this excellent worke to the Gods and to Fortune, and not to him nor his wifedome; without any probable arguments, and the testimony of thoſe which liued with him: A for that *Scipio* himſelfe declares plainly in an Epitile which he had written to *Philip*, that making vſe of the aduice which we haue mentioned, he had vndertaken the Warre of *Spaine*, and the ſiege of *Carthage*. Moreouer, commanding *Lelyus* ſecrely touching the Army at Sea, he gaue him charge to ſaile about the City. Hee alone was priuie to his deſigne, as I haue ſayd. Himeſelfe taking the Troupes of Fooſ-men, marcht ſpeedily. There were in the Army at Land about fiftie and twenty thouſand Fooſe, and two thouſand five hundred Horſe. Being come into the City on the ſeventh Day, hee planted his Campe on the North part, and fortified it without with a double Rampire and Ditches from one Sea vnto the other, without doing any thing to wards the City. The Nature of the place had fortiſcation enough.

To vnderſtand well how this City hath beeene beſieged and taken, I hold it neceſſary in ſome ſort to deſcribe the neighbour Countries and its ſituation. It is ſeated in *Spaine* about the middle of the Maritime Region, in the Gulfe which hath its aſpect towards *Aſſirike*: whose depth is about twenty Furlongs, and the breadth at the entrance about ten: All this Gulfe makes a kind of Port, where there lies an Iland at the mouth of it, leauing on either ſide a little carraſee. And when the Sea is troubled with any torment, then all the Gulfe is calme, but when the Westerne Winds of the Winter Solſtice, beating vpon the two entrances, caſte the Rorke: But as for the other Winds it is not troubled, by reaſon of the firme Land which enironeth it. Behind the Gulfe there riſeth a Cape, whereon the City is ſituated, enironed with the Sea towards the East and South, and with a Lake vpon the West and North, ſo as the ſpace which remains from one Sea to another, by the which the City is ioyned to the firme Land, is not above two Furlongs.

In regard of the City, one moiety of it is concave: and towards the South it hath the approach of the full Sea: Finally, it is full of Hills, whereof two are rough and difficult: the other three are very lowe, but ſtrong and hard to paſe, whereof the highest bendeth towards the East, advauncing to the Sea: There the Temple of *Aſlepit* is buiilt. Right againſt the which is another of the ſame ſituation, whereon ſtands a ſumptuous royll Pallace, the which ſome ſay had beene buiilt by *Aſdrubal* affeſting a Regall power. The reſt of the leſſer Hills haue their tops towards the North. That of the three which looks direclty towards the Eaſt, is called *Phoſte*: to the which is ioyned that of *Aſte*. It ſeemes that *Phoſte* hath beeene the inuenſtor

The number of
Scipio's Army
at Land.
Carthage beſieged.

The ſituation
of *Carthage*.

bentor of Siluer mettals, and for this cause purchased diuine honours. The third is called *Cross*. In regard of the Lake ioyning to the Sea : it hath taken its course by the worke of man, for the benefit of Fisher-men, and others trafficking by Sea. But at the breach of the Banke by the which the Lake and Sea are diuided, they haue made a Bridge, to the end that Sumpters and Carts might bring things necessary from the Countrey.

This was the scituacion of those places, the *Roman*s Campe was fortified in Front, without any prouision as well by the Lake, as Sea on either side. In regard of the space which ioynes the City to the firme Land, he did not fortifie it, for that it was in the midst of his Campe : to the end he might amaze the *Citizens*, and make vse of it for Skirmishes, and to fally forth and retire to his Campe. The Walles in the beginning had not aboue twenty Furlongs : Although that many haue giuen it forty : which is not true. Wee speake not by heare-say, but vp-on a certaine knowledge, for that we haue seene the places : and at this day they containe no more.

Scipio hauing drawne his Army together with that at Sea, began to make remonstrances vnto them, without vsing any other arguments and reasons, then simply to propound the things whereof wee haue partly B spoken, and shewing them that this attempt was feazable : and in relating in particular things done by prowesse, he extenuated that of his affaires. Finally, he promised Crownes of Gold to those which should first ascend the Wall : and the accustomed rewards to others which should carry them selues openly like braue and valiant men. And in the meane time he affirmes that *Neptune* had appeared vnto him in sleepe, and had shewed him this kind of attempt to afflaile the City : And consequently, as the efficacy of his Succours should be manifest to the whole Army. By his remonstrances and evident reasons, together with the promise of Crownes of Gold, and moreouer by the prouidence of God, he imprinted a vehement desire and courage in the Youth.

The next day hee drew his ships into the Maritime places, furnished with divers Engines to cast, whereof he gaue the charge to *Caius Lelymus* : And taking at Land two thoufand able men with those that carried Ladders, he began the assault three hours after. *Mago* on the other side who had the guard of the City, diuiding his Battalion of a thoufand men, leauing the one halfe within the Fort, and plants himselfe on the Hill which looks towards the East : and appoints about two thoufand strong men, furnished with Armes which were in the City, to the D Gate which drawes to the *Isthmus*, and the Enemies Campe : Commanding the rest to runne vp and downe the Walles, and to defend them with all their power. When as *Publius Scipio* had caufed the Trumpet to sound to the assault, *Mago* caused a fally to be made by the Gate, hoping to terrifie the Enemies, and to frustrate their attempt. As they fought valiantly with those that came marching in Battaille towards the *Isthmus*, there was a braue Combate, every man giuing courage to his Companion. But the attempt was not equall, for that their

The beginning
of the fight for
Carthagena.

Succours

Succours were not alike : For that the *Carthaginians* came running forth but by one Gate, within the space of two Furlongs : whereas the *Romans* came fuddainly and from many places. *Scipio* restrained his men neare the Campe, to drawe the Enemy farre from the City, being confident that if he defeated this Battalion of Commons, he shoulde subfsequently defeate the rest, and that no man would dare to make a fally. It fell out that the Combate was for a time equall : for that on either side they had made choise of their ablest men to make the point. But in the end the *Carthaginians* being repulsd by the force of those which came running from the Campe, turne head : so as many were slaine during the Combate and retreat. There were many likewise slaine at the Gate.

After this all the people of the City were so amazed, as they which were on the Walles fled : and the *Romans* had like to haue entred with the Run-awayes. Moreouer, they set vp the Ladders diligently, where-as *Scipio* vnderooke the danger : the which he did wifely. He was accompanied with three men carrying Targets, (the which couering

The Carthaginians
are repulsd.

carthage assaul-
ted by the Ro-
mans.

B *Scipio*, hindred the sight from the top of the Wall) defended him thus covered. By this meanes striuynge vpon the flankes and difficult places, he was of great vse in taking this City. When he saw what was done, being also discouered to all the Souldiers fighting, he gaue them great courage, so as no danger was avoided : and hee employed himselfe chearfully with the rest (as it was reasonable) in every occasion that was offered to purpose. When the first ascended the Ladders resolute- C ly, the multitude of Defendants did not make the assault so dangerous, as the height of the Walles. For this cause they which defended it, were more assured seeing the difficulty which happened. For some of the Ladders brake by reaon of the multitudes which mounted on them. They also which ascended first, were so dazed with the height of the Ladders, as if the resistance and defence had beeene any thing, they must haue cast themselues downe headlong : And when as any such accidente happened, striuynge to get over the Wall, they were ouerthrowne to the ground. And although such things happened, yet they could not repulse the *Romans* from their assault : so as when the first were fallen, their next neighbours stopt into their places.

But as the day was farre spent, and the Souldiers tired with the toile of the assault, the Commander caufed a retreate to be founded. Wherefore they of the City rejoiced as if they had repulsd the danger. But D *Scipio* attending the time when the Tide should retire, appointed five hundred men for the Lake with Ladders. In regard of the Gate and *Isthmus*, he set fresh men : and after that he had preach vnto them, he deliuered them more Ladders then formerly, to the end they might mount vpon the Walles more thicke. When they had founded to the A second af-
faul, gaue to
*Carthage by the
Romans.*

contented at that which happened, yet defending themselves no less valiantly. Finally, the ebbing of the Sea beganne during the Combate of the Ladders : The height of the Poole was much diminished, by the ebbing of the Tide, the which was great, falling by the mouth into the Sea, so as it seemed incredible to thofe which saw it without consideration.

Scipio having his guides ready, commandes thofe which he had appointed, to enter and to carrie themselves valiantly. Hee was as fit and induſtrious as any man, to put courage into his Souldiers, and to make them resolute to whom he preacht. When they obeyed him, and A striued thorough the mud, all the Army held that which happened to be done by ſome Divine prouidence. Wherefore rememb'ring thofe things which they had heard, and the proweſſe of *Scipio*, they were ſo inflamed, as they drew to the Gate cloſe and with a violent course, and ſeek'e to break it open with Hatchets and Axes. The others approching the VValls through the mud, and finding the toppe naked of men, they ſet vp their Ladders not onely without danger, but they paſt the Wals without difficultie. The Citizens in truth were drawne to other places, neither did they thinke that the Enemy would euer affaile the Wal by the Lake. Moreouer by reaſon of the extreame crie B and the confuſed noife, they could neither ſee nor hearne any thing that was done.

The *Romans* hauing gotten the VVall, ſeek'e firſt vnder colour of making the round, how they might draw the Enemies vnto them. For the effecting whereof their Armes was of great ſeruice. Finally, they come to the Gate, where as ſome going downe cut the barres, others entred from without. In regard of thofe which made their attempts at the *Isbimus* with Ladders, after they had defeated them which defended the VValls, they leapt over, and by this meaneſ the VVall was gotten. As for the Hill ſituat'd towards the Eaſt, they which entred by the Gate recou'red it, chafing away the Guards. VVhen as *Scipio* C ſaw that there was a ſufficient number entred into the City, hee ſent many of them according to the Cuſtome, againſt the Citizens, giuing them charge to kill all they met without taking any to mercy, and not to buſie themſelues with ſpoile vntill they had a ſigne giuen them. The *Romans* doe this to terrifie them. And therefore wee often ſee, that when they take Cities by force, they doe not onely kill the men, but they cut their Dogges in pieces, and diſmember their other Cattle. Many ſuch things happened in that Citie, by reaſon of the multitude of Prisoners.

Finally *Publius Scipio* accompanied with a Thousand men affailes the Fort : whereunto making his approaches, *Mago* at the first ſtrives to defend it : But when hee vnderſtood the Truth of the taking of the City, hee lends men to parley for his ſafety, and by this meaneſ hee diſlivers the Fort. This done, a ſigne being giuen, the maſſacre ceaſed, and they fell to ſpoile. And when as night approached, ſome remained in the Campe ordained for that end : And the Generall ſpent the night in the Fort, accompanied with a Thousand men : Appointing the rest

Scipio affailes
the fort.

Mago delivers
the fort.

reſt being retir'd from the Houses, by the Captaines of Thousands, to carry the booty to the Ensignes in the marker place. In regard of them that were lightly arm'd, caſt from the Campe on the Hill, hee ſent them to the Eaſteſ parts. The *Romans* tooke Carthage in Spaine after this manner. The day following after they had carried the baggage of the *Carthaginian* Souldiers, and the ſubſtance of the Burgeſſes and Artizans to the place, the Captaines of Thousands according to Cuſtome, diuided it among their Bands.

Among the *Romans* this order is obſerved touching Cities taken. The order of the Romans in the diuision of the ſpoile of a Towne. Sometimes to every day they number the men, and diuining them by Ensignes. They neuer appoint aboue halfe the Army for this bufineſſe. The reſt remaine in Battaille for the Guard, ſometimes they are without, and ſometimes within the City, vnto the end they may be alwayes ready. The Army being diuided for the moſt part in two of *Romans*, and two of Allies, they which are depu'ted for the diuision, do euery man bring his booty vnto the Campe. This done, the Milaneers or Captaines of Thousands diuides it equally to them all : Not onely to thofe which remaine in Battaille, but alſo to the Guards of the Tents, to the ſick, and vnto all thofe which are ordained for any publicke ſeruice.

When they are together in Campe to go vnto the War, they ſwear to not commit any fraud in the pillage, and that they keepe their faith according vnto the oath which they haue taken. The Souldiers Oath touching the pillage. But wee haue ſpoken ſufficiently heereof in Discouſing of their policy. Finally when an Army is thus diuided, one part attending the Booty, and the reſt ſtanding in Battaille for their Guards, yet the *Romans* haue neuer any diſference through Courrouſacſſe. For when as none of them are frustrated for the Hope of gaine, and that in the meane time ſome follow C the ſpoile, and the others remaining in Battaille guard them, no man abandons his Ensigne : The which many times is the caufe of great loſſe and danger to others. Many ſuffer loſſe, and are in danger iſ regard of gaine : For it is apparent, that they which remaine in Campe, or are in Battaille, contayne themſelues vñwillingly : for that moſt commonly all the ſpoile vnder his Command and power which rules, if he be an abſolute Monarch : And if he be a Commaundor, every man holds that his owne, which may be hidden and purloind, although that all things be carefully brought together. And for that moſt part of men deſire booty, and for this caufe are in danger, hauing no meaneſ to obtaine an abſolute Victory, it falleth out that they are in danger to loſe all. The which happens to many, who althoſh they haue preuziled in their Enterprize, whether they haue caſt themſelues into the Enemies Campe, or haue taken a City, yet they haue not onely beeſe repulſ'd, but moreouer haſt loſt all, and for no other caufe but that aboue mentioned. Wherefor Comanders ought to haue nothing in greater recommendation and care, then that whereof wee ſpeak : which is, that (as muſh as may be poſſible) this hope may remaine to the greaſt part : that if ſuſh an accident happens, the diuision may be equal.

Scipio's prouide-
ning the Pri-
vates.

The number of
ships that were
taken.

The Wife of
Mandonia.

equall to them all. Then the Captaines of Thousands gave order to the Booty : and the *Roman* Commander hauing drawne together their Prisoners, (which were little leſſe then a thousand) hee commands them first to ſeparate the Citizens with their Wiues and Children, and then the handy-crafts-men. This done, hee auotheth the Citizens to imbrace the Friendſhip of the *Romans*, and to rememb're the fauour which they received, and then hee ſent them backe to their houſes. Whereof ſome weeping, and others ioyfull for their vnapſtected ſafety, they retire, hauing done their dutys to the General.

In regard of the Worke-men and Artizans, hee told them, that for the preuent they were publique Servants to the City of *Rome* : But if e-
very one did his duty cheerefully and willingly, he promised them li-
berty, iſ the Warre undertaken againſt the *Carthaginians* had a good
end. Then he gave charge to the Questor to take the Names of these
men, and that he ſhould appoint thirty *Roman* Commiſſaries, for the
whole multitude contained in a manner two thouſand. He alſo made
choiſe of the ſtrongeſt, and the moſt flouriſhing in age and forme, to fur-
niſh the Troupes : and fill'd the captiue ſhips with all the Marriners,
exceeding the former one halfe : ſo as every ſhip had in a manner twice
B as many men. There were eighteene captiue ſhips, and in the begin-
ning they had beeне ſiue and thirty. To whom he promised liberty iſ
they ſhewed themſelues friends and valiant, and that iſ in this Warre
he ſhould happen to vanquiſh the *Carthaginians*. When he had declar-
ed himſelfe in this manner, he made the Burgeſſes affectionate and
loyall, as well to himſelfe as to the *Roman* Common-weale : The
Worke-men and Artizans are in like manner ioyfull vpon the hope of
liberty.

But when he had by this ſupply much augmented the Troupes, in the
end he ſeparates *Mago* and the *Carthaginians*. For he had two Senators
and fifteen Councillors : whom hee gaue in charge to *Caius Lelyus*, C
commanding him to haue a ſpeciall care. Moreouer, hee calls all the
hoftages vnto him, which were aboue three hundred. Then he makes
much of the Children, willing them to reioyce, and that within few
dayes they ſhould ſee their Parents. In like manner he perſuades the
reſt to be of good hope, and to write vnto their Cities and Friends, that
firſt of all they had their liues ſaued, and were well intreated : And that
ſecondly the *Romans* would ſend them all home to their houſes in ſafe-
ty, iſ their Friends could imbrace their alliance. This Speech being
ended, he gaue the moſt commodious ſpoiles of the Army to every one
according to his Race and age, as to Children Feathers and Bracelets,
D and to young men Swords. When as among the Captiues the Wife of
Mandonia, the Brother of *Andobal*, King of the *Leebsteins*, had caſt her
ſelue at his feete, demanding with teares that he would haue a better re-
ſpect to her honeſty then the *Carthaginians* had had, being moued
with compassion, he demanded of her what neceſſary things ſhe wanted.
Shee was an aged woman, and carried the ſhew of ſome great Dignity.
And when he held her peace, he calls for thoſe which had the charge
of the women, who preſenting themſelues, and affirming that the
C *Carthaginians*

Carthaginians had furniſhed the Women with all things neceſſary : ſhe
touching his knees againe, repeated the ſame words. *Scipio* viewing
her, and thinking that they vnto whom he had then giuen the charge,
ſhewed themſelues lyers through negligence, commanded the Wo-
men not to be diſcontented, and that hee would give order to place o-
ther Commiſſaries, to the end nothing ſhould be wanting that was
neceſſary for them. Then ſtaying a little, Capraine ſhe ſaid, thou miſ-
takeſt my words, iſ thou doſt thinke that I require thy affiance to
contēt the belle.

A Then *Scipio* hearing her conceite, and obſcuring in her face the vi-
gour of *Andobal*'s daughters, and of many other Potentates, was for-
ced to weep; for that this Lady diſcovered her Galamitie in few words.
Wherfore when it appeareſt that he understood her conceit, taking her
by the Hand, as he did the reſt, willing them to reioyce: promising
to haue them in a great recommendation, as his owne ſisters and chil-
dren: and that according to his promife, hee would appoint truſty and
confident meſto haue the Charge over them. Finally, hauing deli-
vered vnto the Questors all the Wealth found in the publicke Treasure of
the *Carthaginians*, which amounted to aboue eightheene hundred Thou-
ſand Crownes: So as ioyning them vnto other twelve hundred Thou-
ſand, which the Questor of *Rome* had, the whole ſumme would be aboue
three millions.

B At the ſame time certayne Young men hauing taken a Virgin, paſſing
in the flower of her age, and the beauty of her body all the reſt of the
Women, knowing that *Scipio* tooke delight in it, they came vnto him
bringing this Virgin, and ſtaying him, told him that they preſented her
vnto him. *Publius* amazed and wondering at her beauty: if I were
(ſayth he) a priuate perſon, there is no gift could be more pleaſing vnto
me: But being a great Commander, there is nothing leſſe in my
C affection: Letting them understand (as it ſeemes by this anſwere) that
in time of reſt and idlenesse, the viue of ſuch things is pleaſing to young
men: But when affairs do preſſe, it ingredient in them which vlie
them, great hinderances both in body and minde. Finally hee thankt
the young men: And calling for the father of the Virgin, hee reſtored
her vnto him, giving him charge to marry her as he thought good, to
ſome Citizen. By this meaneſ hauing made ſhew of the Chriftiety and
modety of his Heart, he became very pleaſing to the Subiects. These
things being thus ordained, and the reſt of the Prisoners delivered to
the Captaines of Thousands, hee ſent *Caius Lelyus* to *Rome* to the five
D Yeareſ Sacrifices, with the *Carthaginians* and the other prisoners of
note, to make knowne in their Country, the accidents which had
happened.

E Many in truth which diſpaſed of the Warre in *Spaine*, applied them-
ſelues vnto the preuent in diuers manners, refuſing Courage againe,
where as the newes was directed publickly. *Scipio* ſtaying ſome time
at *Carbago*, practiſed the Army at Sea continually: And hee taught
the Captaines of Thousands this kinde of Exercise for the Foothemen.
He appointed the Souldiers to runne thirty furlongs armed on the firſt
day:

The chaff an-
ſwer of *Scipio*,

Exercises appointed by Scipio for his Army both at Sea and Land.

day : And on the second they should all furbush and cleanse their armes: And on the third they should rest : But on the fourth they should fight with Swords of Wood couered with Leather, and with plummets, teaching them to cast Darts : And on the fift to fall to their running, as in the beginning. In like manner he solicited the Artizans and Worke-men carefully, to the end that nothing should bee wanting in the true Exercises of Armes. He also appointed part of the Commissaries to this Worke, and went vp and downe daily, soliciting every man vnto that whiche was necessary.

Finally, whilst the Armie at Land practised often before the Cittie, the Marineris vied their Exercises at Sea, with their turnings and returnings. And they which shoule be in the Cittie, shoule Furbush, Forge, and Worke : and that all shoule be carefully imployed to prepare Armes. There is no man but would haue held the City for a shoppes of Warre, according to the saying of Xenophon, if he had seene it then. As all things seemed good vnto him, and conveniently dispatcht for necessary vse, and that consequently hee had put a Garrison into the Cittie, and rampred the Wals, he dislodgeth with his Army, as bending both by Sea and Land towards Tarragone, hauing the Hostages with him. He marcht with his Army, as in his judgement such marches are requisite in all occasions. In the which hee must always accustom the Horse-men, as to mannage a Horse, to handle a Iauchlin, and moreover to bound and gallop, and to turne on the right hand or the left. Sometimes they disbanded the Commanders of ten out of the midst of the Army, and they which commannded twenty vpon the two wings: and sometimes they drew them together, and stayed them according to the troupes of horsemen vpon the wings: or else they made an extent of two wings by an interposition, or by the pollicy of the Captaines of the rearward. In regard of their exercise in a thong, hee sayed it was not necessary, as hauing one course vpon the way.

They must in all alarums bee accustomed to charge the enemy, and to make their retreat, that they shoule always approach as nimble as they could, marching vntid and in the same order. They must moreover obserue the spaces betwixt the bands, for if the horsemen undergoing the danger breake their rankes, there was nothing so dangerous nor prejudiciale. When hee had taught them all these things, especially to the Captaines, hee enters into Citties, to inquire first if most of them obeyed the things which had beeene commandedit them, and finally if they which had the goverment of Citties, were sufficient to execute the constitutions with judgement: holding nothing more necessary then the Prudence of Gouvernors. These things being thus ordered, hee assemblies the horsemen of Citties in a certaine place, and himselfe making certaine bounds and Curtiess, hee taught them all the managing of Armes. Hee did not march in the head of the army, as Captaines vsually doe at this day, thinking the first place to belong vnto them. This without doubt takes away the commanders experience, and draws him into danger

It

It is true that he is seene by them all, but sees not any. It is necessary that the Commander of an Army shew example, not by a Military authority, but by experiance of a Capitaine, and his prouesse in Armes, marching sometimes with the fore-ward, and sometimes with the reare-ward, and somerimes in the Battaille: the which this man did, riding and considering them all, whiche being doubtfull he taught, correcting their errours in the beginning: the which seldom haue happened by reason of the precedent diligence. Demetrius Phalerius hath shewed it, saying, that as in buildings where the houses are comprehended under one Roofe and ligature, it happens that the continuance is the stronger: So a whole Army is made more firme, in the which all is diligently pursued in particular, and by the Chambers. That which is done at this day, is very like to the government and order of a Battaille. Light things and those which are most vsuall in an Army, many times perish wholly in it. In regard of the Role of those which disband, and are armed with aduantage, the Battalion containes them. Now the Etolians fight like a forlorne hope: So doe they of Morea their Allies: whereas the Romans make head holding the order of a Battalion. And if the others bee repulst, and returning from the Combate perishe, the Romans retire without losse: and if they vanquish, which God forbid) they will make all the rest of Greece subiect.

The day of the Commander of an Army.

A Parcell of Media.

Media according to the Circuite of the Countrey, is the most defencible among all the Potentates of Asia, in regard of the multitude and valour of the men, and likewise of the Horses. It doth furnish in a manner all Asia with this kinde of Cattell: so as the Royall Races which are bred and entertained there, care of great benefit to the Medians. It is also inhabited with Grecian Cities, the which Alexander caused to bee built for the guard thereof, by reason of the neighbour-hood of the Barbarians: except the Erbanes, whose City is built vpon the Northerly marches of Media. Yet it is neare the parts of Asia which confine vpon the blacke Sea and the Euxine.

In the beginning the Royall City of the Medians was amongst all the rest the most excellent in riches and sumptuous buildings. It is situated vnder the Mountaine Countries, and neighbours to Orente without Walles, having only a Fort that is well furnished and fortifid with great Art. Under which is situated the royall City of the Persians. It is a question whether we shoulde speake of it in particular, or be silent. Beleeue mee, it giues a strong argument to those whose intention and custome is to relate rare and admirable things, and to speake some adding much vnto them: which breeds a doubt in those which wilye receiue all that which is out of common fancy.

The Royal
City of the
Persians.

This royall City hath in greatness and circuite almost seuen Furlongs, and the sumptuousnesse of euery building such, as it shewes a great

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great abundance of wealth in those that first founded them. For as all the Carpenters worke is of Cedar or Cipresse, yet they haue not left one cloud, but haue lin'd the Ioiits, Wainscot, and Pillars with the vaults of the Galleries, with plates of Gold and Siluer : and in regard of the Veffell it was all of Siluer. Yet the greatest part was carried away at the comming of Alexander and the Macedonians : and the rest vnder the government of Antigonus, and of Seleucus Nicanor, and likewise at the comming of Antiochus, when as the Temple of Enee had about it many Pillars gilt, and a great quantity of Siluer vef- fels, and finally, there were some small number of Tiles of Gold, A but many more of Siluer. Moreover, there was a great heape of Siluer within the Royall City, coyned of the aforesaid things, to the number of about two Millions and foure hundred thousand Crownes.



B

A Parcell of Antiochus, and of his Army into Hyrcania.

Antiochus hopes to come vnto those places. Arſaces like wile thinkes that he dare not passe the Defarts there confining with so great an Army, especially for the want of Water. It is true that in the laid places the Water shewes it ſelue vpon the ſuperficies, and that there are many Ditches hauing deepe Wells, but vñknowne to thoſe which did not frequent them. Of which they haue a Tale in the Country: that at ſuch time as the Persians enjoyed Asia, this Country had in certayne places (in the which formerly there was no Water) ſive Springs or Fountains. And therefore as Tauris hath many great Rivers, they employed great labour and cost to fill the Ditches from farre, the whiche ſucceeded: neither doe they know which vſe these Waters, the Spring of theſe Ditches, nor whence they come. When as Arſaces ſaw him take the way by the Defart, hee refouled to ſhut vp the Wells and to corrupt them. The King hauing this newes, he dispatcht ſome from Nicomedia with a thouſand Horſe, who finding Arſaces gone with his Army, leauing ſome Horſe men to fill vp the Ditches. To whom ſuddainly after their coming they gaue the chafe, and then returned to Antiochus. The Defarts being paſt, the King arriued at a City called Hecatombiphon, ſituated in the midſt of Parthiene. It hath taken its name for that all the paſſages of the neighbour Countries ioyne there: Here he refreſht his Army, and made his reckoning that if Arſaces had beene able to ioyne Battaille with him, hee would not haue retired leauing his Country,

Many Rivers
comes out of
Tauris.

Hecatombiphon.

Coutry, nor ſought other places more commodious for his Army to fight in, then thoſe which are about Hecatombiphon. By his departure therefore it is manifeſt to him that will conſider this action, that hee had taken another reſolution. Wherefore Antiochus refouled to take his way to Hyrcania.

But when he was come to Tages, and had noſcie of the difficulty of the places by thole of the Coutry, the which hee was to paſſe vnto the tops of the Mountaines which bend to Hyrcania, and that the Barbarians held the moſt difficult places, hee refouled to take a good number of the ableſt men, and to ſeparate their Capitaines, and to inforne every one of them how to perorme the way, and like- wize hee appointed Pyoneſ, marching with them to leuell the way for the Souldiers, Leginaries, and Baggage. This being concluded, he gaue the firſt Battalion to Diogenes, adding thereto the Archers and Slingers, who from the Mountaines might caſt their Darts and Stones: the which held no order of Battaille, but came alwayes in time to the place of danger, and were of great ſeruice in diſcult places. Hee accompanied them with about two thouſand Candors ar- med with Targets, of which Polixenides had the charge. In the Rearward hee ordaines the armed men and the Targetteers: The B Commanders whereof were Nicomedes of Chio, and Nicolas the Etolien.

As theſe men march before, it fell out that the roughneſſe and ſtreights of the paſſage were found moſt difficult then the King had conceiued. All the length of the aſcent was about three hundred Furlongs, and for the moſt part by the deepe Foud of a Torrent, into the which were fallen from the high Rocks Stones and Trees which made the paſſage inacceſſible. To the which the Barbarians gaue great iuſtance: caſting continually Trees which were cut downe, and gathered together great heapes of Stones: and ſeazed (keeping with- C all the length of all the Valley) on the Hills of advantage, which might ſerue them for defence: ſo as if they had not beeene frustrated, Antiochus had giuen ouer his Enterprize as defiſtute of his forces. For as it was neceſſary for the Enemies to take their way, and to aſcend by that Valley, they ſeazed on the ſayd places and fortified them. But they did not obſerue that it was imposſible for the Leginaries to paſſe there with their Baggage vntill the way were made: for theſe could not approach or come neare the Confines of the Mountaines.

D They that were lightly armed and the valiour iuen, could not a- ſcend the Leucopetes. For this cauſe the Ordonaunce changed when they were ioyned vnto the firſt Guard of Diogenes Troupes who aſcended out of the Torrent. Suddainly the Combat began as the accident ſhewed: Diogenes Troupe marching slowly through the Coutry, gaue a rough charge to the Enemy: And in throwing of Darts and Stones preſt the Barbarians, annoyng them much with their Slings which they caſt from their Palliſadoe. Having chased the firſt, and had taken their place, they gaue charge to the Pyoneſ to make the

R. 2

*Diogenes lights
with the Barba-
rians.*

the passage euen, the which was presently performed by reason of their great number.

By this meanes when the Slingers, Archers, and Darters had marcht to the higher places, scattered here and there, and sometimes together, seazing on the most commodious places, and the Targetteers held the lower Countrey, marching in Battaille a slow pace along the Torrent: The *Barbarians* stayed not, but abandoning the place, they drew together on the top of the Mountains. In regard of *Antiochus* Troupes, it past the difficulte passages safely after this manner: But slowly and with great difficulty: They could hardly eigh in a Ranke recover the A top of the neare Mountaines. And when the *Barbarians* were there assembled, having an humour they shold bee able to keepe the Enemies from gaining the top, there fell out a braue Combate. By these reasons the Enemies were repuls'd, wher reviting themselves fought against the Legenaries, and made head against them with great courage and valour.

In the Night the brauest of them turning about recovered the top, and the places lying behind. The which the *Barbarians* seeing, and suddenly amazed, they turned head. The King is very carefull to restraine the fury of his Souldiers purusing the Enemy, causing a retreat to be founded, desiring they shold enter into *Hyrcania* vited and in good order. This kinde of march being ordained according to his will, hee comes to the City of *Tambrace*, destitute of Walles, yet hauing a royll and large Pallace: where hee campt and besieged it. B Bnt when as many, as well Souldiers as of the Countrey had retired to the City of *Syringe*, (it was not farre from *Tambrace*, and was as it were the Capitall of *Hyrcania*, as well for its fortification as for its wealth) hee resolued to ruine it by force.

The City of
Tambrace.

Springe beſie-
ged by *Antio-
chus*.

Marching therefore with his power, and planting his Campe about it, he besieged the Citie. The greatest part of his worke was to C make platformes in the fashon of a Tortoise. The Ditches were triple, being about ſeven Fathome and a halfe broad, and fourde depe. Vpon either banke there was a double Pallisadoe with a strong outwall. There were continual Skirmishes whilſt they wrought: from whence they carried from either ſide men ſlaine and hurt: for that they fought very valiantly, not onely vpon the ground, but also vnder it in the Mines. But by reaſon of the multitude of Pyoners and the Kings diligence, it happened that the Ditches were ſuddenly fill'd vp, and the Walles fell being ſhaken with the Mines. This done, the *Barbarians* being confounded, and much terrified and amazed with feare, they kill the *Grecians* which were in the City, and taking their richeſt ſtuffe retire by Night. The King ſeeing this, ſends *Hyparboe* with the Mercenaries: with whom the *Barbarians* fighting, and in the end abandoning the Baggage, retire againe into the City. But when the Targetteers preſt them valiantly, not able to beare the burthen being ſo grievous, they preſently yeld hauing no more hope.

A defect in the
Text.

The Commanders of the Army being deſirous to ſee the Enemies Troupes

Troupes enironed on the Hill, they command thoſe which were in the Pallisadoe not to budge: in regard of themſelues they goe to view the places, being accompanied with two Troupes of Horſe, and ſome Footmen lightly arm'd, with thirty executioners of Iuſtice. Certaine *Numerians* acconſtomed to Darts, coming out of the Enemies Fort to lye in Ambuſh, they had by chance ſtolne from the Hills: who hauing notice giuen them by a Spye, that ſome were on the top of the Hill higher then they, they prepare themſelues and march croſſe the Hill, and casting themſelues betwixt them and their Campe, they ſhut them A in and take them. *Claudius Marcellus* the Conſull was at the firſt ^{Claudius Mar-} charge wounded, and taken with ſome others, forcing the reſt being ^{cellus wounded} wiſe to flye into Caues and Pits. The which they of the Campe ſeeing, they could not relieue them in this danger. For whilſt they cryed out and wondred at this accident, and that ſome bridled their Horſes, and others arm'd themſelues, the Execution was ended. The Sonne of *Claudius* ſaued himſelfe with diſciplin, and contrary to all hope being wounded. Finally, *Claudius* fell into these dangers more through ſimplicity then by any true iudgement of a Captaine.

For my part I am forced to admoniſh the Reader of theſe kind of aduentures through the whole tract of our Worke, where I ſee not onely B ordinary Souldiers, but even Captaines themſelues to haue erred by their aifeit ignorance. What profit can a Prince or Commander reape, which hath not the knowledge of dangers which hee muſt auoide, leſt the whole Army perish with him? Who knowes not that if necceſſity doth force them to attempt a thing, that a great part of the Troupes muſt perish before the Commanders ſeele it? The tryall muſt be ſuddainly made not by the Commander. That which they vually ſay, I did not thinke it: and who would euer haue thought that ſhould haue hap- C opened? Seemes to be a great argument of ignorance, and of a weake judgement in the Commander.

Commone ex-
amples and in-
ſtances of igno-
rance and neg-
ligence.

C For this caufe I hold *Hannibal* among the good Captaines for michey reaſons, and which may herein be commended, who hath imploied much time in the profefſion of Armes, and who making vſe of judgement in many and diuers occaſions, hath many times by his industry frustrated the Enemies in particular encounters, and was never circumvented in ſuch great Battailles: who as it appears hath preſerued himſelfe with great prouidence. And that with good reaſon. For the Commander being ſafe, althoſt all the reſt perish. Fortune produceth many occaſions by the which the dārmages received by thoſe miſerable accidents may be repaired: But if he perish like vnto a Pilot in a ship, there growes no profit, althoſt that Fortune giue the Victory to the reſt againſt the Enemy: For that the hope of all depends vpon the Commander. I ſpeak these things againſt thoſe who by a gloriouſ presumption, or a youthfull humour, or by ſtupidity, or diſdaine, fall into this incoſideration. One of the ſaid things muſt of necceſſity be the cause of theſe miſfortunes.



**Of Publius Scipio and of the VVarde
of the Romans against the
Carthaginians.**

SPublius Scipio Generall of the Romans in Spaine, being in the Region of Tarracona, had first drawne the Spaniards to his Friendship, and made them faithfull, for that he had restored them their hostages, he had in this action Edecon, a powerfull Prince for a voluntary assistance: who B suddenly after the taking of Carthage, and his Wife and Children reduced under the power of Publius, considering the alteration of the Spaniards towards him, he resolued in the beginning to be the Authour, believeng confidently that by this meane he might recover his Wife and Children, and that hee should seeme to ioyne vnto the Romans willingly, and not through necessity: The which succeeded accordingly. For when the Army had beeene newly sent to winter, he came to Tarracona accompanied with his Friends.

*A Remon-
stance of Ede-
con to Publius.*

Being admitted to the speech of Publius, he sayd, that he was wonderfully bound vnto the Gods, that before all the Princes and Potestates of the Countrey, he had retirid himselfe vnto him: and that of C the rest, some sent and depended on the Carthaginians, and in the meane time they fued vnto the Romans with ioyned hands: and that for his part he was come not only to yeild himselfe but also his Friends. Wherefore if he received him into his Friendship and alliance, he was confident that he shold be able, not only for the present, but also for the future to doe him great seruice. For as soone as the Spaniards shold see him admitted to his Friendship, and to haue obtained his demands; they will likewise come all to recover their Friends, and to purchase the alliance of the Romans: and that for the future they would imploy themselves with emulation in his other affaires, if their hearts were D once possesst with this honour and humanity. He required to haue his Wife and Children, and that being admitted into Friendship, he might retorne to his house, where haing found some good occasion, hee might shew his affection, and that of his Friends towards him and the Roman Common-weale. This Speech being ended, Edecon was silent. As Publius had long expected this, and considered of Edecons reasons, he deliuered him his Wife and Children, granting the alliance, More- puer

our during his presence, he drawes the Spaniard by many meanes to his Devotion, and imprinted in his followers a great hope for the future, sending him backe to his House. When this accident was divulged, all the Spaniards inhabiting within the River (being formerly no friends to the Romans) followed their party in a manner with one accord. These things fell out to the content of Publius Scipio. After their departure hee sent backe the maritime Bands, seeing no shewe of danger at Sea. Yet he made chiose of those that were most seruicable, and diuides them among the Ensignes, to the end he might make the Bands of foot-men the more compleat.

A Andomale and Mandonin, men at that time of great power among the Spaniards, attended a fit occasion, haing long carried a secret hatred in their hearts against the Carthaginians, although they helde them for their trusty and confident friends: For that Afdrubal men (making shew to haue no great confidence in them) they had exacted a great summe of money, and their Wives and Children for Hostages, whereof we haue formerly spoken. When as then they immagined they had found a fit opportunity, they retire their Bands from the Carthaginian Campe, and in the Night recovered certaine places of great strength, where they might remaine free from all danger. This done, many other Spaniards abandoned Afdrubal, hauing beeene long discontented with the pride of the Carthaginians: Having recovered this first occasion to shew what friendship they bare them: the which many others had done.

C You must understand that the Execution of great matters, and a Victory gotten by force vpon the Enemy, be of great consequence, yet there is required great prudence and Wisedome, to make good vse of things decided by Armes. So as there are more that enjoy Prerogatives, then they vfe them well: The which happened to the Carthaginians. For after they had defeated the Roman forces, and slaine Publius and Caius Scipio, father and Vnkle of this Publius, of whom we now Treat, thinking that Spaine was then in no more danger of Warre, they intreated the Inhabitants roughly. For this cause in steed of friends and Allies, their Subjects were incensed and deadly Enemies. The which fell ourselfly. They had an humour that the meane to Conquer Principalities, diffrid from that of preferring them. They were ignorant that they keepe their preheminence well, which obserue the same will and humour, wherewith principalities haue beeene first Conquered.

D It is manifest and obserued in many, that men are of that Nature, that whereas prosperity offers it selfe, they shewe themselves kinde to their Neighbours, promising hopefull things. But when they haue attained to their desires, then they deale wickedly, and raigne ouer their Subjects as ouer slaves. Wherefore not without reason the affections of Subjects, change with the alteration of their Princes: The which hapned to the Carthaginians. Afdrubal takes much aduise vpon this accident for the event of things. The retraite of Andomale troubled him. So did the hatred and abandoning of the other Commanders.

R 4

Finally,

*Andomale and
Mandonin.*

*Afdrubal aban-
doned by many
Spaniards.*

The aduice of
Aldribal for
the Warre.

*Andobale speaks
to Publius
Scipio.*

*Publius answere
to Andobale.*

*Publius saluted
King.*

*The Spaniards
ioyne wi h the
Romans.*

Finally, hee was discontented at the comming of *Publius*, whom hee still expected to come against him with his Army. When he saw himselfe abandoned by the Spaniards, and that all in one League retired to the *Romans*, he tooke this aduice. He resolued that in making preparation of a good Army, hee would fight with the Enemy. If thorough the fauour of Fortune he had the Victory, he would then consider safelie and wisely of the rest, but if it shold be auerse vnto him in fighting, hee would retire into *Gaul* with the remainders of the Battalies, and from thence with a multitude of *Barbarians* draw into *Italy*, A and ioynce with his brother *Hannibal* under the same hope. *Aldribal* being of this aduise prepares himselfe. *Publius* haung received *Caius Lelyus*, and vnderstood the decesses of the Senate, marcheth, haung retired his Army out of the Garrisons: To whom the Spaniards come at the passage, and march with him with willing and ioyfull hearts. *Andobale* had before sent vnto *Publius*, but when he approached neare vnto this Country, hee came vnto him accompanied with his friends: Where after he had spoken vnto him, hee concluded the League of friendship which he formerly had with the *Carthaginians*, giuing him to understand what seruice and loyalty hee had obserued towards him; and finally he exposteth the outrages and iniuries which hee and his had suffered, intreating him to be the Judge of that which he syd: And if he seemed to accuse the *Carthaginians* vniuersallie, hee might certainly know that he would never keepe his faith to the *Romans*: If being forced for the necessary respect of many iniuries, hee had desisted from his affection, yet he had good hope that ioyning to the *Romans* to keep his faith firme with them. After he had vsed many such Speeches, he made an end.

To whom *Publius* answering, syd, that he believed it; and had vnderstood the outrages of the *Carthaginians*, which they had vsed to other Spaniards, and their lasciuiosenesse towards their Wives and daughters. Of whom notwithstanding he haung taken many, reduced rather into the estate of Captives and slaves, then Hostages, hee hath kept them with such honestie, as the Parents themselves could not have done. And wheras *Andobale* and his Company confeit it, and making an obeisance vnto him, they saluted him as King, the assistants obserued those words. *Publius* blushing, commands them to be of good hope, promising them they should finde curteie and fauour with the *Romans*, and presently deliuers them their Daughters: and the day following makes an accord with them. The principall Articles of their Accord was, that they should follow the Roman Princes and obey D them willingly.

These things thus concluded, they retorne vnto their Campe, and come with their Army to that of *Publius*, and making Warre with the *Romans*, they march with them against *Aldribal*. The Commander of the *Carthaginians* staying neare to *Catalaune*, fast by the City of *Babylis*, and neare vnto the Mines of Gold and Siluer, he changed his Campe when he was aduertised of the comming of the *Romans*, so as he had the Riuers at his backe in mapner of a Rampire: and in front and on

on the sides a Pallisadoe with a sufficient depth for the Fortification: there was finally a length in the Vallies sufficient to put them in bataile. And as for the side of the Hill there were viallant men. When as *Publius* approacht, he was ready to hazard the Combate: although hee were in doubt seeing the aduantage and force of the places, where the Enemy lay in Campe. But when he had contained himselfe two daies, and was in feare that *Mago* and *Aldribal* the sonne of *Gescon* comming, he might be inuironed round, he resolued to fight and to hazard a bataile: Making therefore another Army, he labours to gaine the Pallisadoe. In regard of those that were lightly armed and the choise footmen, he sends them to the side of a Hill, giving them charge to assaile, and to view the Enemies forces.

And when that this was done with great Courage, the Commander of the *Carthaginians* attends the euent from the beginning. But when he saw his men preft, and in danger by the courage of the *Romans*, he drawes his Army into the field, and plants it neare the side of the Hill, relying vpon the opportunitie of the place. At the same time *Publius* sends his brauest men to succoure those that were in danger; and stayed the rest ready: He takes the one halfe and assailes the Hill vpon the left side of the Enemy, fighting against the *Carthaginians*: And delivers the rest to *Lelyus*, giuing him charge to assaile the Enemy on the right hand. When this was done, *Aldribal* drawes his Army out of the Fort. He had hitherto kept it, relying vpon the fortified places, having an opinion that the Enemies durst not assaile him. But for that this charge of the *Romans* came vncpected, hee puts his Army into Battaille later then was full.

The *Romans* vndergoing the danger of the fight, whilst that the Enemies were not yet vpon the Wings, they not only assaile the Hill without danger, but in approaching flew those which crost them, C whilst that the Enemies made ready their battaile: forcing those to turne which prepared themselves and made head against them. When as *Aldribal*, according to his first resolution, saw his Army giue backe and shamefully repulsd, hee had no will to fight vnto the last gaspe. Taking therefore the Treasure and the Elephants, and all those hee could draw together in the fight, he retires to the Riuers of *Tagus*, and to the Hills of the *Perine* Mountains, and to the *Gaules* inhabiting there. *Scipio* held it not fit to pursue the Victorie suddainly, doubting the comming of the other Commanders: Finally, he gaue the bootic of the Fort to the Souldiers.

D The day following, he drawes together all the Prisoners, whereof there were ten Thousande foote, and two Thousande horse, to dispole of them. All the Spaniards of that Countrey which were allied vnto the *Carthaginians*, come and submit themselves to the fauour of the *Romans*. And when he had giuen them audience, they saluted *Scipio* as King. The which *Edeson* beganne when he did his obeisance, and after him *Andobale* with his friends. *Scipio* at that time regarded not their words but was silent. But when after the Barraille all saluted him as King, he was moued therewith, so as hee forbade it. Drawing all

*The Carthaginians
are allied by
the Romans.*

*The defeate
of Aldribal.*

*King or the
Spaniards.*

The Commen-
dation of Pub-
lius Cornelius
Scipio.

all the Spaniards together, he told them that he would be truely Royall, and so held; but hee would not be called a King by no man living. This done, hee ordained they shold call him Chief or Commanduer. It is not without cause, that we may justly commend the magnanimitie of this man: By the which being yet young, having the fauour of Fortune such, as all the Subiects had him in so great eſteeme, as they ſaluted him by ſo excellent a name, yet hee was alwaies ſo content, as hee would not accept of this will and humour of the Subiects. But he will wonder much more at the excellency of his magnanimitie, if hee looks to the laſt daies of his life: when beſides the valiant exploits which hee hath done in Spaine, hee hath ruined the Carthaginians, and made ſubiect vnto the Romans many good Countries in Lybia, from the Phœnix Altars, to the pillars of Hercules. Hee hath alſo ruined Asia, and the Aſſirian Kings. Finally, hee hath reduced to the obedience of the Romans the beſt and greatest part of the World. And therefore if hee had pleased hee might well haue imbraced the opportunity to vſurpe a roiall power, in theſe Countries which hee hath invaded and taken. The diſdaigne of ſuch things (as Scipio hath wiſely done) ſurpaſſeth not onely humane nature, but a diuine. This magnanimitie doth ſo much excell other men, as no man would demand of the Gods a greater fauour: I meane then a Crowne, the which hee hath ſo often refuſed, being deliuerte unto him by fortune, and had his Country in more eſteeme, and his owne honour then the great command of a roiall power. Hee gaue leaue to all the Spaniards, being ſet a part, to retorne into their Country without ranſom, except three hundred horſe whereof hee gaue the choiſe to Andabale, giuing the reſt to thoſe which had not any. Finally, being now feaſed on the Carthaginians Campe, hee stayed there in regard of the firtiety of the Country, expecting the Carthaginian Commanders which were remaining: hee alſo ſent forces to the topps of the Perene Mountaines to watch Asdruball, and then C when the ſeaſon was come hee retired to Tarracona, to winter his Army theſe.

Hee returns to the History of the Grecians.

A ſince the Etolianslifted vp their hornes for the new hope and confidence they had in the Romans, and the arriuall of Attalus, they amaz'd all the world, making Warre by Land a ſtate and Publius did by Sea, for this caufe the Achaeans intreated Phillip to ſuccour them, for in truth they not onely feared the Etolians, but alſo Dachians, for that he had feaſ'd vpon the Argive Mountaines with an Army, the Beocians fearing the enemis Army at Sea, require a commander and ſuccours. The Negrepontins demanded iſtantly ſome pro- vifion againſt the enemy, the like did the Scæramians, there was alſo an Embaſſadour from the Epizotes, they ſaid likewiſe that Scerdilaide and Glaurate assembled their Armies, and that moreouer the Thracians, who confe vpon Macedonia would indeauour to affaile it if the King ſhould retire from thence, in regard of the Etolians, they had feaſed vpon

vpon the ſtraights of Thermopiles, and fortified them with Ditches, Palliadoes, and a great Garrison, hoping they ſhould be able to keep in Phillip, and wholy to ſtopp vpon the paſſage in ſuccouring his Allies within Pyles.

These aduentures ſeemes worthy of Consideration,) and not without reason by the Readers, in the which is the true Experience and practice of Princes according vnto their Corporall power. For as in Hunting Beasts are mooued with their Forces and Power, when they are ingaged in an apparent danger, ſo it beſt Princes: the which they A might then diſcouer in Phillip. Hee diſmiffeth all the Embaſſadours, *Attalaſ against Philip by Sea.* promising them to doe what poſſiblē hee could. His whole inclinati-

B on was the Warre, expeſting by what meanes and againſt whom hee ſhould firſt beginne. But when the forces of Attalus were come againſt him, and had affaileſ the Iland of Peparethon, hee ſends men to guard the City: And diſpatcheth Polypantes with a ſmall Army towards Phœcia and Beocia, and Menippus to Chalcis, and the other Negrepont, with a thouſand Targetteers, and five hundred Agrians. In regard of himſelfe, hee went to Scoteſe, whether he Commanded the Macedonians to reparaſe.

C When he had newes that Attalus Army had taken the route of Nicæa, and that the Chiefes of the Etolians assembled at Heracles, to conſerue the Affairs of the Warre, hee parts from Scoteſe with his Army, and made haſt to diſſolve their Assembly. Hee arrived too late, yet hee waſted their Corne, and after that hee had ſpoiled the Inhabitants about the Gulf of Enēe, he returned, leaving his Army at Scoteſe, and taking his way to the Demetriade: With his ableſt men and the roiall Wing, hee stayed there expeſting the comming of the Enemy. And to the end nothing ſhould bee vnyknowne vnto him, hee ſends to the Peparethians, and Phœcians, and likewiſe to the Negrepont, giving them charge to make him a ſigne by fire of all things that ſhould be done, vpon the Tisſe which is a Mountaine in Thrace, which in regard of the places is very commodiouſly ſituatiōn. But as this manner of ſigne by fire, is of great commodity for the Warre, and hath formerly not beeſe vſed, I doe not hold it good to paſſe it, but in this paſſage to make ſome reasonable mention. No man is ignorant that opportunity and occaſion are the principall parts in all things: But much more in the profection of Warre, to bring enterpriſes to an end: But among thoſe things which are vefull, fires are of great efficacy, *Adverſements by fire.* They vſe them at this day, and are the caufe of ſome opportunities, to be able to aduertife him who hath the care of that which is done, al- though it be three or four daies diſtant, or more: To the end that by the ſigne of fire, they may ſuddainly giue ſuccours vnto them that de- mand it, althoſh that in former times they haue held it of finall mo- ment, for that the moft part knew not how to vſe it. But the vſe ought to bee ordered and fetled vpon certaine and determinate agree- ments. But whereas things which they will ſignifie are not resoluſe- d downe, they cannot make vſe of theſe fires, as thoſe are whereof wee will ſpeak.

If the Army at Sea were come to *Orea*, or *Peparethon*, or *Chalcis*, they might signifie it to those, with whom this hath beeene resolued. But if any of the Citizens will turne their Coates, or practise a Treason or Murther within the City, of any such thing as hath vbiually hapned, and yet cannot be diuined (matters which happen sudainly and vnlookt for, haue neede according to the occasion, of Counsell and aide) yet it may be signified by fire. For of those which consideration cannot prevent, they cannot make any Conclusion. *Eneas* seeking to correct this kinde of doubt and perplexitie, hath in few words made A the Commentaries, of the institution of the heads : And hath abundantly comprehended for the vnderstanding, the summe of those things which are required, the which may easly be discouered by this speech, saying : That they which will give notice by the aduertisement of fire of any of great and predding busynesse, must make prouision of pots of earth, whose breadth and depth must be equal, and they must haue three foote in depth, and one and a halfe in breadth : Then hee must make slender Corkes in the mouth of it ; in the middest whereof hee must tie them in equall parts of three fingers distance ; and in euery part a great Circumference, in the which are also painted the most vulgar B and generall things which happen in the profession of Warre. As by the first, that Horse-men are sudainly entred the Countrey : In the second, that foote-men armed ; in the third, that men lightly armed : And consequently in others, that foote and Horse-men, or an Army at Sea, and that there is Corne. You must in this sort paint the things which do vsually happen in Regions, according to the prouidence and time of the motions of Warre.

This being done hee Commandes to obserue dilligently the pots of the one and the other, so as the pipes may bee equal and runne equally : And when the pots shalbe full of Water, they must put in the Corkes with sticke, and then let the pipes runne together. This happening it is apparent, that all being equall, the Corkes of necessity abate as the Water runnes, and the sticke hide themselves in the Vessells. When these things are equallly ordered, and they are to vse them, then they must transport them to the places, where the one and the other are to obserue the fires, and then mouflet them on either side vpon the Vessells. Finally, in what thing soever that any portraite of the sticke shall fall, hee ordaines they shold set vp a light which must continue vntill the Deputies answere him with the same. And when both fires are discouered, then hee must take them away and suffer the pipes to runne. But as for the falling of the Corke and the sticke, that which D of the Images shall approach vnto the brinke of the pot which wee will let you see, hee orders that they shall set vp a light : and that they should stoppe the pipes, and see what image of thole which are figured vpon the sticke, comes to the brinke.

This may be done when as all the things which they manifest, are of either side moued with the same diligence. The which may bee in some sort by a light set vp by agreement to serue for an aduertisement, vnsleſſe they be vgdetermined : For it is impossible to ſee future

future things, or that that bee figured vpon the sticke which wee foreſee. Finally if by Fortune any vnxpected accident happens, it is certaine that it cannot be declared by this inuenition : Nor any thing of that which is figured in the sticke be determined. They cannot giue aduertisement of the number of Horſe-men or of foot, or of ſhips, nor of the quantitie of Corne. For wee cannot diſpoſe of things, whereof the knowledge canoſt be made before they be done. And by conſequence how can any man reſolute of ſuccour, if he knowes not the multitude A of the Enemies, and the place where they are ? How can a man worke ſafely, or otherwife ? Or how can hee plot any Enterprize, which knowes not the number of the Enemies, nor the quantity of Corne which is come vnto them from their Allies ?

A latter kinde hath beeene inuenited by *Cleomenes* and *Democrites*. In regard of that which is vulgar and of ready vſe, we haue determined: the which may aduertise exactly all that which is necessary to bee knowne. The vſe whereof requires diligencē, and an exact obſeruation ; and it is in this manner. You muſt diuid the Letters according to their order in five parts, every one conſisting of ſiue : But in the ende B there ſhall want one, which is no matter of Conſequence. And when as they which ſhall make uſe of lights for an aduertisement, ſhall prepare five little Tables, and write vpon either of them the parties according to their order, and then they agree together, that hee which giues the aduertisement, ſhall ſet vp the firſt lights and two together, which ſhall not bee taken away vntill the other hath anſwered in like manner. This ſerves to the end that by this light they may vnderſtand, that they are diſcouered. Theſe others being taken away, they muſt ſhew the firſt which are on the left hand, and declare by the Table the things whereunto they muſt haue a care. As if the firſt Table he lifted vp, it ſignifies one : if the ſecond two ; and ſo conſequently. They muſt alſo lift vp thoſe which are on the right hand, after the ſame manner, to aduertise what letters he ſhall write that takes the light. When they which haue agreed together vpon theſe matter, come vnto the place, they muſt firſt haue a Dioptrē, haſing two Cauels : to the end that hee C that is to lift vp the light right againſt it, may ſee the place both on the right hand and left.

The Tables muſt bee fixed ſtraight and by order, neere vnto the Dioptrē, and the places on the right hand and the left muſt bee ſeparated ten foote, and the height of a man. Moreouer they muſt be carfull that the lights may be viſible when they ſet them vp, and likewife D hidden when they take them downe. Theſe things being thus prepared on either ſide, and that they haue an intent to giue ſome aduertisement, as that a hundred Souldiers are retired to the Enemy, they muſt firſt vſe the Diſtions whiche by the final Letters may ſignifie that which we haue ſaid ; as that a hundred (*Candyotis*) haue abandoned vs. The letters now are leſſe, and yet that is ſignified. This which is written in the Table will ſhewe it ſelſe thus. The firſt letter is thus *, the which is in the ſecond part and ſecond Table : they muſt alſo ſet vp the lights vpon the left hand, to the end that he which hath the charge, may vnderſtand

Another kinde
ment by fire in-
vuated by Cle-
menes and Democrites.

Kyrris.

Stand that he must looke to the other Table. Then on the right hand he must set vp fire, to let him know that this is the fift Letter on the right hand, the which hee which obserues the lights, must write in the Table. Then wherefore hee must lift vp two on the right hand, which signifies the secound of the fourth part. For this caufe hee that obserues the Lights, writes the letter, and so consequently of the rest. By this meanes whatsoeuer happens, it may be certainly knowne, following this inuention. Moreouer they must haue many lights, for that there must be two to every Letter. And if any one doth duly obserue A these things, which serue to this vse, that which is required may bee done. Moreouer, they which make vs of these two inuentions, must giue order when as they will vse them, to be able to giue full and certaine signes. Whosoeuer pleafeth, may easilly know in many kinds how great soeuer the difference of the sayd things make shew of, and which they haue bene accustomed to obserue. For many things not only difficult, but which seeme impossible hauing gorten the successiōn of time and custome, become most easie.

There are many and diuers examples which deserue credite; but the most excellent is that which happens in the Arte of reading. If any B one instructs a man without Experience, and not accustomed to read, although hee be industrious, and that finally hee produceth an infant bred vp to it, and that a Booke being giuen him, hee appoints him to read the Contents, it is manifest that the other will not believe, that hee can know first how hee may by the looking of it read every letter, know their powers, and how they ought to be loyed; forth at either of the said things require much time. Wherefore when he hath not attained this Art, and sees this little Boy continuall with one breath fve or fixe lines, he would never easily beleue, but that hee hath formerly read the Booke. And if moreouer he hath a good pronunciation, and obserues the points, aspirations, and pauses, he will not be perwaded C and beleue no more.

Wherefore wee must not disdaine any thing that is profitable, in regard of the evident difficulty: But we must apply our selues to that which makes all good things comprehensible to men, and namely in those wherein most commonly the supreame safetie doth consist. Wee haue undertaken to speake these things, according vnto that which we haue promised in the beginning. For wee haue said that all Speculations haue so preuailed with vs, as for the most part they are methodicall Sciences. Wherefore it is a very profitable portion of a well composed History.

D

Of



Of Antiochus.

A



He *Aspasius* dwelleth betwixt *Oxus* and *Tanais*: Of which Rivers, the one falleth into the *Hyrcaian Sea*, and *Tanais* into the Lake of *Moris*. They are Nauigable for their greatness: So it seemes wonderfull how the *Tartarians* passing *Oxus* alswell by foote as Horse-backe, come into *Hyrcaia*. There are two opinions conceived: The one is credible, the other strange although possible. *Oxus* drawes his Springs from Mount *Caucasus*, but augmented much in *Bactria* by the descent of smaller Rivers, it passeth by a violent Course by the Country of *Pedia*. There it falleth into a Desart, and runs with a violent stremme, thorough certayne Rockes and Pits, for the great number and vehement beating of the places lying vnder it, so as its violence ouer-flowes the Rocke in the lower Countries aboue a Furlong. By this place neare vnto the Rocke the *Aspasius*, as they say, passing the Riuere both on Foot and Horse-backe, descend into *Hyrcaia*. The other opinion hath a more probable reason, saying, that for that place hath great Ditches, into the which this Riuere falleth with its force, shew maketh hollow and opens the bottome by the violence of her Course: And by this meanes the Riuere takes its course vnder ground, for a small space, and then riseth againe. The *Barbarians* hauing experience here-

C of, passe there on Horse-backe into *Hyrcaia*.

When as *Antiochus* was aduertised, that *Eubidamus* was about *Tagore* with an Army, and that a thousand Horse kept the passage of the Riuere of *Aria*, hee proceeded and resolues to besiege it, hauing no more confidence in his resolution. And when he was within three daies iourney of the Riuere, he marcht the two first slowly: And on the third haung fed his men, hee causeth his Campe to march at the break of day: Then taking the Horse-men and his strongest souldiers, with a thousand Targetteers, he makes hafft in the night. Hee had understood that the enemies *Cavallery* was at the guard of the Riuere in the day time, but at night they returnd to a City to the north eyre Furlongs off. When hee had performed the halfe of the way in the night (for those Countries were conuenient for Horsemens) he passe the Riuere at the break of day with the greatest part of his Army. The *Bactrian* Horse-men being aduertised by their Scouts, are ope and fight with the Enemy vp on the way.

The King seeing that hee was to maintaine their first Charge, giues Courage to those which had bene accustomed to accompany him in such

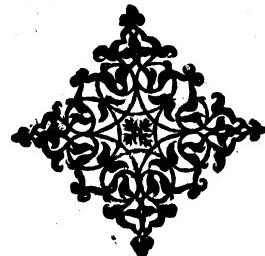
S. 2

A skirmish
of
the *Batarians*
with *Antiochus*

such encounters, which were two thousand Horse : and commands the rest to cast themselves betwixt both , with their Troupes put into battaile as of custome . Finally, hee fights with the *Batrian* Horse which presentes themselves . *Antiochus* seemed in this danger to have fought more valiantly then his men : so as many perisched on either side . Yet the Kings men defeated the first troupe of Horse : But when the second and the third charged them , they were repuls'd turning their heads basely . But when as *Etole* had giuen charge to the great power of the Horse to march in Battaille , he freed the King and his Company , terrifying the *Batrians* who were in disorder , and put them to flight . A Wherefore when they were charged by all the *Etolians* , they ceased not to flee vntill having made a great losse they were ioyned vnto *Euthideme* . And when as the Kings Horse-men had made a great slaughter , and taken many in the City , they presently retired , and planted their Campe neere the River . It happened that in this same Combate *Menippus* was wounded and dyed , loosing some of his Teeth with a blow : Finally , hee purchased a renoune of Valour .

After this Combate *Euthideme* retired with his Army to *Zariaffe* a Citty of the *Batarians* .

B



C

D



A

A PARCELL OF the Eleuenth Booke of the

History of POLYBIUS.

B



Syrbal did not allow of any of these things . But (seeing the Enemies march in Battaille) when as matters changed not , hee caused the Spaniards and *Gauls* that were with him to fight . Setting the Elephants In Front , beeing ten in number , and after hee had ioyned the Battalions close , united , and in length , and had put all the Army in battaille in a short time , casting himselfe in the middest of the Ordonnance neere to the Elephants , he assails the Enemy vpon the left flanke , hauing resolued to

die in that battaile . The *Lybian* presents himselfe with great Courage to the enemy , and in charging fights valiantly with his troupes . *Claudius Nero* one of the Consuls , appointed for the right side could not ioyne with the enemy , nor yet inclofe them , for the vnuuenesse of the ground : wherein *Afrubal* trusting , he had charged the enemy on the left hand . A Battaille betwixt Afrubal and the Romans in Italy . D Wherefore as he was perplexed and in doubt , for that he lost time , hee learned what he had to doe . Taking therefore the Souldiers of the right wing , he goes beyond his Campe neere vnto a passage behind the Battaille and on the left hand , and gives a charge vnto the *Carthaginians* , neere vnto the wing where the Elephants had their station . At that time the Victory waured . For in truth the danger was equall of both sides , considering that neither *Romans* , Spaniards , nor *Carthaginians* had any hope of safety remaining , if they were frustrated of their intention . Finally , the Elephants were of vs to both of them in the fight : For

S f 3

when

when they were inclosed in the middest, and assailed with Darts they aswell brake the rankes of the Spaniards, as of the Romans. But when as *Claudius Tropae* had charged the enemy in the rearre, the Combate was vnequall, for the charge given vnto the Spaniards both in Front and behind. Soe as it happened that in the beginning of the Combate, there was a great laughter made of Spaniards: So likewise there were sixt Elephants being by the force of the men they carried: the other fourre brake their neckes: being alone and destitute of their Indians they were taken.

Afribal brother to Hannibal A
And when as *Afribal* had beeene formerly and vnto his ende an able man, hee lost in fighting valiantly his life, worthy to be commended. Hee was brother to *Hannibal*, who vndertaking the Voyage of *Italy*, gaue him the Conduce of the Warres of *Spaine*. And afterwards being practised by many encounters against the *Romans*, hee hath indured many and variable Fortunes: And in this alio that the *Carthaginians* sent Commanders to succeede him, hee alwaies carried himselfe like a man worthy of his Father *Bacca*, bearing vnto the ende like a man of Courage all disgraces and losses. Wee haue declared these things in regard of the precedent. But now we will decide the last Combats, in that which seemes worthy of Consideration.

B
*Seeing before our eyes many Kings and Commanders which hauing great Combates concerning their whole elates, haue always call their eyes vpon the most excellent Actions, and of Consequence; and who often enquire and Discourse how they shall helpe themselves in euery good Fortune: And who moreouer care not for mischances, nor consider of the meanes, nor that which they are to doe in every action and event: For that this other is in their hands, and this requires a great preparation. And therefore many hauing beeene vanquished, carry themselves poorly by their basenesse and inconfiderations: Although that the Souldiers haue many times fought valiantly, and with good direction: And haue by this meanes dishonoured their precedent actions, making the rest of their Liues infamous. It is an easie thing for him that will know how many Commanders fail, and are frustrated herein, and that there is much difference betwixt man and man. Precedent times haue affoorded many examples in these things. In regard of *Afribal* he was no lesse prouident in dangers, then for his safetie, whilst he had any hope conformable to reason, to be able to do any thing worthy of his Predecessours. But when as Fortune had deprived him of all hope for the future, and had concluded him to his laft end: omitting nothing for the Victory, nor that which concerned C the preparation and danger, hee carried himselfe like a man of prouidence: And although that all was in danger, yet hee obeyed the present time, neither did he suffer any thing vnworthy of his Predecessors. Behold the reaon which I haue deliuered concerning those which apply themselves to the manningage of Warre: to the ende that vndertaking dangers rashly, they draw not them into despaire which are vnder their Charge, nor by desire of an infamous life, they make their deaths dishonorable and blame worthy.*

The

The *Romans* having gotten the Victory by force, presently breake the Palliadoe of the Enemy, and kill like Sacrifices many *Celts* sleeping ^{The Celts} in Drunkenesse vpon their Matresses, and assemble together the rest of the Prisoners: By the which there did accrue nine score thousand Crownes to the Common-weale. There died in this Battaille as well of *Carthaginians* as *Gauls*, neare ten thousand men, and about two thousand ^{The number of the dead,} *Romans*. Some Nobles among the *Carthaginians* were taken, the rest were slaine. Whenthis Newes came to *Rome*, they were scarce beleeved for that they desired wonderfully to see it done, but as there came many men declaring not only what had beeene done, but every thing in particular, then the City entered into an immoderate ioy: all the Temples were adorned; and fill'd with Sacrifices and Oblations: Finally, they grew so confident and assured, as at that time they did not thinke that *Hannibal* (whom they had formerly so much feared) was in *Italy*.

B

An Oration to the *Etoliens* of the Warres of *Greece*.

C
*M*Y Masters the *Etoliens*, I thinke it is very manifest that King *Ptolemy*, the Citizens of *Rhodes* and *Constantinople*, with those of *Chio* and *Misilene* make no great accont of your League. It is not the first nor the second time that wee haue treated with you of Peace: But euen at that time when you moued Warre, applying your selfe vnto it, and imbracing all occasions, wee haue not ceas'd to admonish you. Now we conjecture the ruine of your selues and the *Macedonians*, and for the future we are in care for your health and for all *Greece*. As fire thrust into a Forrest is no more in his power that hath kindled it, but consumes all that it encounters: Being moreouer governed by the Winds, and by the conflumption of the Forrest, and that many times it sweepes away suddenly the Incendiary himselfe: so the Warre being once inflamed by some, ruines them first: Then it runnes without reason, destroying all things it encounters, agitated by rashnesse, and the beastnesse of those which kindle it, as it were driven by the Winds. Wherefore my Masters the *Etoliens*, seeing that the *Ilanders*, and the *Grecians* which inhabite *Asia*, doe often sue unto you, that disdaining Warre, you would make choise of Peace, for that the case concernes you: resume your fences, consenting with those who with reuerence admonish you. If with some good fortune you did mannage a Warre which were

were profitable, commodious, and glorious (it is that vndoubtedly which they expect most therein) according to your first intention and designe of euents, they might with reasoun pardon you as men of great courage. This Warre is altogether infamous, full of ignominy, and cursed, is it not necessary to stay and deferre it? Advice without doubt should be freely glu[n], you will heare (if you be wise) my words patiently. It is much better for you to be preferred with a commodious reprehension, than in hearing pleasing words, to perill the first soone after: and then subsequently the rest of *Greece*, see your ignorance before your eyes. You say you make Warre against *Philip* for *Greece*, to the end that being preferred they should not obey his Commandments: But in truth you make Warre to its ruine and defete. It is that which your accord with the *Roman*s declare, the which in the beginning consisted in writing, but now they are scene in actions. The letters were then dihonourable vnto you, but at this day they are visible to the eye, and manifest by your works. Finally, *Philip* carries the Name, and is made the colour of this Warre: although hee suffers nothing that is grieuous: But as he hath many Allies in *A morea*, as the *Bacchini*, *Negropontini*, *Phocieni*, *Locrini*, *Thessalians* and *Epiroti*, you haue concluded against them under conditions, that the bodies and moveable goods shoulde belong to the *Roman*s, and the Cities and Countries to the *Etolians*.

But as you are Lords of this City, you would not endure they shoulde offend any Free-man, nor set fire of your City, holding such actions cruell and barbarous: and yet you haue made a League, according to the which you haue deliuered the rest of *Greece* to *Barbarians* as your owne by gift, by an outrage and a most ignominious iniustice. These are the things which in the beginning you understood not: But at this day you are made manifest vnto the World by the misery of the poore *Grecians* and *Eginaeans*, for that Fortune hath of purpse rais'd your ignorance vpon a Theater. The beginning of this Warre and of the actions which happen are sooth. But what can wee expect more, if in the end all things succeed according to your desire: shall it not be a beginning of great miseries to all the *Grecians*? Beleue me, that after the *Roman*s haue ended the Warre in *Italy* (the which will soone happen, *Hannibal* being shur vp in a Corner of *Brutia*) they will imploy all their forces against *Greece*, vnder colour to giue succours to the *Etolians* against *Philip*, but the truth is to make all *Greece* subiect: the which will soone be manifest. For whether they are resolute to carry themselfes like honest and honourable persons, hauing the Victory, the thankes shall be theirs: If otherwise they shal haue the profits of the Defeates, and the power ouer them that escape. Then you will call vpon the Gods, when as none of them or any man will offer to assist you. You shoulde then in the beginning fore-fee all things: This was lawfull for you. But as many future things are out of humane prouidence, now at the least you shoulde take a better aduise, hauing scene the euent of this Warre. I intreate you and exhort you not to enuy your owne safetie and liberty, nor that of the rest of *Greece*.

And

And when by his Speech (as he conceiued) somewhat moved the opinions of many, *Philips* Embassador entred: who leauing the things which might be spoken in particular, he sayd, that he had two points in charge: That if the *Etolians* brake the peace, he was ready to appeale vnto the Gods, and to the *Grecian* Embassadors there present, that they were to be held for the Authors of those things which hereafter should fall vpon *Greece*, and not *Philip*. Glory saith he, doth much amaze the Enemy, but a reaonable preparation of Armes is of greater seruice for necessity. Then they shoulde doe that which is necessary, A if they transferte the diligence and care which they haue at this day for their apparell, to the preparation of their Armes, obseruing in their apparel the ancient negligence. For by this meanes they may giue order for their priuate course of life, and preferre their Common wealth. And therefore (saith he) it is not needfull that he which giues himselfe to Armes, and to the profession of Warre, shoulde looke when he puts on his Boots, whether they be handsome, and if his strops and pantals be braue: nor whether his Cloake and Jacket be rich, when he must put on a Head-peecce. Beleue me, the danger is manifest which they must expect, which haue an exterior shew in more recommendation then things necessary. Finally, it were fit they shoulde consider, that this curiositie in habits fauoured of a woman, I meane that is not much chaste: whereas the charges in Armes and feuerly, restraine a good man, desirous to preferre himselfe and his Countrey.

All the assystants found this Speech so good, in wondring at the aduise of this remonstrance, that after they were gone out of the Court, they pointed at those that were richly clad, forcing some to leau the Warre accordingly. Behold how one sole Oration pronounced by a man of steeeme and in season, not only retires men from great vices, C but also incites them to great Enterprizes. But if he which giues good aduise, leads a life answerable to his words, it is necessary that his councell shoulde purchase credit: the which happened in this man. He was sober and simple in his apparell and living, and in the vifage of his body. Finally, he was of a pleasing speech, without enuy and rancour. He studied wonderfully to be found veritable in all his life, and therefore when he vised any ordinary speech, the Auditours gaue him great credit. And as his life serued for an example in all things, so the Auditours had no great neede of any long Discourse. Wherefore he hath often in few words, by his credit and knowledge in things, ouerthrowne the long speeches which seemed to haue beeene deliuered sufficiently by the Enemies. When the Councell was ended, every man retired to his Countrey: And in commanding as well the man as his words, they had a concerte that they could not doe amiss vnder his governmant.

Finally, *Philopemen* went speedily to the Cities to make preparation for the Warre. Then he trained vp a multitude assembled: and when he had not imployed eight Moneths in the preparation of these forces, he leads his Army to *Mantinea* to fight with the Tyrant for the liberty of all *A morea*. *Machanides* likewise taking courage, and thinking

Philopemen
makes Warre
against Macha-
nides, Tyrant
of Lacedaemon.

thinking to preuale ouer the *Achaeans* at his pleasure, giuesthe *Lacedemonians* to vnderstand the things that were then necessary, as soone as hec was aduertised of the assembly of the *Tegeans* at *Mantinea*: Then fuddainly the next day at Sun-rising hec takes his way towards *Mantinea*, marching on the right wing with the Legionaries, and placing the Mercenaries on the right and left, going a slow pace in the beginning of his voyage: He addes moreouer Chariots carrying a great abundance of instruments of Warre and Cros-bowes.

The order of
Philopomen
Battaille.

At the same time *Philopomen* hauing diuided his Army into three, A he caused the *Sclavonians* and *Corslets* to goe forth by the Gate which tends to the Temple of *Neptune*, and withall the strangers and strong men: then by that which lookes to the West, the Legionaries: and the Horse-men of the City by the next. Moreover, he seazed (with the best of his adventurers) of a little Hill lying right against the City, the which extends vpon the way of strangers and the Temple of *Neptune*. And ioyning the *Corslets*, he lodgeth them on the South, ordyning the *Sclavonians* in a place neare vnto them. Then casting the Legionaries behind them in a round, he lodgeth them in the space neare the Ditch which drawes to *Neptunes* Temple, by the midst of the *Mantinian* Plaine, and ioynes vpon the Mountaines neare vnto *Eisafessis*. He orders moreouer vpon the right wing the *Achaeian* Horsemen, of which *Aristonete of Dymec* had the leading: and vpon the hec had all the Strangers, hauing their distinc^t Ordonaunce amongst them.

When the Enemies Army approacht, he comes to the Legionaries, admonishing them in few words, but with the efficacy of the present danger. But most part of his words were not heard: for the multitude prest the cause so much for the affliction they bare him, and the impetuosity of the people, that the Army as it were moued with a certaine diuine fury, perswaded him to worke without feare. Finally, C he endeauoured (if time would haue permitted him) to declare vnto them diligently, how this present danger concerned some in regard of infamy and a base seruitude, and others in regard of liberty alwayes memorable and glorious. Moreouer, *Machanides* instrucci^ts first the Battalion of the Legionaries which they call *Orbie*, that it should fight with the right wing of the Enemies. Then he marcheth, and after he had gain'd a meane space, makes the forme of a Snaile, and drawes his Army in length, putting his right wing in Front to the left of the *Achaeans*. In regard of the Targetteers, he placeth them before the whole Army with some space.

The order of
Machanides Ar-
my.

Philopomen seeing his attempt, who thought by the Targetteers to glue a Charge to the Legionary Bands which offend the Souldiers, and caused a great alarum in the Army, so as hec delayed no longer, making vs to effe^t of the *Tarentins* at the beginning of the Combate neare to *Neptunes* Temple, vpon the Plaine which was commodious for Horse-men. *Machanides* seeing this, is forced to doe the like, and to cause the *Tarentins* (which were with him) to march. Finally, they fought valiantly in the beginning. But when those that were lightly

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lightly armed, preuailed something ouer them that were weaker, it fell out in a short time that the Combate began of either side betwixe the foreine Souldiers. And when as they had ioyned together, and had fought long like braue men, the danger was equall, so as the rest of the Armies, expecting the issue of the Battaille, could not fight there, for that many times both the one and the other in fighting, exceeded their first station. Yet the Tyrants souldiers had for a time the better, confidinge their multitude and dexterity, with their Armes and Experience. The which did not happen without caufe. For as the multitudine in Communitie, is more cherefull in Combats in Warre, then the Subiects which are Enemies to Tyrants, so strange Souldiers taking pay of Monarchs, excell those of Common-weales. And as some Subiects fight for liberty, and some are in danger of seruitude, some also of the Mercenaries fight for a certaine profit, others for the defense of their Lyes. But a popular power puts not her liberty into the hands of Mercenaries, after they haue defeated their Enemies: Whereas a Tyrant the greater Enterprize he makes, the more souldiers he hath need off. For as he doth more outrages, so he hath more warchers ouer his life.

B The safety then of Monarchs consists in the good affection, and forces of his foreine Souldiers. Wherefore then it hapned that the foreine Souldiers fought with such great Courage and Resolution, as the *Sclavonians* and *Horaties* being in front of them could not indure their Charge: flying all as repulst towards *Mantinea*, seauen Furlongs distant. Then that which some men held in doubt was made plaine and certaine. It is manifest that many actions in Warre breed Experience of things, so do they ignorance. It is a great matter for him that hath purchased Authority in the beginning, to extend it farther: But it is a farre greater matter to fixe vpon him whose first attemps haue not beeene successfull: and to consider the indiscretion of the vanfortune, and to obserue their faults.

The safety of
Monarchs.

You shall oftentimes see that they which seeme to haue the better, are within a shott space frustrated of all in generall: And againe, they which at the first were beaten, haue by their industry restored all: the which appeared then betwixe these two Princes. For when the bands of Souldiers which the *Achaeans* had wauered, and that the left wing was broken, *Machanides* leaving his good Fortune and the Victory of those of the Wing, and to assaile the others in Front, and finally to attend the Victory, he did nothing of all this, but scattered with the Mercenaries, without order like a young man, he pursued the Chase, as if feare had not beeene able to pursue those which fled vnto the Gates. The Chiefe of the *Achaeans* employed all his power to stay the Mercenaries with cries and perswasions, calling to the rest of their Commanders. But when he saw them forcibly repulst, he was not amazed if they turned head, or despairing, abandoned the place, but he with-drew the Wing which charged and purfused them. And when the place where the danger was, was abandoned, he sent presently to the first Legionaries, that they should cover themselves with their

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their Targets; and in keeping order he went speedily before. Being come suddenly to the place abandoned, hee defeated the pursuers, hauing great aduantage vpon the Enemies battallion. Hee likewise perwaded the Legionaries to haue a good Courage and resolution, and not to budge, vntill hee gaue them order to march close in Battaille against the Ememy. And as for *Polybius the Megalopolitaine*, hauing gathered together the remainder of the *Selanomians* which had turned Head, with the armed men and the Strangers, he enioynes him to haue a great care to keepe the Battallion in good order, and to looke to thole which were retred from the Chafe. The *Lacedemonians* A likewise resuming Courage and strength, for that they were esteemed the most valiant, charged the Enemies with their lauelings without Command.

And as in this pursueite they were come vnto the brinke of the Ditch, and had no more time to retурne, for that they were in the Enemies hands, and that finally they forsooke and disdained the Ditch, for that it had many descents, and was drie and without Trees, they ranne into it without any discretion. As this occasion offerts it selfe against the Enemy, *Philopomen* hauing fore-seene it long before, he then Commanded all the Legionaries to aduance with their Iaue-Blings. And when as all the *Acheans* with one resolution had cast themselues vpon the Enemies with horrible cries, hauing formerly broken the battallion of the *Lacedemonians*, descending into the Ditch, they turne Head with great Courage against the Enemy which held the higher ground. It is true, that a great part was defeated awell by the *Acheans* as their owne men. That which I haue spoken happens not by chance, but by the prouidence of the Commander, who had suddenly made this Ditch. *Philopomen* fled not from the Battaille as some had conceiued: But considering and aduising diligently like a good Commander of all things in particular, that if C *Machanides* should lead his Army thither, it would happen that by ignorance of the Ditch, he would fall into danger with his Battallion, as it succeeded in Effect. And if considering the difficulty of the Ditch, hee shold seeme to feare and turne Head, hee shold then be wonderfully frustrated of his Enterprize and Designe, for that hee shold haue the Victory without fight, *Machanides* beeinge defeated by a vnfotunate disaster. It had happened to many which had undertaken a Battaille, that finding themselues insufficient to ioyne with the Enemy, some in regard of the disaduantage of places, others for the multitude, and some for other caufuls, and by this same meanes D shewing and expressing themselues in their flight to bee of little Experience, some hoping to be stronger vpon the Rearre, and others that they might escape the Enemy safly. Among the which were these Commanders.

But *Philopomen* was not deceipted in his fore-fight: by whose endeavour it happened, that the *Lacedemonians* made a speedy flight. And when hee saw his Legions to vanquish, heelaboured to bring that vnto an ende which remained of an absolute Victory. Which was

was, that *Machanides* should not escape, and therefore knowing him to be at the pursueite of the Chafe, on that side of the Ditch which lay towards the City with his Mercenaries, had not bene retired and with drawne, he attends his comming. But when as *Machanides* flying after the Chafe, saw his Armature head, and hearing that all hope was lost for him, he laboured with his forreine Souldiers in turning head, to escape thorough the Enemies dispersed, and scattered in their Chase. Whereunto they likewise hauing regard, stayed with him in the beginning, feeding themselues with the same hope of safety. A But when as at their comming they saw the *Acheans* keepe the Bridge vpon the Ditch, then all amazed they abandon him and fled, every man looking to his owne preferment. And when the Tyrant despaired of the passage of the Bridge, he went directly to the Ditch, and endeavours to finde a paage.

Philopomen knowing the Tyrant by his purple Robe, and the caparison of his Horse, leutes *Polybius* there, and giues him charge to keepe the paage carefully, not sparing any of the Mercenaries, for that most commonly they fauour and support the Tyrant of *Lacedemon*. In regard of himselfe, he takes *Pelene*, *Cyarisfe*, and *Simie*, of whom he then made vse, marching against the Tyrant and his Company on B the other side of the Ditch. *Machanides* had at that time two men with him, that is to say, *Anaxidamus* and a strange Souldier: When hee preff his Horse to take a certainte commodious paage of the Ditch, *Philopomen* doubling vpon him, gaue him a mortall wound with a laueling, and soone after another, killing the Tyrant valiantly. The like happened to *Anaxidamus* by the Horse-men which marcht with him. The third man despairing of the passage, escaped the danger by flight, whilst they slew the other two. After their death *Simies* Company strip them, and brought away the Head and Armes of the Tyrant, to make his death knowne vnto the Troupes: whereby they might with C more diligence pursue the Enemies into their City: the which serued much to moue the Commons. For by this means they reduced the City of *Tegea* vnder their obedience: after which prize they camped heare vnto the Riuere of *Erota*, after they had made themselues Maitfers of the Champion Countrey. And as they could not chafe the Ememy out of their Countrey for a long time, they then waited all the *Lacedemonian* Prouinces without feare, hauing lost few men in Battaille, and the *Lacedemonians* aboue fourre thousand, besides many Prisoners, and the taking of all their Baggage and Armes.

Machanides
flane.
Anaxidamus
flane.
Tegea



Of Hannibal and the Carthaginians. A

The excellency
of Hannibal.

And therefore who will not wonder at the government, vertue and power of this man, in his valiant exploits of Warre decided in Field, hauing regard to the length of time, and knowing *Hannibal* as well in Battailles as encounters, as in sieges of Townes, alterations, and events of times, and in the fulnesse of all the Enterprizes and resolutions, according to the which hee hath made Warre in *Italy* against the *Romans* for the space of feuentene yeares, and hauing never broken vp his Campe, but kept it still entire as vnder a good Leader, and commanded to greate a multitude either without mutiny towards him or among themselves, although he did not employ in his Army men of one Nation, nor of one Race. He had vnder his command *Lybiens*, *Spaniards*, *Phenicians*, *Italians*, and *Grecians*: among the which the Lawes nor customes, nor the Language had any thing common. But the industry of the Commander madeth this great multitude of different Nations obedient to the Commandments of one man, according to his desire: although the Events were not alwayes answerable, but diuers: and that many times Fortune smilid vpon him, and was sometimes opposite. These things considered, you may safely say (in wondering at the vertue of this Commander, in that which concerns this point) that if hee had first assailed the other Countries of the World, and then the *Romans*, he would haue prevailed in all that he had attempted. But seeing at this day hee hath begun the Warre against those which hee should haue assailed last, hee hath made both the beginning and the ending.

Divers Nations
vnder the lead-
ing of Hanni-
bal.

And *Scipio* having drawne together the Souldiers from those places where they had wintered, prepares for his voyage, and campes neare vnto a City called *Elinge*, building a Pallisadoe on the side of the Mountaine, with plaine spaces before, fit for skirmishes and encounters. Hee had three score and ten thousand Foote, four thousand Horse, and two and thirty Elephants. *Publius Scipio* on the other side sends *Marcus Junius* to *Lochis* to receiu the Bands which hee had leuid: being three thousand Foote and fiftie hundred Horse. In regard of the other Allies, he accompanys them, taking his way to the place appointed.

Scipio
drawes his Ar-
my together.

When hee was come to *Catalongne*, and to the places which were about *Becyle*, and had ioyned his Army with *Marcus*, and with

with the Troupes of *Celichante*; he fell into a great perplexity for the apparent dangers. For in truth he had not a sufficient *Roman Army* without the forces of the Allies to hazard a Battaille. It seemed an vnfite thing, foolish, and rash for those which pur their hope in the forces of their Allies to hazard a Battaille. But as he was for a time in suspence, and that the affaires concluded that he must vs the Allies, he came to fight with the *Spaniards*: to the end that by this meanes he might make the Enemy imagine that hee fought with his whole Army.

A This being resolud, he marches with all his Troops, being forty five thousand Foot, and aboue three thousand Horse. And when he was neare the *Carthaginians*, so as he might well be discouered, he camps about certaine little Hills right against the Enemy. *Adrubar* thinking to haue found a fit time to charge the *Romans* in Camping, he fell vpon their Campe with the greatest part of his Horse-men, and *Nassanissa* with the *Numades*, hauing a conceite to surprize *Scipio* suddenly. But he hauing formerly fore-seene the future, he lay an Ambush of Horse-men behinde a certayne Hill, equall in number to those of the *Carthaginians*: who charging by surprize, many in the beginning turning head, in regard of this vnspected Charge of the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*, fell from their Horses, others affronting the Enemies fought valiantly. But for the dexterity of the *Roman* Horse-men in fighting, the *Carthaginians* being troubled and discontented, after some little resistance gave backe, retiring in the beginning in good order: But when the *Romans* pursued them, they tooke their flight vnder the Campe. This done, the *Romans* affirme themselves the more to vndergoe the danger: and the *Carthaginians* did the contrary. The dayes following they draw their Armies into the Plaine which lay betwixt them, and making skirmishes as well of Horse-men, as of their most valiant Foote, and trying one another they resolved to Battaille.

D It seemed then that *Scipio* had practised a double stratagem. For when he saw *Adrubar* flow in ordyng of his forces, and to put the *Lybiens* in the midle, and the Elephants vpon the two wings: Then as hee was accustomed to obserue the opportunity of the time, and to make head against the *Lybiens* by *Romans*, and to mitgle the *Spaniards* vpon the wings, on the day which hee resolued to fight, bee dorth now the contrary, giuing by this meanes great comfort to his forces for the Victory, and weakning the Enemy. Presently at the Sunne-rising he giveth all the Souldiers notice by men appointed, that all they which were to fight armed, should stand before the Pallisadoe. This done, when they had obeyed him cheerfully, for the hope they had conceiued for the future, he sends the Horse-men before, and the alest Souldiers, giuing them charge to approach the Enemies Campe, and that in skirmishing couragiously they shold begin the Battaille. For his part, he marcheth at Sun-rising with the Footmen. And being come into the midst of the field, he drew his Army in Battaille after another forme then he had bin accustomed. For he put the *Spaniards* in battaille

Spaniards in the midst, and the *Romans* vpon the wings. When as the Horse-men approacht the *Pallisadoe*, and that the rest of the Army was in sight and ready, the *Carthaginians* had scarce time to arm.

Afdrubal puts his men in Battaille.

Afdrubal being then forced to drawe the valiantest of his men to field against the *Romans*, being yet fasting without preparation and in haste both the Foot-men and Horse-men : and to plant his Army of Foot-men not farre from the Mountaines, and the Ordinance in the Plaine as they had beene accustomed. The *Romans* stayed some time : but for that the day was well aduoced, and that the Combat of either side A was uncertaine and equal, and that there was danger that they which shold be prest, turning head, would retire vpon their Battalions, then *Scipio* retiring the Skirmishers by the space betwixt the Ensignes, he diuides them vpon the wings after those which had beene formerly appointed. Then he giveth order to assaile the Enemy in Front, first to the Iauelings, and then with Horse-men : and being a Furlong from the Enemy, he commands the *Spaniards* which were in Battaille, to march to the same order, and that they should turne the Ensignes vpon the right hand, and they of the left doing the contrary. And when he began on the right side, *Lucius Marcius* and *Marcus Junius* led three B braue Troupes of Horse-men on the left hand, and before were those which were lightly arm'd and accustomed to the Warre, with three Bands of Foot-men (the *Romans* call a Band of Foot-men a Cohort) to whom the Targetteers ioyned on the one side, and the Archers on the other.

In this sort they marched against the Enemy, making by this means an attempt with effect, considering the continuall repaire of those which ioyned with them by files. As by chance these men were not farre from the Enemy, and that the *Spaniards* which were on the wing were farther off, as they which marched a slow pace, they C make an attempt vpon the two Battalions of the Enemy, drawne in length with the *Roman* forces, according to that which had beeue resolved in the beginning. The following alterations (by the meanes whereof it happened that they which followed, ioyned with the former, encountering the Enemies in a dire~~Q~~ line, had betwixt them divers orders) so as the right Battalion had on the left side the Foot-men mingled with the Horse. For the Horse-men which were on the right wing, mingling with the Iauelings of the Foot lightly arm'd, laboured to inclose the Enemies. The Foot-men on the other side couered themselves with their Targets. They which on the left D hand were in the Troupes charged with their Iauelings, and the Horse-men accompanied with the Archers with their full speed. By this motion there was a left wing made of the right wing of the Horse-men, and of the most valiant Souldiers of the two Battalions: But the Commander made no great accompt, being more carefull to vanquish the enemy with the other Battalion: wherein he had good judgement. We must know things as they are done, and vse a fit obseruation according to the occasion offred.

By

By the charge of these men the Elephants assailed by the Archers, and the Horse-men with Darts and Iauelings, and tormented of all sides were wounded, making as great a spoile of their Friends as of their Enemies. For they ran vp and downe and ouer-threw men of all sides, breaking the *Carthaginian* Battalions. In regard of that of the *Lybiane* which held the middle part, and was of great seruice, it stood idle vnto the end. For not able to succour those which on the wings abandoned the place, by reason of the *Spaniards* charge: nor remaining in their station, doe that which necessity required: for that A the Enemies which they had in Front, did not give them Battaille.

It is true that the wings fought for a time valiantly: Considering that all was in danger. And as the heate was vehement, the *Carthaginians* brake, seeing that the end of the Combate succeeded not according to their desire, and that their chiefe preparation was hindred: The *Romans* on the other side had the aduantage both in force and courage: and in that principally, that by the prouidence of the Generall the best furnished among the *Carthaginians* were made vnproufitable. Wherefore *Afdrubal* being thus prest, retired in the beginning with a slow pace from the Battaille: Then turning in Troupe, he recovered the neighbour Mountaines. And when as the *Romans* pursued them neare, B they posted to their *Pallisadoe*. If some God had not preferred them, they had suddainely lost their Fort. But for that the disposition of the Aire changed, and the raine fell continually with violence, the *Romans* could hardly recover their Fort.

And although that *Publius Scipio* had sufficient experience of the Warre, yet he never fell into so great a doubt and perplexity, the Text. which happened not without reson. For as wee may fore-see and pre- A good Com-
Aire, and in that principally, that by the prouidence of the Body, as cold, heate, labour, and wounds, before they happen: and cure them when they come: being on the other side difficulte to fore-see those which proceed C from the Body, and are hardly cureable when they happen: we must judge the same of policies and Armies. It is true, there is a speedy meanes and helpe to prevent the Warres and Ambushes of Strangers when they are contrived: But against those which the Enemy doth practise in the State, as seditions and mutinies, the Phisicke is difficult, and requires a great dexterity and singular industry in the government of affaires. But in my opinion one aduise is necessary for all Armies, Cities, and bodies politique: which is, that in that which concerns the things above mentioned, they never suffer too much sloth and idlenesse: especially in time of prosperity, and the abundance of D all things necessary.

Scipio as a man of excellent diligence, and consequently industrious The wisedome and active to manage great affaires, propounded a certayne course to decide the present combustions, after he had assembled the Captaines of thousands. He gaue order that they should promise unto the Soldiers the restitution of the victuals and taxes: and to give credit to his promise, they should leuie the ordinary taxes ordained in Cities diligently and openly for the reliefs of the whole Army, to the end

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it

it might be apparent that this preparation was made for the institution of their Victuals. And that moreouer, the Milleniers shoulde command the Commissaries of the Victuals, and admonishe them to haue a care, and to take charge of the Victuals : and that conserfing among them selues, they shoulde make knowne, if part of them or altogether would vndertake it. He sayd, that they must consider of that which was to be done. The others thinking of the same things, had a care of the Treasure. And when as the Milleniers had made knowne the things which had beeene ordayne, *Scipio* being aduertised, imparde vnto the Councell that which was to be done. They concluded that ^A they shoulde resolute on the day when they were to appere : So as the people shoulde be sem baeke, and the Authors seuerely punished : who were to the number of fiftie and thirtie.

And when the Day was come, and the Rebels there present, as well to obtaine pardon, as for their Victuals, *Scipio* secretly commands the Captaines Milleniers, that they shoulde goe and meeet with the Rebels, and in choosing fiftie of the chiefe of the Mutiny (every man carrying himselfe courteously at their encounter) they shoulde bring them to his Paullion : if this could not be done, yet at the least they shoulde conway them to the Banquet, and to this kind of assembly. ^B And as for the Army which was with him, he gaue them notice three dayes before, to make prouision of Victuals for a long time : as if *Marecum* shoulde goe to *Andobale* to fight : whereof the Rebels being aduertised, they were the more assured. They expected to chyoy a great power, if (the rest of the Army being separated) they were admittid about a Commander, when they approach neare the City, he commands the other Souldiers, that being prepared the day following, they shoulde come forth at the breake of day. In regard of the Milleniers and Captaines, he giues them charge that after their comming forth of the City, they shoulde stay the Souldiers in Armes at the Gate, hauing first lodg'd the Baggage : and that afterwardsthey shoulde diuide them selues by the Gates, and haue a care that none of the Rebels shoulde escape. They which were appointed to receiue them, ioyning to those which came vnto them, entertained the offendours courteouly according vnto that which had beeene enioyned them. Their charge was to seaze vpon these men, at such time as they shoulde be set at the Banquet, and to keepe them bound : So as not any of the Company being within shoulde goe forth, but only he that shoulde aduertise the Commander what had beeene done. Wherefore when the Milleniers had performed their Charge, the Generall seeing in the ^C Morning following those to be assembled in the place which were arrited, he caufeth an Assembly to be called. When the aduertisement was giuen, they all came running as of custome, whether it were with a desire to see the Commander, or to haire those things which were to be spoken of the present affaires. *Scipio* sends to the Milleniers which were at the Gates, and commands them to bring the Souldiers that were armed, and to enuiron the whole assembly : Then marching forth, he amazeth them all at the first sight. ^D A great number in truthe thought

Scipio
assembles his
Army.

thought that he was not well disposid: But when contrary vnto their opinions they found him sound and safe, they were amazed at his presence. Finally, hec vied this Speech vnto them, saying, that hee wondred for what caufe some of them were offended, or vnder what colour they were mooved to attempt a Rebellion.

There are three caufes for the which men perfume to fall into a mytiny against their Princes and Countrey : VVhich are, when as they blame their Gouvernour, and indure them vnvillingly ; or when they are offended with the preuent Gouvernment ; or vpon a conception in <sup>Three caufes
of the peoples
mutiny against
Princes.</sup> ^A their opinions of a greater and better hope. I demand of you, sayth he, which of these three hath mooved you. Are you angry with me that I haue not deliuerned yon Victuals ? It is not my fault. For you haue not wanted any Victuals vnder my Leading. It is the error of the *Romans* which haue not yeilded that vnto you now, which hath beeene formerly due vnto you ? Should you then accuse your Country, so as you shoulde Rebelle and become its Enemy, then being preuent to speake vnto me, and to intreate your friends to affist you ? The which in my opinion had beeene much better. It is true, a pardon may bee givuen vnto Mercenaries, if they abandon those from whom they receive B pay : But it is not fit to pardon such as carry Armes for them selues, their Wives, and their Children. For it is even like as a man shoulde come vnto his Father, and charge him that he had villanously cozened him in matters of money, and kill him from whom hee holds his life. Haue I opprest you more with toiles and dangers then the rest, giving them more Commodities and profites then vnto you ? In truthe you dare not speake it, neither can you conuince me although you durst attempt it.

I cannot conieture the cause for the which being incensed against me, you haue attempted this Rebellion. I would understand the occasion from your selues. I thinke there is not any man among you that can alledge or pretend any thing. You cannot, in truthe, be sic for the preuent. When was there euer greater abundance of all things, nor more prerogatiues of the City of *Rome* ? When was there euer greater hope for Souldiers then there is at this day ? Peraduenture some one of these desperate men will think that at this day the profits are greater in shew, and the Hope better and more firme with the Enemy. Which are they ? Is it *Andobale* and *Mandone*? Which of you doth not know that as they first falsified their Faith with the *Carthaginians* coming to vs ? And that now againe they declared themselves D our Enemies, inviolating their oath and Faith. Were it not an honest and commendable thing, that in giuing them your Faith, you should become Enemies to your owne Countrey ? And yet you haue no hope in them to enioy *Spanie*. You were not sufficient being ioyned to *Andobale* to fight with vs, neither yet alone. Whereto then did you gym ?

I would know it from your selues, if you haue put your confidence in the Experience and Virtue of the Capitaines which now are appoineted you, or in the Rods and Maces which march before them, where-

The inconstancy
of the people.

of there is no honesty to vse any longer Discourse. But in truth there is nothing of all this, neither can you inuenient any thing against me nor your Countrey. Wherefore I will answere for *Rome* and my selfe, propounding those things which seeme reasonable to all men, which is this, the People and all the Commons are such as they are easily deuiced and moued to any thing. Wherefore it happens to them as to the Sea. For as the Sea of it selfe is without offence, and safe to those which make vse of it : And if it be tormented with the violence of the Winds, it is such vnto Saylers as are the Winds wherewith it is beaten : The Commons in like manner are made like unto those which gouerne them, which are their Commanders and Councillors. And therefore now I suffer all your Leaders vnpunished, promising that hereafter I will quit all reuenge : But as for those which haue beeene the Authors of the Rebellion, I bearne them an implacable hatred : for this cause we will punish them conueniently for the crimes which they haue committed against their Countrey and vs.

And when he had vied this Speech, the Souldiers that were in Armes and round about, made a great noise with their Swords in the Porches, and presently the Authors of the mutiny were brought in naked and bound. Finally, the multitude grew into a great amazement **B** for the horror of the Executions which were done in their sight : so as when some were whipt, and others executed, they moued not an eye, nor any man spake a word, remaining all amazed and terrified by these accidents. The Authors of these mischiefs being whipt and slaine, and drawne through the midst of them : the rest were assured in common by the Commander and Princes, that no man hereafter should be punished by any man for the remembrance of this fact. Wherefore they came all to the Milleniers, and iware absolutely to obey the Commandments of the Princes, and not to consent to any thing against the Ciuitie of *Rome*.

A punishment
of the Mutinies.

*Scipio's Speech
to his Army.*

When as *Scipio* had corrected the Mischiefe newly growne, hee settles his Army in its former estate. Then suddenly drawing it together within *Carthage*, he made his complaints of the rashnesse and wickednesse of *Andobale* towards them : and after he had made a long speech of his disloyalty, he incensed the hearts of many against the sayd Potentate. Finally, he put them in minde of their encounters against the *Spaniards* and *Carthaginians*, whilst they were vnder the *Carthaginian* Commanders : Of whom (as they had beeene alwayes victorioues) there was no cause he sayd, to be in doubt or feare, but that comming againe to fight with the *Spaniards* vnder *Andobale*, they would be defeated. Wherefore he sayd he would make no more vse of the *Spaniards* to fight, and that hee would undergoe the danger with the *Romans* alone : to the end it may be manifest to all the world, that wee haue not chased the *Carthaginians* out of *Spaine* with the helpe of *Spaniards* : but by a *Roman* vertue, and that by our owne dexterity wee haue vanquished them with the *Celiberians*.

This Speech being ended, hee perswaded them to liue in Concord, and that they wold vndertake this present danger, ifever they vnder-

tooke

tooke any with great assurance. In regard of the meanes of the victory, he assuages them that with the helpe of the Gods he will take order. The Commons conceiu'd so great a courage and confidencie, as all of them carryed a countenance like vnto thofc which beheld their Enemies, and prepare to fight. His words being ended, hee sent backe the asseably. The next day he rafseth his Campe and marcheth : and being come on the tenth day to a Riuier, he passeth it foire dayes after : then he plants himselfe before the Enemies, hauing recouered a certaine Plaine betwixt his Campe and theirs. The day following he A sent forth towards the Enemy vpon the Plaine, some Cattell which followed the Army : and commands *Caius* to keepe certaine Horse-men in a readinesse, and to the Chiefe of the Milleniers, to prepare Archers and Slingers.

*Scipio lays a
baile for the
Enemy.*

When the *Spaniards* had fallen sudainly vpon the Cattell, he sent certaine Souldiers that were Archers. The Combat beginning, and the Souldiers running vnto it, on either side in good numbers, there grew a great Skirmish of Foot-men neare vnto the Plaine. When a fit occasion was offred to assaile the Enemy, and that *Caius* had his Horse-men ready as he had commanded him, he chargeth the Foot-men, and repulseth them from the Plaine, to the places neare vnto the Mountaines, to the end they might be scattered, and slaine in great numbers. When this happened, the *Barbarians* were moued, fearing that being vanquished in skirmish before they cam to the Battaille, they should seeme to haue fainted, wherefore at the Sun-rising they drew their Army in good order to Field, preparing for the Battaille. *Publius Scipio* was ready to give it : But when hee saw the *Spaniards* descend without reaon into the Plaine, and not only to put their Horse-men in order, but also their Foot, he stayed, to the end that a greater number might assemble in this order of Battaille, hauing confidence in his Cauallery, and much more in his Foot-men, for that they should come to an equal Combat, and fight hand to hand : and that the Armes and men which he had, were more excellent then the *Spaniards*. But for that it seemes necessary prest him, he directed his Army against those which were in Battaille against the Mountaines : drawing four Cohorts out of the Campe towards those that were descended into the Plaine.

*The Spaniards
put themselves
in Battaille.*

Finally, *Caius Lelys* led his Horse-men against the Enemy, by the Hills which come from the Campe vnto the Plaine, and chargeth the *Spaniards* Horse in the Reare, and in fighting stayes them, to the end they should not succour their Foot. The Enemies Foot being destituite of the helpe of their Cauallery, in whom haing put their trust, they had descended into the Plaine, were forced and annoyed in the Combate ; the which likewise happened to the Horse-men. For when as (inclosed in the streight) they could not fight at ease, their deafeate was greater then that of the Enemy : for that their Foot-men were on the side, and their Enemies in Front, and their Horse-men were charged in the Reare. The Combat being after this manner, they which descended were in a manner all defeated : They which were ioyned vnto

*The order of
Scipio's Batt
aille*

A defaute of the
Spaniards.

vnto the Mountaine fled. They were the most valiant, and the third part of the Army : with whom *Androphale* escaped, recouering a certaine Fort. *Scipio* having ended the Wares of Spaine, drew to *Tarragona*, to carry a great triumph of ioy, and a glorious Victory to his Countrey. Desirous them to be present at the Creation of Consuls, hee stayles to *Rome* being accompanied by *Gaius*, delivering the Army to *Iunius* and *Marcus*, having giuen order for all the affaires of Spaine.



Of King Antiochus.

A T was in truth *Eusydemus Magnes* to whom he answere, saying that *Antiochus* laboured to chale him out of his Kingdome vniustly : and that he had not rebelled, to the end he might enjoy the Principallity of the *Bactrians*. And when he had vied a long speech tending to that end, hee intreated *Telens* that by his meanes he might obtaine a truce, and that he would informe *Antiochus*, that hee did not envy his royll Name : For that if he did not yeld to his accords, neither of them should liue in safetey. For there was a great descent of *Tartariens*, which would be dangerous to either of them : and if they entred the Region, it would vndoubtedly be reduced vnder the subiection of *Barbarians*. These words being ended, hee sends *Telens* to King *Antiochus*. When the King had long ruminated to what end this businesse would tend, he heard the proposition which was made by *Telens* concerning a truce.

B When *Telens* was returned, going and comming often from the one to the other, *Eusydemus* in the end sent his Sonne *Demetrius* to confirme the Accord. Whom when the King had received grauously, and holding the Young man worthy to reigne, as well for his outward shew as for his excellent dexterity of Eloquence, hee first promiseth to giue him one of his Daughters, and to his Father **C** the Name of King : Finally, after hee had past in writing the Pactions and Accords sworne, he raiseth his Campe, and sends Victuals freely to his Army.

D When hee had received the Elephants which *Eusydemus* had sent, hee passeth Mount *Caucasus* : and after that hee came into *India*, he renewed the League with *Sophysine* King of the *Indies* : where after he had received an hundred and fifty Elephants, and had againe giuen Victuals to all his Army, he marcheth with all his forces. Moreover, he

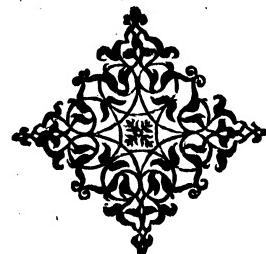
he sends *Androsthenes* the *Cyzcenien* to receive *Gaza*, which by the accord was deliueredvnto him by the King. And when hee had past *Araxosia*, and the Riuier of *Brymanthus*, hee arrived in *Carmania* by *Dratogene*: where he wintered, for that Winter approached. This was the end of *Antiochus* Voyage which he made by the high Countries, by the which he drew to his obediencie not onely the *Satrapes* and Gouvernours of the high Countries, but also the Marritine Cities, and the Potentates inhabiting neare unto *Tauris* : Finally, he hath assur'd his Reigne, making by his confidence and good industry all his Subjects amazed. For he seemed by this Voy-age worthy to reigne not onely ouer the *Asiariques*, but also ouer the *Europians*.

B

C

D

A





A PARCELL OF the Twelfth Booke of the

History of POLYBIUS.



Ho will wholly commend the Excellency of this Region. In regard of *Tymenus*, thou maist with reaon terme him ignorant, not onely of things concerning *Lybia*: but also a Child and without understanding, and also subiect to a foolish ancient report, according to which we have heard that *Lybia* is all sandie, dry, and deserts. The like they sayd of Creatures: And yet it hath so great abundance of Horses, C

The manner of the Lybias living.
Sheepe, and Goats, as I know not where we may finde the like in the World: For that many people of *Lybia* make no vse of the fruits which proceede from the hands of man, but live with Mares Milke. Moreover who doth not know the multitude and force of Elephants, Lyons, and Panthers, and consequently the beauty of Bugles or wilde Oxen, and the greatness of Ostridges: whereof there are none in Europe, and yet *Lybia* is full of such things: whereof *Tymenus* being wholly ignorant, he deliuers as it were of purpose things contrary to truth.

The land of cyren not well knowne by Tymenus.
As he hath lyed in matters concerning *Lybia*, so hath he done the like of the land of *Cyren*. Whereof making mention in his Second Booke, he saith, that it abounds in Goats, Sheepe, and wilde Oxen, and moreover in Stags, Hares, and Wolues, with some other Beasts: and that the men are much given to Venerie, and spend their whole liues therein. When as in the said Iland there is neither wilde Goate, Oxe, Hare, Wolfe, nor Stagge, nor any such kinde of Beast: Except Foxes, Conies, and wilde Geese. It is true, that a Coney seemes a faire off, seemes like unto a Leueret: But when they hold it, it differeth much, as well in sight as in taste. It breeds and liues most commonly in

B

in the ground. For this cause all the Beasts of this Iland seeme wilde, for that the Keepers cannot follow them, in regard this Iland is woody, hilly, and steepe: But when they will draw them together, staying in commodious places, they call them by a Trumper, and every one runs to his owne. Finally, if sometimes they which come into the Iland, see Goats or Oxen feeding alone, and seek to take them, they will not come at them, but flye from them as strangers: and when the Keepers discouering those which come from the ships, sounds his Trumpe, they make haste and runne vnto him: which put ignorant men A in conceite, that the Beasts of this Iland are wilde, wherof *Tymenus* hath made dreames, writing impertinently:

It is no great wonder, that they obey the sound of the Trumpe. For they which breed Swine in *Italy*, haue no Hogheards which follow them after the manner of *Greece*: but going before them a little space, they found their Trumpes, and the Swine follow them behinde, running after the sound. These Beasts are so accustomed every one to his Trumpe, as it is a wonder and in a maner incredible to thole that shall heare speake of it. For it happens that for the abundance of Swine, and other things necessary, the troupes are in fisch great numbers in *Italy*: especially in the ancient and among the *Tyrreians* and *Gantes*: so as of one breeding there are sometimes aboue a thousand. Wherefore they send them generally according to the age by troupes in the Night: So as many being sent together, they cannot keepe them according to their kinde, and they mingle as well going and passing, as in their retурne.

B For this cause they haue inuented the sound of the Trumpe, to the end that when the Swine mingle, they may separate them without difficultie. When as the Hogheards march one way, and the other another, in sounding the Trumpe, the Swine part of themselues, every one following his owne Trumpe with such great heate, as it C is impossible to stay them, or to hinder their courfe. But when in *Greece* they mingle, hunting and running after Fruites, hee that hath the greatest number and retires sooteest, carries with his owne the next, and sometimes steales them, he that hath the charge not knowing how he hath lost them: for that the Swine stray far from their Hogheards whilest they run greedily after the Fruites of Trees, when as they begin newly to fall. But we haue spoken sufficiently.

D It hath often been my chance to goe to the City of the *Locrines*, and to deliuere them that which was necessary. I haue made them free from the Warre of *Spaine* and *Dolmacia*: to the which by accord they were subiect by Sea to the *Romans*. Wherefore they haue done vs all honour and courtesie, in acknowledging to be freed from this trouble, danger, and charge. Wherefore I am more bound to praise the *Locrines*, then to doe the contrary. Finally, I haue not omitted to deliuere and write the History of the Collony, which hath giuen vs to understand, that *Aristotle* is more veritable then that which *Tymenus* reports. I am of their opinion which maineaine the renowne of this Collony to be anciente according to the saying of *Aristotle*, *Aristotle* and *Vu*

The manner of breeding Swine in Italy.

The City of the Locrines.

The Colony of the Locrines according vnto Aristotle, and Vu

and not of *Tymens*: for the which they produce these arguments: First that all things which haue beeene famous among them for their Predecessors, are come from women and not from men: so as (by way of example) they are held amongst them for noble, which haue taken their name from a hundred Families. These are the Families which the *Locrines* made chiose of, before they went to make a Collony: whereby it might happen, that by Oracles they cast Lots vpon the Virgins to send them to *Troy*: Whereof some went in Collony, and their posterity was to bee held Noble, and termed of the hundred Families.

Aigaine, for that which concerns him whom they call *Philephore*, they haue made this report: That when as they chased the *Sicilians*, who then inhabited that part of *Italy*, the Nobles and Chiefe men then honoured the Sacrifices, and tooke many of the customes of the Countrey: so as they hold nothing of their Paternall, in obseruing that from them: and in correcting they haue ordained that they shold not make any of their Sonnes *Philephore*, but onely a Virgine, in regard of the Nobility which came from Women. There was not, neither is it said, that their hath beeene any pactions or accords made betwixt the *Locrines* and the *Grecians*. In regard of the *Sicilians*, they had all that we haue made mention of. They say, that when they came first into *Sicily*, they which then held that Region where they now dwell, being amazed and receiuing them with feare, made an accord with them: which was, that they shoulde maintaine Friendship, and enioy the Countrey in common as long as they shoulde tread vpon the Earth, and carry a head vpon their shoulders. And when this kinde of Oath was made, they say, that the *Locrines* did put earth into their shooes, and secretly hid the heads of Garlick: and hauing thus sworne, and finally cast the Earth out of their shooes, and likewise the heads of Garlick, soone after they chaft away the *Sicilians* out of the Countrey. This the *Locrines* did say.

A defect in the Text.

Two kinds of
vntruth.

As a Rule although it hath lesse length and breadth, yet it retaines still the Name, if it hath that which is proper to a Rule: So they say, if it be not straight and hauing the property of a Rule, it shoulde rather be called by some other name then a Rule: In like manner they hold that if the *Commentaries* of *Historiographers* which failing either in Diction or vse, or in any other of the parts which are proper vnto them, obserue the truth, they deserue the name of a History: But if that failes, they are no more worthy of that name. For my part, I confesse, that such *Commentaries* are to be held for true: and I am of this opinion in every part of our Worke, when I say, that even as when the Bones are separated from a living Creature, it is made vn-usefull, so is a History: For if thou takeft away the truth, the rest will bee but a vaine Narration. We haue sayd, that there were two kinds of lies, the one through ignorance, the other which is delivered wittingly. The pardon is easie for those which through ignorance stray from the truth; and they are to be hated deadly which lie willingly. As men of judgment refloeing to reuenge their enemies, do not first obserue what their Neighbour

Neighbour

Neighbour deserues, but rather what they must doe: the like we must thioke concerning detractors, not caring for that which the Enemies ought to haue, but to obserue carefully what it is fit to speake. They which measure all things according to their choller and envy, must of necessity faile in all, and stray from reason, when they speake otherwise then is fitting. Wherefore we doe not seeme vnjustly to reprove the speeches which *Tymens* hath held against *Demochares*. In truth, hee neither deserues pardon nor credite with any man, for that in wronging him openly, hee straias from reason, in regard of his naturall biterneſſe. Neither doe the iniuries against *Agathocles* please mee, although he were the most cruell man living. I speake of those whereof hee makes mention in the end of his History, saying, that *Agathocles* had beeene a publicke *Sodomite* in his younger yeares, and abandoned to all infamous and vild persons: and so to other sōle villanies which he addes.

B Moreover, hee sayth, that after his death his Wife lamented him in this manner: *Why haue not I thee, nor thou me?* In regard of the speeches which he hath held of *Demochares*, some will not onely cry out, but wonder with reason at his excessive Rage. That *Agathocles* had necessarily by Nature a great prerogative, it is manifest by the Discourse which *Tymens* hath held. Hee came to *Sarragoff*, flying the Wheele, Smoake, and Clay, being eighteene yeares old: And when he was come for this cause, sometime after he was Lord of all *Sicily*: Hee also drew the *Carthaginians* into great extremities, and ended his life with the Name of a King, after that he had growne old in this government. It is not then necessary to say, that there had some things happened to *Agathocles* which were great and excellent, and that hee had had great power, and great forces to execute all these things: And that a Historiographer must not onely deliuer vnto posterity those things which concerne the blame, and shew the accusation, but also those C which touch the praise of the man. This is the property of a History: But this Childe blinded with his owne rānger, in his relation algments through hatred his offences, omitting wholy the vertues: being ignorant that it is no lesse blame worthy thena lye in those which write the Histories of Actions.

D It happened saith he, that as two young men contended for a Servant, that he was somewhat long with a Friend: And when as the other two days before came out of the Countrey, in the absence of the Master the Servant retired speedily into the house: and that afterwards the other knowing he came thither, seazing on him, brought him into Question, saying, that the Maister of the house ought to giue Caution. For the Law of *Zalucus* was, that he deserued a suit to whom he had made the retreat. And when as the other sayd, that according to the same Law he had also made the retreat, for that the Body was parted to come vnto the Potentate: he saith, that the Princes were in doubt vpon this busynesse, and called *Cosmopole*, referring themselves to him in this cause. Who interpreted this Law, saying that the retreat hath alwayes beegeo to him who had the last, or for a time possesſed the thing debated.

V u²

Zalucus the Law-giver.
Cosmopole.
without

*Tymens repys.
hensible.*

*Agathocles
cruell.*

*A parcell cor-
rupted.*

without contradiction. But if any one spoild another by force, and had retired it, and that subsequently he which first enjoyed it, termes himselfe the maister, this is no true possession. And when as the Young man disconmented at this sentence, sayd, that it was not the sens of the Law, *Cosmopole* protestted, and offred the Condition, if there were any man that would speake any thing touching the sentence or sens of the Law established by *Lalemus*. The which is such, that the Captaines Milleniers being there appointed with Halkers to hang men, they consulted vpon the sens of the Law: if any one drew the sentence of the Law to a bad sens, hee was strangled in the presence of the Mil- A leniers. This Speech being propounded by *Cosmopole*, the Young man answered, that the Condition was vniust: for that *Cosmopole* had not aboue two or three yeares to live, (for hee was about four-score and ten years old) and that he according to reason had the greatest part of his life remaining. For which witty and pleasant Speech hee escaped the ferenity of the iudgement: and the Princes judged according to the aduice of *Cosmopole*.

A soverene
sentence.

A witty answere
of a Young
man.

Of the Voyage
against Darius
C. 333. B.C.

Wee will make mention of a certaine expedition of Warre, which hath beeene very famous, and decided in a very short time: In the relation whereof *Calisthenes* hath er'd in that which doth most import: B I speake of that which *Alexander* made into *Cilicia* against *Darius*. In the which he saith that *Alexander* had past the streights, which they call the Ports of *Cilicia*; and that *Darius* tooke his way by the Ports which they call *Menides*, and drew with his Army towards *Cilicia*. And when he understood by the Inhabitants, that *Alexander* tooke his course towards *Syria*, hee followed him: and when he approached vnto the streights, hee Camped neare vnto the Riuere of *Pyre*. Finally, that the compasse of that place was not aboue fourteeen Furlongs from thence, and from the Seavnto the hilly Countreyes, and that the sayd Riuere falls into the Sea, traunting the C said places: First by the sides of the Mountaine ending at the Plaine, and then by the Field having his Banks rough and not easie to come vnto.

The reprehension
of Calisthe-

These things supposed, he sayd, that when as *Alexander* turning head, came neare vnto *Darius*, his aduise and that of his Princes was to order his Battaille within his Campe as hee had formerly done, and to helpe himselfe with this Riuere as with a Rampire, for that it ran neare vnto his Campe. Finally, he ordred his Horse-men vp, on the Sea-shoare, and vpon their Raire the Mercenaries: so as neare vnto the Riuere they were ioyned in one; and the Targetteers were placed in the Mountaines. It is a difficult thing to consider how hee D ordred these before the Battalion: seeing that the Riuere past neare vnto the Campe, the multitude likewise being so great. They were as *Calisthenes* sayth, thirty thousand Horse and as many Mercenaries.

It is an easie thing to know what space will containe these: For they order their Ranks according to the true vse of eight in a great Troupe of Horse, every one requiring a space in Fronct, to the end they may turne easily. To eight hundred of which a Furlong sufficeth, and ten

ten to eight Thousand, and foure to three Thousand five hundred: So as this space of fourteeene furlongs, is fill'd with twelve Thousand Horse. If then he bath ordred all this Troupe of Horse in Battaille, it wants not much but being tripled, the order hath beeene made without any space betwixt. In what place then hath he ordered the multitude of Souldiers, but in the Raire of the Horse-men? But hee will say no; and that they fought with the *Macedonians* at their first comming: Of necessarie there must be an uniting made, seeing that the order of the Horse-men held the moiesty of the place towards the Sea, A the other towards the Mountaines being kept by the Mercenaries. Hereby we may inferre, how close the Horse men were ynitied, and what space there must be from the Riuere vnto the Campe. Then hee sayth, that when the Enemies approached, *Darius* being in the midste of his Armie, called vnto him the Mercenaries and their Wing. But we may doubt how this is spoken. For it is necessarie that the Horse-men and Mercenaries should be ioyned about the middest of this same place. When as *Darius* was in the middest of his Mercenaries, how hath he call'd them? Finally hee sayth, that the Horse-men of the right Wing fought with *Alexander* at his first comming: and that hee received them valiantly, and fought with them in front, and that B the Combate of eyther side was very furious.

In regard of that which was spoken by him that the Riuere was in the middest (as a little before we haue deliuered) hee hath forgotten himselfe. Finally, he writes things of *Alexander* like vnto thele. He saith that hee past into *Asia*, accompanied with fortie Thousand foot, and foure Thousand five hundred Horse. And as he would haue aduanced, there came vnto him out of *Macedony* other fiftie Thousand foote, and eight hundred Horse: And although that for the affaires of his long absence, he had left three thousand foote, and three hundred Horse, yet he had fortie two thousand remaining. These things C presupposed, hee sayth that *Alexander* was aduertised of *Darius* descent into *Sicilia*, so hee was not aboue a hundred furlongs from him, and that he had alreadie past the streights of the Countrey, and for this cause turning head he repast them againe, putting the great Battalion in Front, then the Horse-men, and after all the rest of the baggage of the Army.

And when he came afterwards into the plaine, that all the baggage being packt vp, hee commanded that being mingled with the Battalion, they shoulde make their ranks, containing first about two and thirtie in number, then of sixteene, and of eight neare the Enemy. D These Specchies haue lesse reason then the former. For as the furlong containes in these spaces sixteene hundred men, when a rancke is of eighteeue men, so as they be every one separated a Fathome, it is manifest and doth plainly appearre that the ten will containe sixteeue Thousand men, and twentie double the number. The which may easily appearre, for that when as *Alexander* ordred his Army by sixteeue men in a rancke, it was very necessary that the place shoulde bee of twenty Furlongs, and yet all the Cauallerie remained and

ten thousand Foote. Finally, hee saith, that hee led his whole Army in Front against the Enemies, being yet forty Furlongs off. But that is so strange, as wee can hardly imagine any thing more insensible. Where shall wee finde such spaces in the Champion Countrey even in Cilicia, that a Battale set in order, holding twenty Furlongs in breadth, and forty in length, may march in the Front? There are so many hindrances to order this forme of Battale, as they can hardly be numbered. Moreover, the sayings of *Celsithenes* give no sufficient arguments to purchase credite. For hee sayth, that the Torrents which fall from the Mountaines, make so many and such great Moores and Fenne, as A he assures vs that a great number of Persians perished there in the flight. But would *Darius* suddenly shew himselfe against the Enemy? Is there nothing more easie then a Battalion broken and scattered in Front? But how much more easie is it to order a Battale in a conuenient passage, then to leade an Army directly to fight, being broken and scattered in woody and crooked places? And therefore it were better to leade an Army close and united, and double rather then Quadruple.

By this meanes it would not be impossible to finde the meanes to passe, and to put the Battale in order, and with ease, if hee might by B his Scouts discouer the comming of the Enemy. But *Celsithenes* beſides the rest, orders not the Horsemen in Battale, when he led the Army in Field, being in Front, ordring the Foote-men equally. It is also a strange thing when hee saith, that *Alexander* being neare the Enemy, comprehended the order of his Battalion of eight for a Ranke: So it is manifest that necessarily the length of this Battalion contained the space of about forty Furlongs. But if they haue beeene (as the Poet said) close together, so as they haue beeene ioynd one to another: Yet it would be necessary, that the place should containe Twenty Furlongs. And yet hee saith, there were but fourteene: and that in such C sort, as one part was towards the Sea, and a moiety of the Army vpon the right hand: and that moreover all the armed men had place sufficient on the side of the Mountaines, to the end they might not bee suppreſſed by the Enemy holding the borders of the Hills.

Wee know well that he makes a crooked order within: But we also leaue out ten thousand Foote, which exceeds the meanes which he hath giuen: So as the length of this Battalion according to *Celsithenes*, hath want of aboue twelve Furlongs, in the which it is necessary that thirty two thousand men, containing a restraint of thirty in a Ranke being ioyned, haue beeene there comprehended. Hee sayth, D that this Battalion was ordred after the Rate of eight in a Ranke. These errors doubleſſe cannot be defended, for that which is impossible in itſelfe, is not worthy of credit. As often as wee haue respect vnto the ſpaces due vnto every man, and to the length of all the place, and to the number of men, the lye were not excusible. It were loſſe of time to repeate all this fooleries.

Hee faith, that *Alexander* thirſted after a Battale againſt *Darius*, and that *Darius* was of the ſame opinion in the beginning, and after-

wards

wards chang'd his reſolution. Hee doth not ſhew how they knew one another, nor what order they obſerved in their Army, nor whether *Darius* past: Neither finally, how the Battalions came to the Riuers ſide, ſeeing it was crooked and hight. Without doubt wee cannot beſteue that *Alexander* committed ſo groſſe an errort: ſeeing that from his Infancy hee had gotten ſo great experience and practise in the Art of Warre. Wee muſt rather think that the Historiographer could not through ignorance diſcern things poſſible from the imposſible in theſe affaires. But wee haue ſpoken ſufficient at this time of *Ephorus* and *Celsithenes*.

A first hee is of Opinion, that they muſt aduertife thofe of the Councell, that the Trumpets awakes ſleepers during the Warre, and Birds in the time of Peace. Finally, hee ſayth, that *Hercules* iſtituted the Olympick Combats, and the truce and abſtinenſe from Warre: and that by this meaneſ hee hath ſhewed a ſigne of his will. In regard of thofe againſt whom hee made Warre, hee annoyed them all through neceſſity, and for Command: but hee was neuer wittingly the Authour of any harme to man. Hee conſequently brings in *Hercules* angry with *Mars*, and ſaying,

B

*Beth ſure thou ovet to mee the leſt good-will
Of all the Gods that haunt Olympens Hill:
Thou takſt no pleaſure but to warre and fight,
In bravies and quarrels is thy chief delight.*

Hee writes likewife, that the Wifes of the Diuine Gods ſayth thus,

C *Bid Citizens who will not when they may,
Stoppe ciuill strife: fall often to decay.*

And that *Euripides* is of the ſame Opinion with this Poet; when hee ſaith,

D *Blest Peace, the beſt of Goddesſes that be,
Oh how much in my heart I honour thee!
If thou deny thy preſence by delay,
I ſearc grim Death will ſnatch mee henceaway,
Haste then that I may surely be bleſſed
With ſports and reuels that adorne a Feaſt.*

Hee ſayth moreouer, that Warre is very like unto a Disease, and Peace to Health. The which doth comfort and recreate the ſick: whereas in the other the ſound perish. Finally, that old men are buried by young according to the order of Nature: But in the Warre the contrary happens. And that it is a ſtrange thing, that there is no safety

V 4

An exhortation
Alexander upon Galliobates



A PARCELL OF the Thirteenth Booke of the History of POLYBIUS.



The Acheins
itself from fraud

S the desires of such as are troubled with the Drosie are never satisfied, nor taken away by any exteriour humour, if the interiour disposition of the Body be not cured : So the concupisence to have much is never satisfied, if the vice which lies in the heart be not by some reason corrected. There falls out something like in the Desire of fraud, which no man living will confess to be royal: although that soone at this day hold it necessary to manage affaires by deceit for to reigne. The Acheins auolde it much. For they were estranged from deceiptowards their Friends to advance their power, as they would not vanquish their Enemies: holding it neither noble nor firm, if they did not vanquish by prowess and in open fight. Wherefore they ordained among themselves, that no man should make vse of hidden Armes, thinking that an open Combat hand to hand was the true determining of Warre. Finally, they declared themselves vnto their Enemies, and signified the Warre, when they are once resolute to undergoe the danger of a Barraile; the like they did of the places where they would decide it.

But at this day they say, hee is no good Commander that executes any enterprize of Warre openly. There is yet remaining in the Romans some Reliques of the ancient humour in such affaires. They signifie it before

B

C

D

before, and they seldom vse any Ambushes, fighting readily hand to hand. Let these words be spoken against the affection which is much more ready, then is needfull, in malicious practises, policies and ambushes among Princes, as well in affaires of Warre as Policy.



Of Philip.

Hilip had instructed and commanded Heraclides to consider how he might annoy and ruine the Rhodians

ships, and had sent an Embassadour to the Candots to draw them and to incense them to make Warre against them. Heraclides was a man fit for malicious

practises, thinking likewise that Philips Command. Horclides

ment being accepted would be gainfull, soone after

when he had considered thereon, he sail'd against the Rhodians. This

Heraclides was borne at Tarentum, illfed from a Race of Artizans, but

wonderfully guien to villanies and malice. First he profisited his

Body publickly in his younger years: and as he afterwards grew subtile,

he had the charge of the Register, being to the poore feuer and auda-

cious, and towards Great men a flattering Courtier. Yet hee was

chatt out of his Countrey, as it he had fought secretly to deliuere the Ci-

ty of Tarentum to the Romans, when he had no power in the govern-

ment: Hee was an Architect, and by reason of some building of the

C Walles, he had in his hands the Keyes of a Gate which bents to the

Mediterranian Coast. But when hee was retir'd to the Romans, and

had againe writen to Tarentum to Hannibal, and had sent thither, he

fled to Philip being discouered, and fore-seeing what would succeed:

with whom hee had so much credite and authority, as he was in a man-

ner the Author of the subuersion of a great Kingdome: But the nature

of the greatest of the Goddesses seemes to shew the truth vnto men, and

to give them great forces: so as although shee be oppos'd by all men,

and that sometimes all kind of perwafions accompanied with lies bee

arm'd against her, yet shee slips I know not how of her selfe into the

fantasies of men, so as sometimes shee fuddainly raiſeth her forces: and

sometimes after shee hath beene long hidden, shee comes to light and

discouers vnruth.

When as Nabis Tyrant of the Lacedemonians, had three yeares en-

joyed the Principality of Lacedemon, he had not attempted any thing,

neither durst he make tryall: For that lately Machanides had beene slain

by the Acheins: But hee laid the first foundations of a long and grie-

vous tyranny. He vterly ruined some of the Lacedemonians, banish-

ing

*Nabis Tyrant
of the Lacede-
monians,*

ing those which were Noble or Rich, or had any honour from their Ancestors, giuing their substance and Wives to other Noble men, and to Mercenaries. Who were Murtherers, Theeues, Robbers, and breakers of houses. Finally, this kind of men (to whom the Country was forbidden, in regard of their wickednesse and villanies) were by him carefully drawne together from all the parts of the Earth, of whom he held himself Prince and King. He had Lanciers for the guarde of his Body, by whom it plainly appeared that his wickednesse and power would be of long continuance. Besides the said things hee was not satisfied with the banishmens of Citizens, but moreover he left not any place safe for Fugitives, nor any certaine refuge. Hee sune some vp on the way, sending after them, and kill'd others in their retурne. Finally, in Cities (where the Fugitives did remaine) he hired houses neare vnto them by men not suspected, sending Candours thither : who making holes in the Wall, flew them with Arrowes, or at the Windowes, the Fugitives standing there, or else being at their Meate in their houses: so as these miserable *Lacedemonians* had no place of refuge, nor time assured.

He hath by this meanes ruined many. He drest vp an Engine, if it may be so term'd: It was the Image of a Woman richly attired, the forme B whereof was like vnto the Wife of *Nabis*, and very well painted. When he called any Citizens, meaning to exact money from them, at their first entrance he vled courteous and wilde speeches, speaking of the feare of the *Aetius* neare vnto the City and Region: He likewise declared the multitude of Souldiers which hee entertained for their safety, and finally the charges hee was at for the Gods, and the publique good of the City. If by this Speech he perwaded them, then he had them steady at his devotion; but if any one refusall would not give care vnto him, hee added these words: peraduentur thou caust not perwade thy selfe: Yet I thinke this *Apoge* (which was the Name of his Wife) will C doe it. After this speech, the Image was presented: and when hee rise ouer his Chaire, hee embrased it as his Wife, and approachit it neare vnto his bosome. This Image had the Elbowes and Hands full of Nailles vnder the garment, and likewise neare the Papps, and when he toucht the backe of the Image with his hand, he extended it vnto the brest, and led it by the handling of Instruments: and by this meanes hee forced the Image in a short time, to pronounce any kind of voyce. Vpon this occasion hee ruined many of thofe which refuse to obey him.

D

Apoge the Wife
of *Nabis*

A PARCELL OF the Fourteenth Booke of the History of POLYBIUS.

B



C

He Consuls were carefull of these affaires: Publius Scipio wintred in *Affricke*, who being aduertised that the *Carthaginians* ^{pre}beseiged prepared an Army to Sea, hee did the like, yet omitting nothing concerning the Siege of *Bysarke*: neither did hee wholly despaine of *Syphax* or *Syphax*, sending often vnto him, for that their Armies were not farre distant, perwading himselfe that hee might retire him from the alliance of the *Carthaginians*. He despaired not but that hee was now glutted with *Pedasa*, for whose sake he held the *Carthaginians* party: and in like manner of the friend-^{pedasa the wife} ship which he had with the *Pheonicians*, as well for their naturall discon-^{or Syphax} tent against the *Numidians*, as for their preuariacion both against God and Men. Whilst hee ruminated of many things with a vari-
able hope for the future, for that hee feared a danger by Strangers, knowing that the Enemy encreas'd much, hee resolued in the end vpon this occasion. Some of those which hee had sent to *Syphax*, related vnto him, that the *Carthaginians* besides their Winter-tents, had their Lodgings made of Wood and Leaves, and among the *Numidians*, the Princes had them of Reeds, and they of the Cities there assembled of Leaves: Some being of the Ditch and Pallisadoe, and others without.

X x

Scipio

Scipio hauing a conceite, that if hee assailed their Campe by fire, it would bee a surprize vnpesected by the Enemy, and of great effect for him, inclined vnto it. In regard of *Syphax*, hee intended by his Embassies which hee sent vnto *Scipio*, to settle a Peace, so as the *Carthaginians* should leue *Saly*, and the *Romans Africke*: and that either of them should enjoy that which they held: which things being formerly heard, hee had not accepted: but at that time hee aduertised the *Numidian* by an Embassie in few words, that the proposition made by him was not impossible. So as *Syphax* hauing A great hope, solicited a parley often. This done, there were many and freuent Embassies.

It happened that sometimes they mett without Guards, and *Scipio* alwayes sent men of great judgement wth his Embassadors: for whom hee had prepared Military habits, which were halfe, poore, and fertile, to discouer and view the entries and issues of the two Campes. There were in truth two: the one of *Adrubal*, contayning thirty thousand Foote, and three thousand Horse: the other which was ten Furlongs off, was of *Numidians*, hauing ten thousand Horse, and about fifty thousand Foote. These had the approach more easie, and the Lodgings more fit to burne: for that the *N. B. midians* vied no Timber nor Earth, but onely Reeds and Canes to make their Lodgings.

And for that the Spring was come, *Scipio* hauing inquired of all the preparations of the Enemy, hee caueth his shippes to flote, and putt Engines into them as it were to besiege *Bysarthe* by Sea. Moreover, hee seazd vpon a Hill neare vnto the City with about two thousand Foote, to the end hee might put a conceite into the Enemy, that all this was done for the Siege: Yet in truth hee made this Guard, vntill hee might haue an opportunity to execute his Enterprize, to the end that the Armies being out of their Camps, the Garrison of the City should not dare to fally forth, nor assaile the C Pallisadoe being neare, nor besiege those which were there in the Guard.

This preparation being ready, hee sent to *Syphax*, to demand of him if hee would conclude the Articles, and whether the *Carthaginians* did like of them: and that hee should propound nothing more concerning the accord, giving also charge to the Embassadors not to retorne without answere vpon these Differences. Being come vnto the *Numidian*, their charge being heard, hee consented, for that *Scipio* was ready to conclude this Accord: and withall the D Embassadors told him, that they would not depart before they carried backe an Answere from him.

But being in great feare and doubt that the *Carthaginians* would not give consent, hee sent with all speede vnto *Adrubal*, aduertising him of that which was treated, with many persuasions to accepte of the Peace. *Syphax* was negligent and carelesse, and suffered the *Numidians* which he had drawne together, to lodge without the Campe.

This

This *Scipio* did in shew, but hee was carefull of the preparations. And when as the *Carthaginians* had aduertised *Syphax* to conclude the accord, rejoycing therat, he signified it presently to the Embassadors: who being returned to their Campe, acquainted *Scipio* wth that which the King had done. These things being heard; hee presently sends backe an Embassie to *Syphax*, to tell him, that hee liked well of the accord, and definid a peace: but the Senate and Councell were not of that Opinion, saying, that they would pursue their Enterprise. The Embassie came to *Syphax*, and declared these things vnto him. A *Scipio* had sent these Embassadors, to the end hee should not seeme to haue broken the accord, if during a parley of Peace, hee should attempt any Enterprize of an Enemy: conceiting that having signified this vnto the Enemy whatsoeuer he shold doe would be blamelesse. *Syphax* was much discontented with this newes, considering the boþ: hee had of a Peace: Hee goes to *Adrubal*, acquainting him with that the *Romans* had signified vnto him: whereupon doubting, they consulted how they shold carry themselves, but they were farre from knowing the resolution and designe of the future accidents. As for standing vpon their guard, or to beleue that any disaster or misfortune were at their Gates, they had no thought B

It is true, their whole intent was to draw the Enemy into the Plaine. *Scipio* gaue many presumptiōis by his preparation and summation, that hee had some Enterprize against *Bysarthe*. Finally, about Noone he sends for the Captaines Milleniers, whom hee held for his loyall Friends, and acquaints them wth his intent, giuing them charge, that an hour after Dinner they shold putt the Army in Battaille before the Pallisadoe, when as all the Trumpets according to custome had giuen the Signe. The *Romans* haue a custome, that during the repast, all the Trumpets and Clairons sound before the C Generals Tent: to the end that during that time they shold set watches in convenient places. When hee had retired his Spies which hee had sent vnto the Enemies Campe, hee confers and examines the Reports of the Embassadors, and considers of the approches of the Campe, making vse therein of the aduise and councell of *Maf. Massanissa* for the knowledge of the places. And when as all things were ready for the Execution, hee marcheth with his Army directly towards the Enemy, the first Watch being changed, leauing a sufficent number to guard the Campe. They were threescore Furlongs off.

D And when they were come vnto them about the end of the third Watch, he deliuers halfe the Army to *Caius Lelius*, with all the *Namidians*, giuing them charge to assaile *Syphax* Campe, and persuading them to carry themselves like braue men, and not to attempt anything rashly, holding for certaine that the more their fight is hindered by daikenesse, the more courage and confidence they shold haue to finishe Nocturnall assaults. Finally, hee assailes *Adrubal* with the rest of the Army. Yet his purpose and resolution

X x 2

A custome of
the Romans da-
ring theirre-
past,

Scipio drawest to
the Enemies
Campe.

Lelius affaires Syphax his Campe by fire.
was not to put it into execution, before that *Lelius* had first set fire of the Enemies. Being thus resolued, hee marcheth a slow pace. *Lelius* on the other side diuiding his Army intwo, affaires the Enemies fuddainly. But as the lodgings were built in such sort, as if they had of purpose beeene destinatied for the fire, where the first had cast the fire, and consumed all the first Tents, it fell out so as they could not succour this Disaster : Both for that the lodgings stood close together, and for the abundance of stuffe wherewith they were built. *Lelius* stood still in Battaille : But *Messanissa* knowing the Country, placed Souldiers vpon the passages, by the which they which fled A from the fire, must retire. Nor any of the *Numidians* understood that which was done, nor *Syphax* himselfe, thinking this fire had beeene accidental. Wherefore they goe rashly out of their lodgings and Tents, some being yet asleepe, and others drinking : So as many were crushed in peeces by them at the fallie of the Pallisadoe, and many were burnt. In regard of those which fled the flames, they were all slaine, falling into the Enemies hands, not knowing what should befall them, nor what to doe.

When at the same time the *Carthaginians* saw this great fire and high flames, thinking the *Numidians* Pallisadoe was on fire, some went presently to helpe them : all the rest ran out of the Campe without Armes, standing before their Pallisadoe amazed, they expected what the end would be. When as things succeeded according to *Scipio's* intent, he falls vpon thoſe which were come out of the Campe, and purusing others into it, hee presently sets fire on their lodgings. The like happened to the *Phenicians*, as well by fire as by other miseries and misfortunes, where with the *Numidians* were affilid.

Bu when as *Asdrubal* had discouered by the euent, that this fire of the *Numidians* was not accidental, but by the policy and courage of the Enemy, hee ceased fuddainly from giving Succours, making C hase to save himselfe, for that there was little hope remaining. The fire fuddainly wasted and consumed all : There were no more passages for Horses, Sumpiers, and men, among the which some were halfe dead, and burnt with the fire, others were terrifid and amaz'd, so as they which made preparation to defend themselves valiantly, were hindred, neither was there any meanes of hope, by reason of the trouble and confusion.

The like happened to *Syphax* and to the other Commanders. But either of them escaped with ſome few Horses: the rest of the Troops of Men, Horses, and Sumpiers, perished miſerably by this fire. D Some were ignominiously slaine by the Enemy after they had fled the violence of the fire, and defeated not onely without Armes, but naked and without apparell. Finally, all the place of the Campes was full of howling, horrible cries, ſcarre, and vnufull noise : and moreover with a violent flaming fire: Either of the which had beeene ſufficient to amaze and terrifie humane Nature, and the rather for that these things happened contrary vnto all hope. Wherefore it is not poſſible for:

for any man living to imagine this accident, conſidering the greatness: for that it hath exceeded the policy of all precedent actions. And although that *Scipio* hath performed many deeds of proweſe and valour, yet this ſeems to be the moſt excellent and hardy of them all. At the breake of day, the Enemies being ſome defeated, and others fled with amazement, he gaue charge to the Commanders to pursue the Chafe.

The Chiefe of the *Carthaginians* budg'd not in the beginning, al- though he were aduertified by many: The which he did, relying vpon A the fortification of the City. But when hee ſaw the Mutiny of the Inhabitants among themſelves, hee fled, accompanied with thoſe *Asdrubal*. which had escaped with him, fearing the coming of *Scipio*. Hee had five hundred Horſe, and about two thouſand Foote. The Inha- bitants being agreed, yeelded themſelves to the *Romans*. Whom *Scipio* pardoned, abandoning the ſpoile of two Neighbour Cities to the Souldiers. Theſe things being thus decided, hee returned to his firſt Campe. The *Carthaginians* were diſcontented, that the hope which they had conceiued in the beginning, had ſucceeded ſo contrary. They expected to haue beſieged the *Romans* (incloſed with in the Fort of *Bysarthe*, where they had wintered) as well by ſea as Land. And when they had all their preparations ready, they were not onely defitute of their Campe, ſo incoſiderately delivered to their Enemies, but it ſeemed they ſhould all periſh with their Coun- try: For this cauſe they were amaz'd with great ſcāre and faint- neſſe of heart.

And when as the affaires preſt them to conſider prudently of the future and eminent danger, the Senate was full of doubt, and of diuers confiſfed thoughts: Some ſayd, they muſt ſend to *Hannibal*, and call him out of *Italy*, for that all their hope conſifted in that Commander, and the Army which hee had: Others were of aduice they ſhould C ſend to *Scipio* to obtaine a truce, andro parley of an accord and agree- ment: ſome would haue them to be of good courage, and to leue all Army, and finally to ſend to *Syphax*. He was ſet faire vnto *Abbe*, drawing together thoſe which escaped from the danger: which aduice was resolued. Wherefore they leue men, and ſend to *Asdrubal* to that end, and likewiſe to *Syphax*, intreating him to giue them Succours, and to obſerue the conveaſions according to their firſt purpoſe, promising him that their Commander ſhould preſently ioyne with his Army.

The *Roman* Generall followeth the Siege of *Bysarthe* the which hee D did the rather, for that hee was aduertified that *Syphax* continued in his firſt resolution, and that the *Carthaginians* leuied a new Army. For this cauſe hee raised his Campe and beſieged *Bysarthe*. When hee had diuided the ſpoile, hee chafed away the Merchants vpon good aduice. For the Souldiers careleſſe of the preſent commodity of goods: for that the hope of profits which grew by their good fortune was apparent, they had intelligence with the Merchants.

It ſeemed very fit to the King of *Numidia* and his Friends at XX 3 the

4000. Celibrian
are come to
succour the
Carthaginians.

the first fight, that they should retire to their houses. But when the *Celiberians* arrived neare vnto *Abbe*, who being entertained, were aboue foure thousand men, the *Carthaginians* grew assur'd, and by little and litle recovered their spirits, relying vpon these Troupes. Moreouer, when as *Pedjea* the Daughter of *Ashdrabal*, and Wife to *Syphax*, (of whom we haue spoken) intreated him with all affection that he would not abandon the *Carthaginians* for the present: The *Nomian* ycedled to her intreaties. The *Celiberians* put no small hope into the *Carthaginians*. For although they were but foure thousand, A yet they sayd, they were ten thousand. Finally, they promised to bee insupporable in the fight, as well for their courage as their Armes. The *Carthaginians* growne proud with this common bruite, were more confident to recover their Campes.

Finally, they set vp their Pallisadoe within thirty dayes neare vnto the Plaine called the Great, and there they planted their Campe, accompanied with the *Namidians* and *Celiberians*, being in number thirty thousand men. When the newes came vnto the *Roman* Campe, *Scipio* presently prepared to part. And when he had sent to those which field the Siege before *Bysarthe*, and to the others which were at Sea; informing them what they were to doe, he marched towards the Enemy, having all his Bands furnished with the most valiant men. Being come on the fift Day to this great Plaine, and approaching neare the Enemy, he camped the first Day vpon a Hill, thirty Furlongs distant from them, the Day following hee descends into the Plaine, sending the Horse-men before within Ieuuen Furlongs, and there setteth his Campe againe.

After two Dayes experiance, when they had skirmished of either side to come to a Battaille, either of them in the end drew to Field, and put their men in order. *Scipio* first of all placeth in Front his forlorne hope, according to their custome: After which he appoints the Principals, and in the third place the Triarij in the Rearward. As for the Horse-men, he orders the *Italians* on the right hand, and *Massanissa* with the *Namidians* on the left. *Syphax* and *Ashdrabal* set the *Celiberians* in the midle, against the *Roman* Bands, the *Namidians* on the left hand, and the *Carthaginians* on the right. Suddenly when the Combat began, the *Namidians* were repul'sd by the *Roman* Horse-men, and the *Carthaginians* (as they had often before) losing courage, were ouerthronwe by *Massanissa*: Company. Yet the *Celiberians* fought valiantly against the *Romans*: for they had no hope of safety remanning for the ignorance of the places, neither yet if they were taken, considering their vnuit Warre. For seeing that *Scipio* during the Warre of Spaine, had not offend'd them, it seemed against reason, and a disloyalty to give succours to the *Carthaginians*. But when the Wings began to give backe, they were in a manner all flaine, being incloled by the Principals and the Triarij. Thus the *Celiberians* perished, who were a great helpe to the *Carthaginians*, not onely in the fight, but also in the flight, for if they had not entertained the *Romans*, and that the Chase had beene suddenly followed, few of the Enemies had escaped:

but

Scipio drawes
towards the
Enemy.

The order of
Battaille of
Roman Army.

The order
which *Syphax*
and *Ashdrabal*
held.

The beginning
of the Battaille.

The deafece of
the *Celiberians*.

but as their resistance caused the fly, *Syphax* retired safelie with his *Syphax* retires
Horse-men into his Countrey, and *Ashdrabal* to *Carthage*, with the rest
which escaped. When as the *Roman* Generall had given order for *The aduise of*
the spoiles and Prisoners, calling a Counsell, he consulted what these *Romans*
was to do. Whereupon it was thought fit that *Scipio* should with part
of the Army assaile the Townes, and *Lelyus* with *Massanissa* accompa-
nied by the *Namidians* and part of the *Roman Army* pursu'st *Syphax*, *The pursuit of*
and not give him leasure to make any new preparations. These things *The Romans* at
thus refolwed they separate themselves, and some goe against *Syphax* *ter Syphax*,
A with their Souldiers, and the Generall against the Cities: whereof
some yeilded to the *Romans* for feare, and others being forced by siege.
At that time the whole Region waisted and were ready to revolt, ha-
ving beeene cruelly tormentid and vexed during the length of the Wars
of Spaine.

In regard of *Carthage*, as formerly there was great inconstancy, so
now there was greater trouble and combustion, for that haing heard
and scene this Wound the second time, they grew desperate in them-
selves. It is true that they among the Councillours which seemed to
haue greatest Courage, commauded that they shold faille against *Divers opin-*
B *the Carthagenians* *com-*
tho' which laid siege to *Bysarthe*, and to make a triall if they might
raise the siege, and to fight with the Enemy at Sea, as being ill furnis-
hed. They required also that they shold send for *Hannibal*, and re-
lie vpon that hope: and that there was reasonable occasions of safety by
these two attempts. Some said, that the time woulde not allow it, and
that they must fortifie and furnish the Citie for a siege: And that being
of one consent, the accident woulde minister occasions. Some also
aduise to make an Accord and League, whereby they shold free them-
selves of the eminent dangers.

As there were many opinions vpon this busynesse, they confirme
them all together. Wherefore this was their Resolution, they that
C were to faille into *Italy*, parting from the Senate should go prefeately to
Sea: The Pylors likewise shold prepare that which concernes the shippes:
And the rest for the safetie of the Citie, hauing a daily care for parti-
cular things. But when as the *Roman* Army was inricht with boote,
and that no man made any resistance, *Scipio* refolues to send the great-
est part of the boote to the first baggage: And taking the ablest and
most active Bands to seeke to force the Enemies palliadowe. He there-
fore (hauing a good courage) seated his Campe in view of the *Cartha-
ginians*. He had a conceite that by this meanes hee shoud amaze and
D terrifie them.

The *Carthaginians* hauing in few daies ginen order for all the Equi-
page, Victualls, and munition of their Shippes, they meant to
weigh Anchor, and to execute their Resolution. *Scipio* came to
Tunis: and although that they which had fled thither kept the approa-
ches, yet he tooke it. *Tunis* is distant from *Carthage* sixe score Fur-
longs, and is to be scene in a manner by all the Citie: Moreouer it is
strong awell by Nature as by Art: The *Carthaginians* imbarke, and
came to *Bysarthe*.

X x. 4

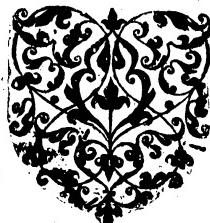
Scipio

Tunis taken by
Scipio.

Scipio seeing the Enemies Army at Sea, was troubled, fearing least his shouold fall into some Inconuenience, hauing not suspected it, neyther was it ready nor prepared for that which might happen. Wherefore turning head, he raised his Campe, seeking to glue order for his affaires.

When hee perceived his covered shippes, well provided to carry the instruments, and conueniently to raise the siege, but ill appoynted for a Combate at Sea, and that those of the Enemies had beeene during the Winter instructed and prepared; he was out of hope to make head against them, and to come to fight: Yet he prepared the covered Vessell, and inuironed them with three or foure rances of Merchants shippes.

The remainder is wanting.



B

C

A

D



A

B

C

D

Scipio was impatient, that the meanes to get Vigualls was not only taken from him, but there was plenty with the Enemy: But he seemed to be much more grieved that the *Carthaginians* had broken their Oath and Accord, making War againe. Wherefore hee made chioice for Embassadours of *Lucius Scipio*, *Lucius Servianus*, *Lucius Citinus*, and *Lucius Fabius*, and sent them to speake vnto the *Carthaginians* vpon this late Action, and also to signifie vnto them, that the people of *Rome* had confirmed their Accords, for they had lately brought Letters vnto *Scipio* containing the said Articles. When the Embassadours were come to *Carthage*, they were first brought vnto the Senate, and afterwards to many others, where they discoursed freely of the preuent Affaires. First they put them in minde, how their Embassadours being attirred at *Tunis*, and were come into the assembly of the Councell, they had not only Sacrificed to the Gods, in bending downe to the ground, as other men are accustomed to do: But moreover (prostrating themselves humbly) they had kist their feete: And when they were risen againe, had acknowledged their faute to haue broken the Accord concluded in the beginning with the *Romains*, and that for this cause they confest, that they were not ignorant, that they were litley tormented, and that they intreated that by the Fortune of Humanes, they might not be forced to suffer things that were not to be repaired, and that by this meanes their indiscriction and rashnesse would make the *Romains* bounty Commendable. The Embassadours say, that at the repetition

Lucius Scipio,
Lucius Servianus,
Lucius Citinus,
Lucius Fabius,
were sent Embassadours to *Carthage*.

A representation
of the Roman
Embassadours
to the *Carthage*.
Scipio.

repetition of these things, the Chiefe and Councillors which were then present in Counsell, were amazed and wondred, with what impudence they forgot things that were then spoken, and durst in manner breake the Covenants (worne). It is in a maner manifest, that vpon the confidence they had in *Hannibal* and his forces, they had presumed to do these things, but inconsiderately. Finally, it was apparent to all the World, that flying the last yeare out of all Italy, and being shut vp through their faintnesse in the Countrey of *Latinium*, and in a maner believed, they are fallen at this day to that as they are hardly in safety: And although that as Victors they would present themselves, A and trie vs the fortune of the Warre, who haue vanquished you in two following Battailles, yet they must not hold the future for certainte: Now yet thinke of the Victory, but rather feare to be frustrated againe. And if that hapned, to what Gods would they make their prayers and vowed? In what Language would they speake, to mooue the Victors to a Commiseration of their calamite? Seeing that with reason all hope would be taken away, awfull with the Gods as men. These things thus propounded, the Embassadours forth-with depart.

Some of the *Carthaginians* were of opinion that the Accord should B not be broken: The greatest part awfull of Burgesses as Senators, disliked that to the Accord there were some grievances added, and they were much discontented at the hard reprehension of the Embassadours. Moreouer they could not restore the shippes which had beeene broken, nor repay the Charges. They were likewise fed with no small hope of *Hannibals* Victory. One part of them were of opinion to send away the *Roman* Embassadours without answere. The Burgesses (whose intention was howsoeuer to renew the Warre) consulting among them-selves practized in this manner. We must (said they) glue order that the Embassadours may be safely sent backe to their Campe. Wherfore C they presently prepare two Gallies for their returne. But they aduise to *Adruba* Chiefe of their Army at Sea, intreating him to keepe some vessells ready neare vnto the *Romans* Campe: to the end that when the Marriners should abandon the Embassadours, these other should board them, and cast them into the Sea. The Army at Sea had ioyned to the *Romans* vpon the flat neare vnto *Bysariba*.

A Conspiracy
of the cartha-
ginians against
the Roman En-
bassadors.

When they had acquainted *Adruba* with these things they dismiss the *Romans*: And glue charge vnto the Marriners of the Gallics, that when they had past the Riuere of *Mare*, they shoulde suffer the *Romans* to Saile towards the Mountaine; for from thence they might vifibly discouer the Enemies Campe. When the Marriners had Conducted D the Embassadours, and according to their charge had crost the Riuere, they turne head, hauing bid the *Romans* farewell. *Lucius* in truthe suspected no harme, but thinking to be thus left at Sea by the Marriners through disdaigne, he was much incensed. Whilste they failed alone, the *Carthaginians* present them-selves with three Gallies, which assaile the *Roman* Quinquereme, not able to annoy it nor board it, through the great resilliance which they made: And that fighting in Front and

vpon

vpon the flancke, they annoyed the Souldiers with great slaughter of them: vntill being scene by thole which spoiling the Maritime Country, came running from their Campe to the Sea shote, they ranne the Galley a shore. It is true, many of the Company were slaine, but the Embassadours escaped beyond all hope.

These things hapning, the Warre was againe renewed with greater violence and cruelty then before. The *Romans* intended with great COURAGE to vanquish the *Carthaginians*, seeing the faith violated. The *Carthaginians* likewise fearing them-selves guilty of that which they had committed, were carefull not to fall into the Enemies subiectiōn. Their courages being fuch, it was apparent that this must be decided by a Battaille: For this cause not only *Italy* and *Affricke*, but also *Spaine* *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, were troubled and rauished in their judgements, attending the end. And when at the same time *Hannibal* was destitute of Horſes, he lent to one *Tycheus* a Numidian allied to *Syphax*, who seemed to haue the most valiant of all the *Affricane* horſe, perfwading him to give him succours, and hee shoulde be a sharer in the Action, *Hannibal* sends to *Tycheus*. knowing that if the *Carthaginians* vanquished, his Principallity would remaine safe and intire. But if the *Romans* prevailed, his life it selfe wilbe in danger, in regard of the ambition of *Messanisa*. Being thus perfwaded, hee comes vnto *Hannibal* with about two Thousand Horſe.

When as *Scipio* had fortified his Fleete at Sea, and left *Bebias* for Lieutenant, he spoiled the Cities, refusing to receiue any that offered them-selves willingly, making them flaues, and shewing the indignation which he had conceiued against the Enemies in regard of the faith broken by the *Carthaginians*. Finally, he sends continually to *Messanisa*, letting him understand how the *Carthaginians* had broken the Accords, intreating him to assemble the greatest Army that possibly he could, and to ioyne with him, according vnto their conventions.

C *Messanisa* after the conclusion of the Accord, was gone with an Army accompanied with ten Ensignes of *Romans*, awfull Horſe as foote, not only to recover his owne Country, but also to feaze vpon thole of *Syphax* with the helpe of the *Romans*. Finally it hapned that the Embassadours sent backe from *Rome* Landed at that time at the maritine Pallisado of the *Romans*. Suddenly *Bebias* sends his men to *Scipio*, and retaines the *Carthaginians*, being sad and supposing to be in wonderfull danger.

When as they were aduertized of the cruelty of the *Carthaginians* towards the *Roman* Embassadours, they helde not them-selves secure from punishment. When as *Scipio* understood what had beeene done, that the Senate and people of *Rome* had confirmed the agreement which he had made with the *Carthaginians*, and that they were ready to do that which he aduised them, he was wonderfull glad. Moreouer, he commands *Bebias* to send backe the *Carthaginian* Embassadours to their Housles with all fauour and certesie: Vsing therein a good aduice (in my opinion) with a wise consideration in what great esteeme his Country held their faith with Embassadours. Hee made his reckoning

Scipio
Lieutenant
names at Sea for
Scipio.

The *Carthagi-*
nian *Messanisa*,
dours stayed by
Bebias.

ning, that the punishment deserued by the *Carthaginians* did not merit to great a respect, then that which the honour of the *Romans* required to be done. Wherefore refrayning his Choller and indignation, conceiued for the offence of the *Carthaginians*, hee laboured to obstrue that which they say in the Proverbe, *This wee must cleane vnto the duties of our Elders.* By this meanes he wonnethe the hearts of all the *Carthaginians*, and surmounted *Hannibal* and their madnesse by his Loyalty.

The *Carthaginians* saw their Townes forced, they sent to *Hannibal* that hee shold delay no longer, but preuent himselfe vnto the Enemy, and decide their affaires by a battaile. *A*

Hannibal hearing these things, made answere to those that came vnto him, that hee would consider thereon, and make choise of a fittime, to the end he might not seeme negligent. Some daies after hee raifeth his Campe from *Adrumetum*, and marching he Campes neere vnto *Zama*, which is a Cittie fift daies journey from *Carthage* towards the West. From thence he sent three Spies, desirous to know where the *Romans* camp, and how they governe things which concerne the Situacion of a camp. When these Spies were brought to *Scipio* Generall of the *Romans*, he was so faire from punishing them, as others vsually doe, as contrariwise he gaue charge to a Captaine Milleniere, to shew them plainly what louer was done in the Campe. Which being done, he demands, if the Commissary had shewed them all things carefully. The whiche when they had confessd, he sent them backe with Victualls and Guides, commandaung them to relate carefully vnto *Hannibal* what they had seene.

The Cleancy
of *Scipio*, vnto
Hannibals spies.

This Action causing *Hannibal* to wonder at the magnanimity and confidence of the man, he conceiued an humour to party with *Scipio*. The which when he had resolued, he sent a Trumpet, saying that he desired to Treate with him concerning all their differences. *Scipio* having heard this from the Trumpet, confestd, saying, that hee would signifie vnto him the place and the howre, when and where he would party. These things being heard by the Trumpet, he returns vnto his Campe. The day following *Messanissa* arrives with fixe Thousand foote, and almost as many Horse: Whom when as *Scipio* had intartained courteously, and shewed him great signes of favour, for that hee had made all those subiect which had formerly obeyed *Syphax*, bee fourth-with raifeth his Campe: And when hee came vnto the City of *Margara*, and had found a commodious place, and had appointed the warring within a Bow shot, hee planted his Campe there: And from thence he gave notice (by certaine conuenient Messengers) vnto the Chiefe of the *Carthaginians*, that hee was ready to party about their differences.

The coming
of *Messanissa* to
Scipio's Camp.

The which *Hannibal* hearing, he presently marcheth with his camp, and approches so neare, as he was within thirty furlongs of the *Romans*: Sitting downe vpon a certaine Hill, which besides the Watring, was for all other things commodious and sufficient enough: In truelth it was something farre, and therefore troublesome vpto the Souldiers.

The

The day following the two Commanders, accompanied with some few Horse-men goe out of their Camps, and againe they separate themselves from their Companies, meeting alone in an indifferent place with an Interpreter. *Hannibal* began first in these termes. I will sayd hee, the *Romans* had never desired anything out of *Italy*, nor the *Carthaginians* out of the limits of *Africke*: either of them no doubt haue great bounds, and as it were limittid by Nature. And as wee haue made Warre, first for the difference of *Sicily*, then againe for *Spaine*: *B* and that finally, Fortune being auerse against vs, our Country hath bene in danger, and wee are now in perill: The question is, whether there be any meanes to end this present difference after we haue pacified the Gods.

For my part I am ready, having made tryall how inconstant Fortune is, and how by little and little shee inclineth foyntimes to the one, and sometimes to the other, as if she were gouerned by Childe. I am in doubt in regard of thee, as well for thy great youth, as for that all things haue succeeded according to thy desire, as well in *Africke* as in *Spaine*, hauing never yet felt the violence and fury of Fortune, so as happily thou dost give no credit to my words althought they bee true. Yet consider the condition of these things, *B* which not onely concerne our Ancestors, but euen our selues. I am that *Hannibal*, who after the Battaille neare vnto *Cannes*, being Lord in a manner of all *Italy*, approached neare vnto *Rome*, and planted my Campe within forty Furlongs, studying what Ishould doe withyou and your Country.

Now I come into *Africke* to thee a *Roman*, to conferre with thee of my safetie, and of that of the *Carthaginians*. I pray thee consider this, and grow not proud, but courteously conferre of the present affaires: that is, that thou wouldest choose of good things the greatest, and of bad the least. What man of judgement will make choice of the danger which is neare him, if hee obserue it well? For the which if thou obtainest the Victory, thou shalt much increas thy glory, and that of thy Country: whereas if thou beest vanquished, thou shalt vterly lose through thine owne fault all thy pompe and magnificence, and precedent commodity.

But to what end doe I vs these words? To this; that all that for the which wee haue formerly contended, may remayne to the *Romans*, as *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Spaine*, and that the *Carthaginians* in regard thereof may neuuer make Warre against them. The like also to be done of the other Islands which lye betwixt *Italy* and *Africke*, and let them belong to the *Romans*. I beleue confidently, that these accords and agreements will hereafter bring safetey to the *Carthaginians*, and to thee and the *Romans* great glory and honour. Thus much speake *Hannibal*.

Scipio answering to these things, the *Romans* sayd, they haue not beene the Authors, but the *Carthaginians*, of the Warre which hath past for *Sicily*, nor of that of *Spaine*: whereof they must know that *Hannibal* had beene the chiefe Author, and that the Gods are

Y

Scipio's answere
to *Hannibal*.

arc

Articles comprehended in
the Accords
past betwixt
Scipio and the
Carthaginians.

are witness(es), whom I pray to impart the vertue, not to those which are the Authors of our-rages, but to those that defend themselves. Yet I consider what the Nature of Fortune is, and with all my power haue search into humane affaires. If before the *Roman* passage into *Affricke*, and that parting out of *Italy* thou hadst propounded these accords, I am of Opinion thou hadst not beene frustrated of thy hope. But now thou hast abandoned *Italy* against thy will, and that being in *Affricke*, we haue held our Campe in the open Plaine, it is manifest that matters are much changed. Withall (which is a great matter) A we are come hither, thy Citizens being partly vanquished, and fusing for a peace, we haue past in writing the accords that were worrake, in the which (besides that which thou now propoundest) these Articles were comprehended: that the *Carthaginians* should haue no co-tiered vessels, that they should pay three Millions of *Gold*, restore the Captiues without Ransome, and give hostages. These were the accords which past betwixt vs: for the which wee and they came to the Senate and to our people. Wee haue protested that that these accords thus reduced to Writing seemed good vnto vs: The *Carthaginians* intreated that they might enjoy the said agreements: The Senate obeyed, and the people in like manner gave their consent B therunto.

The *Carthaginians* after they had obtained what they had demanded, haue transgresed and broken the accords. What remaines now to be done? Be thou in my place and judge. Shall wee take the grievances out of the conditions, to the end you may suffer no punishments for the transgression, and that you may be taught hereafter to preuaricate against your benefactors? Or else hauing obtained that which you demand you shold not be bound vnto vs? But what? When thy people now in suing had obtained their request, they presently intreated vs as Enemies, after they had conceiued some C little hope of thee. If the burthenes had beeene too heauy, they might haue required an abatement from the people: and if they had remitted any Articles of the accord, the Senate doubtless would haue made no long delay. But to what end tend our words? Submit your selues and your Country to our protection, or vanquish fighting. *Hannibal* and *Scipio* hausing discoursed after this manner, being of contrary opinions retire.

The day following at Sunne-rising, they put their Armies into Battaille, whereof the *Carthaginians* were to fight for their safety and for D *Affricke*, and the *Romans* for the vniuerfall Empire. What is hee who considering these things can without compassion hearre the relation? No man shall euer finde more warlike Armies, nor more fortunate Commanders, nor more excellent Wrestlers in the Stratagems of Warre, nor greater rewards propounded vnto them by Fortune. For they which shold obtaine the Victory, shold not only bee Lords of *Affricke* and *Asia*, but also of all the other parts of the World which are at this time mentioned in Histories: the which soone after succeded, *Scipio* put his Army in Battaille after this manner.

First

First he ordred thole that were lightly armed by certayne spaces: after whom he placed the Bands of the Principals; and not according to The order of Scipio's Battaille.

the spaces of the first Ensignes, as the *Romans* had beeene accustomed, but distant one from another, in regard of the multitude of the Enemies Elephants: and vpon the Reare hee appoints the Triarij. As for the Wings, hee gaue charge of the left to *Cato Lelym* with the Italian Horse-men: and the right to *Messanissus* with all the Numidians that were vnder his charge. Finally, hee fill'd the spaces of the first Ensignes with forked lavelings: to whom he commanded to begin the Skirmish: and if they were repul'd and forc'd to give backe by the violence of the Elephants, that they which should bee separated, should retire by the straight spaces to the Reare of the Army: and they which should be entrailed, should retire to the Ensignes by the croste spaces.

Thefe things being thus ordred, he makes an Oration in few words to his Army, and yet proper for the event of the affaires. He intreats them to remember their precedene Battalles, and to behaue themselves like braue men, worthy of the *Roman* Name, setting before their eyes, that hauing the Victory they should not onely be Lords B of all *Affricke*, but moreover they should purchase the Empire and government of the rest of the World. If the fortune of the Warre succeeded otherwise, thee which dyed fighting valiantly, should have an honourable graue, hauing died for their Countrey: whereas as they that should turne head, should liue the remainder of their dutes in great ignominie and misery, for there is no place in *Affricke* that can shelter them in theire flight, finally if they fall into the *Carthaginians* hands, they which haue any judgement vnderstand well what the event will bee: and God forbid that any of you should make triall of it: when as fortune propounds vnto vs great rewards of every side, shall wee not bee the most simple Idiots in the world, if when of good C things they present the best vnto vs, wee choose with a desire of life the worst of bad wherfore in propounding these two, either to vanquish or dye, hee incourageth them to march against the enemy, for being in this humour, they must with a dispaire of life, alwayes vanquish their enemies in making head. *Scipio* inflamed the hearts of his Souldiers after this maner.

In regard of *Hannibal*, hee placed his Elephants before the whole Army, being aboue four score: and then aboue twelue thousand Mercenaries, which were *Gentulus*, *Maiorquins*, *Minorquins*, and *Marusciens*: After which hee placed the Inhabitants of *Affricke* and the *Carthaginians*. After all which hee orders those which hee had brought out of *Italy*, and separates them from the rest aboue a Furlong. Hee fortifid the Wings with Horse-men, ordring the *Numidians* on the right, and the *Carthaginians* on the left. Hee commanded every Leader to encourage his Souldiers, to the end they might purtheir trust in him, and the Troupes which hee had brought out of *Italy*. Hee likewise commands the *Carthaginian* Capitaines to acquaint their men with the miseries which would befall

Y y 2

The order of Hannibal his Battaille.

befall their Wives and Children, if this Battaille succeeded otherwise then they desir'd. The which they effected. Hannibal likewise came to them which he had brought with him, and intreated them with a long speech to remember their mutual and common life, for the space of seuentene Yeares : That they should thinke of the many Battailles which they had fought with the Romans, in the which they had beeene alwayes Victors, and had never left them any hope of Victory. But he intreated them chiefly, that amidst the encounter they should set before their eyes the infinite prerogatiues : Namely, the Battaille which they gained, fighting against the Father of this present Roman Commander, neare unto Trebia : Then that which was against Flamininus : and also towards Cannae against Sempronius : the which, he sayd, were neither for the number and multitude of men, nor according unto their forces worthy to bee compared to the present danger.

When he had vied this Speech, hee commands them to looke vp on the Enemies in Battaille, telling them that they were not only fewer in number, but they were scarce the least part of those which then fought against them, and that they could not compare with them in forces. And as the others were before invincible, they had fought chearfully and stoully, and that of these some were the Children of men, and the others the Reliques of such as had beene often defeated in Italy, and had so many times shewed them their heels. Wherefore he was of aduise that they should not doe any thing to the prejudice of their glory and fame, nor of their Commander : But in fighting couragiously, confirme the opinion which was conceiu'd of them to be invincible. Behold the Speeches or such like which they held vnto their Armies. When as all things necessary were ready for the Combat, and that the Numidian Horse-men had skirmished long : Hannibal commanded those which were mounted vpon the Elephants to charge the Enemies.

C But when the Trumpets and Clairons sounded, some of them being amazed, turn'd head, and wenst violently against the Numidians, which were come to succour the Carthaginians. Finally, the left Wing of the Carthaginians was left bare by Massaniss's Company. The rest of the Elephants fighting with the Iauelins in the midst of the Battalions, without doubt endured much, so likewise they annoyed the Enemies : vntill that being amazed, some going forth by the spaces were taken, as the Generall had given order : Others flying on the right hand, and wounded by the Horse-men, passe in the end the place of the Battaille. And when the Elephants were thus dismayed, Lelyus charging the Carthaginian Horse-men, repulseth them in such sort, as they soone turned head, the Chase being pursued by him.

The strength
of the Battaille. The like did Massanis. Whilst these things are in action, the two Battalions come to fight with a slow pace, and wonderfull great courage, except those which were come out of Italy, who budge not out of their place. When they came to affront one another,

another, the Romans crying after their Countrey manner, and making their Targets sound with their Swords, fought with their Enemies. The Mercenaries of the Carthaginians cast forth divers confused cries, for it was not the same sound, nor the same voyce; but divers languages : for they were men drawne from diuers Countries. And when as this Battaille was fought with great courage, and man to man, for that the Combattants could not helpe themselves with their Iauelins nor Swords, the Mercenaries fought in the beginning with great courage and dexterity, and wounded many Romans. The Romans also trusting in their good order and Armes, laboured much to goe on.

And when as they which were in the Reare of the Romans, gaue courage to the first in following them, and the Carthaginians not comming on to succour their Soldiers, but staying behinde basely and for want of courage, the Barbarians declined. Wherefore when they saw themselves abandoned by their Companions, in retiring they fell vpon those which stood still and slew them : the which forced many Carthaginians to dye valiantly. For when they were slaine by the Mercenaries, they fought boldly as well against their owne men as against the Romans : In which combat (as they fought after a horrible manner like furious men) they made no lesse slaughter of their owne then of the Enemies. By this meanes they fell confusely vpon the Troops that were lightly armed. The Captaines of the Principals seeing this accident, charg'd their Battalions. The greatest part of the Carthaginians and Mercenaries were slaine, aswell by them as by those that were lightly armed.

In regard of such as escaped and fled, Hannibal would not suffer them to mingle with the Battalions, commanding their Captaines to ranks them before, and forbidding moreover to receive such as approacht: wherefore they were forced to retire vpon the Wings, and without them. But for that the place betwixt the two Armies was full of blood and dead bodies, this put the Carthaginian Generall into great difficulty, and was a great let for him to charge againe. For the instability of the dead which were bloody and falle vpon heapes, with the confusion of Armes which were fallen among the dead, they were to haue a troublesome passage which marcht in Battaille. Yet the wounded being carried backe, and a retreate being sounded by the Trumpets which followed those that were lightly arm'd, hee puts his men before the fight in the midst of the Enemy : In regard of the Principals and Triarij, hee giues order that being closely ioynd, they should march cross the dead bodies vpon the two Wings.

When they were equall with those that were lightly arm'd, the Battalions charged one another with great violence and courage. It happened that for the multitude, courage, and equall Armes of either side, the Combat was long doubtfull. They that were slaine, dyed every man in his Ranke with a braue emulation, vntill that Massanis and Lelyus returing from the chace of the Horse-men, having good

The great day
of the fight,

The victory of
the Romans
against the Car-
thaginians.

Hannibal fles
to Adrumetum.

*Hannibal van-
quished by for-
tune.*

good fortune rallied their men together : with whom charging vpon the Rearre of those which were with *Hannibal*, a great number of them were defeated in Battaille ; and few of them escaped which fled : For the Horse-men were dispersed of all sides , and the Countrey was plaine and Champion. There died aboue fiftene hundred *Romans*, and twenty thousand *Carthaginians* : The Prisoners were not much lesse. This Battaille in the which they fought for the Empire , and which by the sayd Commanders was judged the vniuersall victory to the *Romans*, had this end. And when as after the fight, *Scipio* pursuing the *Carthaginians*, had ouerthrown their Palladioc , hee returned to his Campe. *Hannibal* recovered *Adrumetum*, still running with A some few Horses. Hee had done his duty in this Battaille , not omitting that which was requisite for a good and expert Captaine.

For first he laboured to diuert the eminent danger by a parley with *Scipio*. It is the duty of a man which doth not wholly reley vpon valour , but distrusting Fortune, to fore-see things which contrary to all opinions doe vniually happen in a Battaille. And afterwards comming to the Combat, he so caried himselfe, as the Battaille could not be better ordred against the *Romans* by him that shall vse the like Armes, then *Hannibal* had then disposed it. For when the Army and order of the *Romans* was diuided, it fell out that all of them might fight together, B or by Troops against any open attempt, by a certainte order of the Battalion : for that alwayes two Ensignes were ioyned neare together when it was needfull, and that moreouer their Armes serued the Souldiers for a couering and assurance , considering the greatnessse of their Targets, and the firmnesse of their Swords to strike , so as for these reasons it seemed a difficult thing to deafeate them. Yet *Hannibal* gaue so good order for all these things, as he shewed his industry. For he had suddenly prepared this multitudine of Elephants, and placed them before his Battalions , to the end they might breake the *Enemies* Ranks. Secondly, he ordred the Mercenaries in Front , after which he cauſed the C *Carthaginians* to march , to the end they might tire the bodies of the *Enemies*, and make the vigour of their Armes vnproufitable, by reaſon of the number of the Dead , and that withall hee shoulde force the *Carthaginians* (as placed in the midſt) to stand in Battaille , and to fight vntill that forced by necessity he shoulde come to combat. In regard of the valiant men, hee mingled them by spaces : fore-seeing that which doth vniually happen , to the end that remaining vndanted both in body and courage , he might make vse of their forces at need. He deserves pardon in this, that having omitted nothing that might serue to vanquish , yet he hath beene frustrated, seeing that before he had beeine invincible. It happens sometimes that ſome actions reſift the attempts of good men : and sometimes it happens that a good man is preuented of his deſire by him that is beſter : the which may then be layd to haue happened by *Hannibal*.

It is true, that when as things which exceed the common custome and manner of living of ſome, perih of themſelves for the greatnessse of the accidents , they deserve coniideration with thoſe that are preſent and heare

heare it : The vnuſuall noueltie of things moue vs. But if that ſuch an accident happens by deceite and Hypocrifie it moues none to pity, but to Choller and Hatred : The which then happened to the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors.

Scipio beginning in few words, let them understand that hee was not to shew them any courtesie or fauour , ſeeing they confeſt they had begunne the Warre againſt the *Romans*, and againſt the conuenſions had ſpoil'd the City of the *Zachantians*, and firſt Transgrefſed the Accords, Oathes, and Agreements reduced to Writting : And A yet the *Romans* haue refolued to ſhewe them grace , and (in regard of Fortune and humane aduentures,) to vſe Clemency and Magnanimity in their preſent Affaires. The which ſhould be manifeſt vnto them, if they conſider what was offered. Finally they muſt not take it ill if for the preſent they imposeth vpon them things , which they muſt doe, or ſuffer , or deliuer : But they ſhould wonder and hold it ſtrange, if they obtaine any mercy : Seeing that Fortune diſfauouring them for their iniuſtie, had (in denying mercy and pardon) made them ſubiect vnto their Enemies.

This Speech being ended, hee promiſed them Clemency and Fa- B vor : Teaching them withall what they were to indure : The which is comprehended in theſe Articles. That they ſhould leauē vnto the *Carthaginians* the Cities which they had in *Affricke* before this laſt Warre attempted againſt the *Romans*, and the Countries which anciently they held , and finally their Cattle, Bodies, and other Wealth. Moreo- ver it was granted them, that from that day they might liue free without any let or hinderance of their Lawes and Customes. This was that which was granted them of grace. Again they added theſe contrary Articles : That the *Carthaginians* ſhould make reſtitution, of the vniuft spoiles which they had committed againſt the *Romans* during the Truce : That they ſhould reſtore all the Captiues and Fugitiues, C which they had had during the Warre : They ſhould deliuer all their long Veffels except ten Gallies : And in like manner the Elephants : not to attempt to make any Warre out of *Affricke*, nor in *Affricke* it ſelue without the confeſt of the *Romans* : To reſtore vnto King *Massanissa*, the Houſes, fields , Cities , and whatſoever had belonged to him or his Predeceſſors, within the limits that ſhould be ſet downe : That they ſhould nouriſh the Army for three moonths , and pay them, vneill the anſwers were returned from *Rome* : And according vnto the Accord pay ſix Millions of Gold , within fifty Yeares, after the rate of ſixscore thouſand Crownes yearly : That they ſhould giue in Hollage D for the auſſurance of their faith, a hundred yong men, as the Comman- der ſhould appoint, which ſhould not be vnder the Age of fourteene Years , nor aboue thirty.

The Roman Generall proponed theſe things vnto the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors , who made haſt to make their Report . They ſay , that when as a certainte Senator, laboured to conraſt the ſaid Articles in the Senate, *Hannibal* ſtepping forth drew him out of his ſeate : And when as the reſt were diſcontented, for that hee had done againſt the Cuzon,

The Articles of
Accord,
pro-
pounded by
Scipio to the
Carthaginians.

Custome of the City : *Hannibal* steppes vp againe and saith, (as it is reported) that if he had committed any thing against their Custome and course of liuynge, he was to be pardoned : For they knew well that being a young Boy of nine yeares of age, he had gone out of the Country, and returned againe at the age of fiftie and forty : For this cause he intreated them that they would not haue any regard to that, wherein he had transgreſſed their Custome, conſidering rather that if he ſuffered for the affaires of the Country : It was for them he had fallen into this transgreſſion. Finally that it ſeemed wonderfull and ſtrange to him, if any *Carthaginian* knowing what Councell had beeene taken againſt the *Romans*, alweſt for the publicke as private good, did not adore Fortune : Seeing that now being made ſubiect vnto them, they had purchased ſuch grace and fauour : Whereof if any one would haue put the Country in Hope, ſome daies before the *Romans* had the Victory, hee would not haue beeene able to ſpeak for the greatnessſe and excedeſſe of the apparent miseries,

Wherfore he intreated them againe, not to do any thing ſlowly, nor by Discoufe : And that conſenting all with one voice to the Articles of the peace, they ſhould Sacrifice vnto the Gods, and pray that the people of *Rome* might conſirme them. When it ſeemed that hee had giuen wiſe aduice, and ſit for the time, it was concluded to accept the Accord preſcribed, and to paſſe it with the *Romans*. Wherfore they ſuddainly ſent away the ſame men in Embaſſie which had contra-dictedit the Articles.



A Parcell of the Deedes and Posterity of Ptolemy.

Inſtantly who will not wonder, that *Ptolemy* had not prouided to give aide to theſe men during his life, ſeeing there were ſome which were ready to ſuccour them : But when Death ſurpriz'd him, hee left a young Infant, to whom by right of nature, he had indeauoured, as they ſay, with both hands to preferre him the Crown : Then encouraging one another, they make haſt to praſtice a Villany, and to murther this Infant, and to diuidie his principallity among them. The which they do not after the manner of Tyrants, who pretend ſome colour for their infamy : But carry themſelves afterwards ſo impudently and brutiſhly, as that which they ſpeak of the life of Fishes is due vnto them. Of whom they ſay, that althoſt they be of one kind, yet the deafeate of the

theſſer ſeeds and entertaines the life of the greater. Wherfore who will not thinke to ſee a great exercitation againſt the Gods, and a ciueltie towards men, and likewife a great anafece of the ſaid Kings, ſeeing this piaſion and agreement as in a glaſſe ? What is hee who for theſe cauſes haſt being accuſed Fortune in humane affaires, doth not like-wiſe conſider that hee hath ſince made them to ſuffer worthy punishment, and leſt to posterity a good exaſple for the amendment of their course of liuynge, as haſting propounded vnto theſe Kings ſuch an ignominious punishment ? For when they had transgreſſed the agreements among themſelves, and diuided the Infans Principallity, all things did iuftly proue hurtfull and oppofitive vnto them, which they had wickedly reſolued againſt their Kiſſfolkies and Neighbours, by the bringing in of the *Romans* : for that the one and the other being ſuddainly vanquished, they were not only forced to abate their couerage andiſtice of another mans goods : but being made ſubiect to tributes, they were conſtrained to obey the Commandments of the *Romans*. Finally, Fortune hath in a ſhort time diſpoſed of the Reigne of *Ptolemy*, making the Potentates of the others, and their ſuccourours, ſome of them to bee banished andiſmable, involvng ſome in a manner in the like Diſasters.



Of Philip of Macedonia.

Che *Cianeins* fell in theſe miseries not ſo much through Fortune, and the iniuicie of their Neighbours, as by their owne rafhneſſe and the bad government of their Common-weale, where moft commonly the worſt were in eſteeme, and good men put to death for the ſpoiles of their Wealth, and by this means they are

in a manner willingly fallen into theſe misfortunes, wherunto all men incline, I know not how apparently, yet they cannot reſolute vpon any aduice, nor ſuddainly diſtrift : which ſome bruite Beasts doe. For if ſometimes they enter into Jealousie of Baites and Nets, if they haue ſcience any other perifh, you ſhall hardly draw them to doe the like, holding the place for ſuſpicioſe, with a diſtrift of all things which haue any reſemblance. In regard of men, when they hear ſome ſpeak, and ſee others perifh in like manner : Yet ſuddainly when any one viſing gra-
cious words, hath propounding a muſtall hope of correction, they run without any regard into the toiles, knowing certaintly that neuer any man which had swallowed this kind of baite had escaped, ſuch policies being an assured deafeate to all men.

When

Agood compa-
nion.

Emballadours
wronged by
Philip.

When as *Philip* had reduced the City vnder his obedience, he rejoyced as if he had brought some braue and honourable action to an end. And when hee had speedily giuen Succours to his Allies, and had terrified all those which estranged them selues from him, and had claymed abundance of goods and bodies vnder the colour of Justice, hee never thought of those things that were contrary, although they were manifest: giuing at the first Succours to the Allie, who had not bene wrong'd, and yet had broken the confederations with his Neighbours. And as finally he had confirmed the bruite of his cruelty towards his Friends, afflicting the Cities of *Greece* with great miseries, he had justly purchased the general esteeme of a cruell man withall the *Grecians*. Thirdly, he wronged & reviled the Embassadours of the said Cities, who were come to free the *Grecians* from that eminent danger: And being called by him, and conserning daily with him, they were present at things which he desired not.

Moreover, he incensed the *Rhodiens* against him: so as they could not endure to hear any mention of him. Finally, Fortune therein fauours him openly. His Embassadour made an Oration vpon the Theater against the *Rhodiens*, commanding the magnificence of *Philip*, who when he had by some meanes got possession of the City, he had done that grace vnto the people. This he did to reprehend the suspicion and detraction of those which resented him, and to manifest his resolution to the City. There came also some one from the Port vnto the Magistrate, aduertising him of the ruine of the *Grecians*, and of the cruelty which *Philip* practised against them: So as when the Gouverneur entring in the midst of the Embassadours Oration, speaking the said things, and declared the newes, the *Rhodiens* could not belieue for the excede of the fact.

The Rhodiens
declared friends
to Philip.

Philip hauing then prevaricated and dissembled, not so much against the *Grecians* as against himselfe, began to be so transported and to stray from his duty, as hee gloriéd and brag'd in his actions as good, for the which hee shoule haue beene ashamed. The *Rhodiens* from that day held *Philip* for an enemy, and prepared to that end. The *Etolians* also conceiuied a hatred against him for the same fact. When as late-ly being reconciled, he had giuen forces to that Nation, there being then no cause of hatred nor spleene, (when as a little before the *Etolians*, the *Lysimachians*, *Calcidonians*, and *Grecians* were made Friends) hee hath in assailing first the *Lysimachians*, distractred their City from the Alliance of the *Etolians*: spoiling those of the *Calcidonians*, and thirdly the *Grecians*, whilst that the Chiefe of the *Etolians* was resident in their City, hauing the superintendency of the publicke affaires.

Finally *Prucias* rejoyced for that which had hapned beyond his de-sires: But he was discontented that another should reap the reward for the taking of the Cite, and that there was fallen vnto him a desolate place naked of buildings, so as hee could not effect any thing. After he had assembled the greatest men of the *Macedonians*, he came to them with the King and *Agathocles*, faining in the beginnynge that hee was not

not able to speake for teares: And when he had wiped them often with his cloake, and cauſed them to cease, take faſh he, carrying an infant, this which the dying Father hath deliuered into the armes of this Creature (ſhewing his ſister) and hath left it vnto vs vpon our faſh, do you underſtand my maſters of the *Athenians*? The loue of this infant is of ſmall moment to procure his ſaſterie, where as now the caufe is in you and your hands. *Tlepoleme* in trut̄ hath for a long time (as it is manifest to thofe which conſider well of things) had greater deſires then were fitting, and hath now reſolved on the day and time when he will A vſe up the Towne. For this caufe he intreated that they would not belieue him, but thofe which being preſent knew ſufficiently the Truth.

This Speech being ended, he brings in *Critolaus*, who ſaid he had ſcene the Altars and Sacrifices, prepared by the multitude, for the uſurpation of the Crown. The which the *Macedonians* hearing, they were neither moued with pitie, nor had any reſpect vnto that which was ſpoken. But in mocking and murmurung they iefted among themſelues, ſo as *Praſias* knew not how he got out of the Assembly; the which hapned in other Assemblies of the people. In the meane time many of the old Souldiers arrived by Sea, whereof ſome being kinſmen and other friends, they iuftred them to affit them in this preſent bufineſſe, and that they ſhould haue regard to the iniuries which had beeene done them by diſhonest and vnworthy men. Moft of them were incenſed to put the great men to death: for that they presumed that what ſhould happen would be vnto their prejudice: Seeing that *Tlepoleme* tooke all things neceſſary that were ſent to *Alexandria*. Finally, it was an aduancement to *Agathocles* to incenſe the Choller of many, and of *Tlepoleme*.

They had put *Danac* his Mother in Law into custodie, being pull'd from the Temple of *Ceres*, and drawne thorough the City bare-headed, ſeeking by this meane to ſhewe their hatred againſt *Tlepoleme*. *Danac* a priſoner. Wherefore the people being incenſed ſpake no more in ſecret: For ſome in the night wrote their conceiuied hatred in all places. Others in the open day going in Troupes, deliuered the hatred which they bare vnto the greatest. They which were with *Agathocles*, ſeeing the affaires, and hauing little hope in them, they thought of their retreate. But when as through their indiſcretion they were ill prouided, they defefted from their Enterprize, and made a Register of the Conſpirators and of their Adherents in this commotion, to the end they might ſuddainly kill ſome of their Enemies, and ſeaze vpon others, and by this meane vſurpe a Tyrannicall power.

And as they practiced theſe things, they accused *Marragena* one of *Tlepoleme* guards, for that he aduertized all, and held his party in regard of the familiarities of *Adee*, Gouverneur at that time of *Bubaste*, *Agathocles* ſuddainly gives charge to the Secretary *Nicoſtrates*, that he ſhould informe diligently of *Marragena*, with all manner of torments. *Marragena* being ſuddainly taken by *Nicoſtrates*, and led into a certaine ſecret place of the Hall, he anſwered at the firſt well, concerning the accidents

accidents which had happened : But when hee confess'd nothing of the things which were spokn, he was stript. Some prepared the instruments to Torture him, others holding Whips put off their Cloaks. At the same instant one comes running to *Nicostrates*, and after hee had whisp'd in his eare, he parts in hast. *Nicostrates* follows him sudainly without speaking word, beating continually vpon his thigh. This was an vnhop'd accident for *Maragena*. For some held the Whips, but they had no Commandement to whip him, others had the instruments ready to torture his feet.

Maragena was
humble naked.

When as *Nicostrates* was gone, they were all amazed, and looking one vpon another expected when he would returne. Soone after the assistants vanisched one after one, and in the end *Maragena* was abandoned. This done, he passeth the Hall contrary to all Hope, and being naked slipt into a certayne Tent of the *Macedonians* neere vnto the Hall. When by good fortune he had found the greatest there assembled, hee acquaints them with his disaster, and how he had escaped, as it were, by miracle. Some of them did not belieue him, others seeing him naked were forced to giue credite. *Maragena* intreats them with teares, not only to haue a care of his safety, but also of the Kings and their owne : And that their Death was manifest, if they did not make vse of the occasion, for that all the World was inflamed with Hatred, and there was not any man but was ready to put *Agathocles* to Death, saying that this Hatred incensed Hourly, and that they must haue men to execute this Enterprize.

The *Macedonians* hearing this Speech were incensed, and in the end obeying to *Maragena* : They suddenly enter into the first Tents of the *Macedonians*, and then into those of the other Souldiers. They were ioyning and neere to the side of the Cittie. When as many of them tooke vpon them the Charge, and that there was no need of any thing but of some one, to giue courage to them that came, and who shoud first execute the Enterprize, this attempt kindled like a flame. There were scarce fourre hours spent, but that all men alswell Souldiers as Citizens, conspired to affuse *Agathocles*. There was a accident which hapned sudainly, which serued well to end this attempr. For when they had brought Letters to *Agathocles*, and that the Spies were returned, and the Letters sent by *Tlepoleme*, signified vnto the Army that he would be soone there, being likewise assur'd by the Spies that hee was neere, he fell into so great a transport in his judgement, as hee neither did nor thought of any remedy against the eminent dangers, but following his accustomed course, hee went to drinke and banquet with others.

Oenambe sad.

And when *Oenambe* was sad and sorrowfull, shee goes vnto *Ceres* Temple. Where (when it was opened for a certayne Annually Sacrifice) shee prayes humbly, then sheveth Enchauntments towards the Goddesses, finally shee stayes at the Altar and rests there. Many Women were silent and obserued her heauiness and affliction. The kinsfolkes of *Polycrates*, and some other Noble men comforted her, and being ignorant of the approaching misery. She on the other side crying out with

with a loud voice, *Come not neare me you Beasts* : I know well you are ill affected towards vs, and that you require the Gods to send vs some ill Fortune : But I hope that with their good pleasure you shall taste of your owne Children. Hauing ended this Speech, shee commands the Executioner to supprese them, and if they did not obey, to beate them. Taking this occasion they all depart, and in lifting vp their hands towards the Gods, they prayed that shee might make triall of that which shee had wist to the Company.

But when the men had concluded the reuolte, and that in euery A houle the fury of the Women was added thereto, their hatred grew double. When as the darkenesse of the Night was come, the whole City was fill'd with Mutiny, lights, and running vp and downe. Some assembled at the Theater with cries, others encouraged one another, and some ran to hide themselves in houses, and places that were not suspected. And when the spacious places about the Hall, the place for running of Horses, and the Court about *Dyonisius* Theater, were fill'd with a multitude of all sorts of men. *Agathocles* hearing this, riseth vp being drunke, after that hee had emptied his gorge, and came vnto the King after hee had taken all his Kinshmen except *Philon*.

After hee had vised some Speech moving to compassion, hee takes him by the hand, and leads him to the Armary of lauelings, seated betwix the top and the wrestling place ; and which bendl by the way of the Theater : And after hee had opened two Doores, hee came to the third, accompanied with two or three of the Guard and his Kinshmen. These Doores were transparent and shut with double Barres. And when at that time all the Commons of the City were there assembled, so as not onely the places were full of men, but also the passages and tops of houses, there grew a confus'd cry and howling of Women and Children, with the men in this Mutiny, as well of them of *Chalcedony*, as of *Alexandria* mingled together. At Suprising the cry was confused : yet the chiefe sound was, that they call'd for the King.

The *Macedonians* rising first, seaze vpon the Ports of the Kings Treasure. But when they understood in what part of the Pallace the King was, rushing to the first Doores of the first Armary, they beat them downe. And when they were come vnto the second, they demand the Infant with a great cry. *Agathocles* seeing what would befall him, intreats the Guard to intercede for him to the *Macedonians*, letting them understand, that hee would relinquish the government of the Infant, with his power and dignity, and moreover all the government : intreating them to bee so favourable vnto him, as to saue his life, affording him necessary Victuals and the like, returning vnto his ancient and former course of life, and that hee would not (nay he could not) offer offence or wrong vnto any man whatsouer.

None of the Guards pittyng him in his distresse, wold obey him, onely *Aristomenes* vnderooke the charge, who was afterwards

wards Gouernour of the publicke affaires. He was an *Acamianian*, and as he was advanced in years, having the superintendency of the affaires, hee was held a good Gouernour to the King and roiall Palace : And in the meane time he had respect to the prosperity of *Agathocles*: for he was the first who calling vnto him *Agathocles*, hee alone had a Crowne of Gold by all the assistants : the which they vially doe onely to Kings. Finally, hee was the first that durst carry a Ring with *Agathocles* Image. And when hee had a Daughter by his Wife, hee called her *Agathoclea*. But we haue spoken sufficiently of this Subiect.

Hee therefore hauing taken charge of *Agathocles* commandment, and going forth at a Posterne, he came vnto the *Macedonians*. When he had vsed some little speech, and declared the Will of *Agathocles*, the *Macedonians* fought to kill him ; and when as many put forth their hands to defend him, they enquired the Opinion of the rest, which being understood, he returned to *Agathocles*, hauing charge to come backe with the King, or else to returne no more. The *Macedonians* hauing given this Answere, sen backe *Aristomenes*, and assailing the second Doore, they vnbang it. Wherefore they which were with *Agathocles*, seeing the violence of the *Macedonians*, as well by their actions as by their answere, comming first to the Doore, lifting vp their suppliant hands : *Agathocles* likewise shewed the Papps wherewith hee layd hee had gien the King sucke, intreating the *Macedonians* with a mournefull and miserable voice, onely to saue her life. And when as by the great lamentations of her Fortane shee had preuailed nothing, in the end they draw forth the Infant with his Guards.

The *Macedonians* presently set the King on Horse-backe, and lead him to the Theate. Assoone as hee was discouered, they steyn his Horse with great clamors and toy, and taking him downe they set him in a roiall Chaire. In the meane time the Commons partly ioyce, and were partly sad. They reioyced for the comming of the Infant : againe, they were sad and grieved for that they which were the Offendors, had not beeorne taken and punished accordingly. Wherfore crying continually, they required that they might bee brought and exemplarily punished by an ignominious and reproachfull Death, as the Authors of all their miseries and troubles. But when the Day was farrre spent, the Mutiny of the people could not be pacified by any meanes.

Sosibius the Sonne of *Sosibius*, then Captaine of the Guard, hauing D the principall charge of the Kings affaires, seeing that the Mutiny of the people could not bee pacified, and the Infant grew sad through the insolency and noueltie of the present affaires, and the trouble of the Commons, hee demanded of him if hee would not deliver vnto the people those which had offended against him or his Mother. And when hee consented, hee commanded the Guards to make the Kings will knowne : And then they tooke the Infant in his Chaire, and carried him to his owne house.

But

Agathoclea
shewes her
Papps into the
Macedonians.

But when the Kings pleasure was divulged and made knowne by the Guards, all the place was full of toy and exclamations. They which were with *Agathocles* and *Agathoclea*, retired presently to their hou-ses. The Guards presently forced some of them, and others were thrust on by the people, to seeke them out and kill them. Whereof the beginning was by an accident.

A One of the Guard, and a follower to *Agathocles* named *Phylon*, being yet full with Drinke, came forth into the place. Who when hee saw the Mutiny of the people, hee sayd vnto the assistants, that if ever *Agathocles* came forth againe as hee had done, they would repente it. They which heard him, some blamed him, others thrust him, and when hee offred to defend himselfe, some fuddainly teare his Cloake, others slew him miserably with their Iauelings. Whilst *Phylon* staine, they drag'd him aboute the place yet breathing, and that the Com-mons had tastid the fury of striking, they expect hourely to haue the rest brought.

Soone after *Agathocles* was the first, beeing bound and manna-cled : who going on was suddenly thrust thorough by some one, *Agathocles* wherein hee performed the part of a Fiend, and not of an Enemy. For by this meanes they preuent his worthy punishment. They brought with him *Nicon* and *Agathoclea* naked with her Sisters, and consequently all their Parentage : Finally, they drawe *Oenanthe* out of the Temple, and bring her on horse-backe naked vnto the *Nicon and Agathocles* place : When all these were deliuerned vnto the Commons, some *thoelae staine*, bite them, others prick them, and some pull out their eyes and dis-member them, vntill they were maimed.

The Egyptians are wonderfull cruell in their fury. At the same time some Virgins which had beeene bred vp with *Arcinoe*, bearing *The Egyptians* *Sirenes* crying out that *Philammon Trites* had beeene prestat at the mur-*cruell* ther of the Queene, they fall vpon his house, and kill him with *Stones and Staves*, smothering his young Sonne. Finally, they dragg his Wife into the place and kill her. This was the end of *Agathocles* and *Agathoclea* with their Kinsfolkes. I am not ignorant what Fables and colours some Historiographers vse in these actions, to amaze the Readers with a copious advancement of words, and otherwise then the truth containes.

D Some referre this accident to Fortune, shewing howe inconstant and ineuyal shes is : seeking to bring Causes and Similitudes of actions. It is true that in the purtice of this Worke I had refusel to helpe my selfe with the sayd actions, for that this *Agathocles* had nothing honourable for his courage and prowess in the Warre, neither any happy mannaging of affaires which ought to bee desired ; Neither did hee understand the cunning and policy of a Courtier, in the which *Sosibius* and many others being very well instructed, had vniuersal Kingdomes : The which notwithstanding happened vnto this man. Hee grew great by chancie, for that *Philopater* was not able to governe the Realme.

Hauing therefore gotten this occasion to come vnto greathete, Z.z.2 when

*Agathocles and
Denis Siciliensis*

when as after his Death hee had a fit opportunity offred to maintaine his power, yet hee lost both life and goods faintly and basely, being flaine within a short time. Wherefore it is not fitting, that in the relation of such things they should adde words: especially when they speake of such as *Agathocles* and *Denis Siciliensis*, with some others, which had bee famous and renowned for their actions. One of them in truth came of a base extraction: But as *Tymenus caueus*, *Agathocles* being a Potter, he came in his younger yeares to *Saragossa*. They were eyther of them in their times Tyrants of *Saragossa*: of that City I say, which at that time was great in authority, and abounding in riches: And afterwards they were Kings of all *Sicily*, and enjoyed some parts of *Italy*.

In regard of Agathocles, hee died not in assailing *Affricke*, but after this manner with a desire to Reigne. And therefore they say of *Publius Scipio*, who first forced *Carthage*, that when they demanded of him what men hee held ablest to undertake an Enterprize, and of great discretion and courage, hee answered *Agathocles* and *Denis*.

Wee must in truth when the proposition is made, hold the Reader in suspence and doubt, and relate their fortune and humane accidents, in adding words in manner of Doctrine: In regard of the sayd things, I am not of Opinion it should bee done. For this cause wee reiect in this passage the Writers of *Agathocles* with their many words, for that those horrible Narrations and fearefull events, which haue nothing but a conceite worthy to hold the Reader in suspence. Finally, it is not only unprofitable to treatre of them with a long discourse; but also their vehemency in the end brings ridiculousnesse and trouble. There are two ends, namely, profit and pleasure: whereunto they must haue regard which will ruminat any thing either of hearing or sight.

And for that profit belongs chiefly to the narration of an History, it is most necessary and conuenient, that this kind of addyng of words vnto fearefull accidents, should turne from these two ends: What is hee that would willingly follow vnexpected accidents, and without reason? No man riotereth continually, eyther for the seeing or hearing of things which are out of Nature and the common sense of men. But in the beginning wee are exceeding ioyfull and glad to see some, and to heare others, to the end wee may rightly understand and know after what manner that is done which seemes vnto every one very strange and impossible.

When wee once begin to know them, no man takes any delight or pleasure to stay vpon things which are strange from the course of Nature, nor will haue any desire to fall often vpon the same subject. Wherefore the Narration must drawe a desire of imitation where hee may delight. And if they adde words to some miserable accidents besides these ends, they are more fitting for a Tragedy then a History.

Peradventure

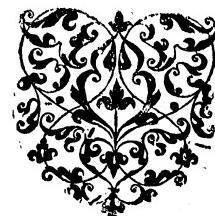
Peradventure you must pardon those which doe not consider things which are common to Nature and the World: But they hold the Fortunes of their Ancestors great and wonderfull, whereon falling by Fortune in Reading or Hearing them from others, they settle their affections. Wherefore they know not, that they vsenmore speech of such things then is needfull, which are neither new, haing bee spoken formerly by others, neither can they profite nor content.

A

The remainder is wanting.

B

C



D

Zz. 3

A



A

A PARCELL OF the Sixteenth Booke of the History of POLYBIUS.

B

Of the Battaille giuen at Sea betwixt Philip and King Attalus.



Philip was much troubled, seeing many things succede vns fortunately in his siege, and withall that the Enemies were in the Hauen with a good number of couer'd Vessells, neither could hee well resolute what to do. And when as the present occasions depriv'd him of all meanes of choice, in the end hee weighed Anchor, and set Saile contrary vnto the Enemies Hope. For *Attalus* and his Company expected that he shoul'd grow obstinate at the Siege, considering the preparation which he had of Engines of Battery. *Philip* made all haste to saile away, imagining that hee might get before them, and make a safe retreat vnto *Samos* along the shore: Yet hee was deceiv'd in his conceite. For when as *Attalus* and *Theophiliscus* saw that hee had weighed Anchor, they fuddainly resolved and set Saile, obseruing no order, for that they conceiu'd that *Philip* would haue perseuered in his Enterprize. Yet they charge him making great speed with their Oares: So as *Attalus* fell vpon the right wing which got before, and *Theophiliscus* vpon the left.

Attalus char-
ged *Philip's*
Army at Sea

Philip seeing himselfe thus pested, and suddainly surprized, hee gaue

gave the signe of the Battaille to them of the right wing, commanding them to turne their prowes against the Enemies, and to charge them resolutely: Then he retired to the smaller Islands, which were in the mid-way with the lighter Vessells, expecting the end of the Battaille. The number of Ships of Warre which *Philip* had, were fifty three couer'd Vessells, with a hundred and fifty Foists and Galleys vncouered. In regard of the Vessells remaining at *Samos*, hee could not arm them. Those of the Enemies were in number threescore Vessells couer'd, with those of *Constantinople*: with the which there were nine Galliots and three Galleys.

When as *Attalus* Ships began the fight; presently they that were neare, charge one another without command. *Attalus* fell vpon a Vessel with eight Oares, crushing it in such sort as it tooke water: and when as they which were vpon the hatches, had defended themselves long, in the end hee funke it. On the other side *Philip's* Galleys of ten Oares, which was the Admirall, was by chance taken by the Enemies: For when as a Galliot sayl'd against it, it bruised it much in the midt of the Bulke, ioyning vnto it behinde at the poope, to the which it remain'd grappled, for that the Pylot could not stay its violence. So as when this Vessell stukke close vnto her, she was much hindred, neither could they gouerne nor turne her. In the meane time two Quinqueremes charge her, and bruising her in two places, funke her with the Souldiers. Among the which was *Democritus*, Captaine Generall at Sea for *Philip*. At the same instant *Dionysodorus* and *Dymocritus* brethren (who were Commanders of the Army vnder *Attalus*) giuing a charge, found themselves in great danger in the fight: So as *Diony-^{Democritus}_{Captaine Ge-}sodorus* gave charge to a Vessel with seuen Oares, and *Dionysodorus* to one of *Philip*, ^{Battal.} *Dionysodorus* was broken about Water, and that of the Enemy vnder the water, yet he could not free himselfe from them, although hee had often attempted it in sawing.

C Wherefore when as the *Macedonians* defended themselves valiantly, he was in danger to be taken. But for that *Attalus* came to succour him, charging the Enemy, and parting the two ships which were grappled, *Dionysodorus* sau'd himselfe by good fortune. In regard of the Enemies, they were all slaine fighting valiantly: so as the Vessell being destitute of Souldiers, was taken by *Attalus*. And when as *Dionysodorus* layl'd with great swiftnesse to fight, hee could not overtake any, and passing through the Enemies he had the Pallisadoe on the right side disarmed, and the Beames broken which carried the Tower. This happening he was inuested round by the Enemy with great noise and cries. All the Marriners perish with the Ship, and *Dionysodorus* swum away with two others vnto a Galliot which came to succour him. In regard of the other Vessells the danger was equal: For as the number of *Philip's* Foists was greater, so was that of *Attalus* in couer'd Vessells. Finally, the Combat was so carried vpon *Philip's* right Wing, as the Victory inclined to neither. It is true that *Attalus* was in better hope for the future.

D The *Rhodiens* in the beginning of the party separated themselves from

The number of
Philip's ships
and of his En-
emies.

from the Enemies, who hauing a great aduantage by the lightnesse of their Vessells, fought against the *Macedonians* making the Reare-ward. And when in the beginning they fell to fight, they carried away all their defences, charging them behinde and in poope. But when as *Philip's* Vessells began to turne head altogether, gowing aside to those which were in danger, and that the Rearc of the *Rhodiens* were ioyned to *Theophilicus*: then they charged with great fury, encouraging one another with great shouts and Trumpets. And if the *Macedonians* had not mingled their Foists among their couered Vessells, the Battaille had beeene soone decided: for they tooke from the *Rhodiens* ships all commodity in diuers sorts: For that when as by either side the order was broke, they were all mingled. Wherefore they could not easly enlarge themselves, nor turne their Vessells, nor affist themselves with those meanes whereof they were best prouided, for that the Foists did continually charge them, sometimes falling vpon the Pallisadoe, so as they could make no vse of their Rowers, and sometimes vpon the prow and poope, to deprive them of their Pylot and Oares. And when as they fought in a direct line, they invented a stratagem: tovaboring the prowes they made their charge fruitless, breaking the Enemies Vessells under water: To prevent the which they could finde no remedy. It is true, this happens seldom for that all avoided the encounter, for that the *Macedonians* fought valiantly hand to hand, and most commonly in passing they razed the Pallisadoe, making it unprofitable. Then suddenly casting about, they assailed thole that were in poope: and likewise giving charge to those which shewed themselves vpon the flanks, or which turned aside, they brake some, and tooke the Equipment from others: so as fighting after this maner, they had funke dunders of the Enemies Vessells.

There were three excellent Quinqueremes of the *Rhodiens* in danger: whereof the Admirall was one, in the which *Theophilicus* commanded: Then that whereof *Philistrius* was Capraine, and the third was gouerned by *Antolice*: in the which *Nicosrates* remained. It hapned that shee gave a charge to one of the Enemies Vessells, where she left her spurre, so as it funke with the Souldiers: And *Antolice*'s Company being inuested, for that they tooke water at the prow, defended themselves valiantly: But *Antolice* being wounded fell into the Sea with his Armes and died, the rest fighting with great courage. At what time *Theophilicus* comming to succour them with three Quinqueremes, he could not saue the ship being full of water.

After that he had broken two of the Enemies Vessells, and cast the Souldiers into the Sea, hee lost the greatest part of his men fighting resolutely, for that he was suddenly inuested by many fregats and couerd Vessells. It was hardly in his power to saue his ship, being wounded in three places: for that hee had aduentured himselfe too boldly: But *Philistrius* came to succour him, vndertaking the apparent danger with great courage. But when hee was ioyned vnto these Vessells, he rechargeth the Enemy furiously againe: where he was seene weake of body by reason of his wounds, but much more excellent and constant

stant in courage then before. It happened that there were two Combatis at Sea very farre one from another: For *Philip's* right Wing coafting still along the shore, never abandoned the Coast of Asia, but the left Wing succouring the Reare-ward, had fought with the *Rhodiens*, for that they were not farre from *Chios*. When as *Attalus* seemed to haue gloriously Vanquished *Philip's* right Wing, and that hee approached neare vnto the Iland, where he Anchored, expecting the end and conclusion of the Battaille, he perceiued one of his Quinqueremes in danger to be funke by a shipp of the Enemies, and made haft to succour it with two other of his Quinqueremes. When as the Enemies shippes turned away to recover Land, the more hee prest desiring to take it. The which *Philip* perceiuing, that *Attalus* strayed too boldly and aduenturously from his Company, hee made haft being accompanied with four Quinqueremes, three Galliots, and the nearest Frigars, hoping hee shold be able to take it, as it fortunatly happened; forcing him to get vnto the nearest shore in great distresse. Then leauing his Vessell there, hee fled on foote with the Sea men, to saue himselfe in *Erythre*. Wherefore *Philip* recovered the Erythre a town in Asia.

They which were with *Attalus* in this great danger, bethought themselves of a pollicy in Warre, and set the richest of the Kings plate vpon the Hatches. Wherefore the first of the *Macedonians* approaching with their Frigars, and seeing great store of plate with a purple Robe, and other rich furniture lying there, they gaue over the purse, and attended the spoile, so as *Attalus* retired vnto the Port of *Erythre* without any disturbance. And although that *Philip* were absolutely the weaker in this Battaille at Sea, yet he returned very ambitious and proud through *Attalus* misfortune, making great haft to come vnto his Company. Where after he had drawne and gathered together all his Vessells, he persuadeth them to be of good Courage ^{The Policy of Attalus his Souldiers,} Add Resolution, seeing hee had wonne the Battaille. And in truch, such was the opinion of men, as if *Attalus* had beeene dead in flying, seeing that *Philip* returned, bringing the roiall Vessell priuoyer. *Dyonisodus* considering what was become of the King, gathered the Vessells together and sounded a retreat: after which he retired safely to the Ports of *Asia*.

At the same time the *Macedonians*, who fought against the *Rhodiens*, hauing beeene well beaten, they retired out of danger: For every ship got him away vnder colour to giue succours to those that were in danger and distresse. In regard of the *Rhodiens* they retired to the Port of *Chios*, hauing taken some of the shippes, and broken part of their spurs. There was funke in this Battaille at Sea which *Philip* had against *Attalus*, the Gallies of ten Oares, nine Oares, seauen Oares, and sixe Oares, and moreouer ten Vessells couered, three Galliots, and ffeue and twenty Foists, withall the Marriners. And in that which was against the *Rhodiens*, ten couered Vessells, and forty Foists: and there were two Quadriremes, and seauen Foists taken with the Marriners. In regard of that of *Attalus*, one Galliot with two Quinqueremes were

were sunke, with the royll Skiffe. And of the Rhodiens two Quinqueremes and Galleyes, but there was nothing taken. As for the losse of men, there died three score Rhodiens, and about three score and ten of Attalus men, and of the Macedonians vnder Philip, to the number of three thousand, and aboue five thousand Mariners: and there were taken aliuie, as well Allies as Macedonians two thousand, and fewe hundred Egyptians. Such was the end of the Battaile at Sea neare vnto Chios.

Philip attributed the Victory vnto himselfe for two principall causes: First for that hee had forced Attalus to flye to Land, and had taken the royll Vessell: the other for that hee anchored in the place which they call Argemnon, among the Enemies wrackes, and that the next Day hee carried himselfe as a Conquerour, gathering together the Reliques of the fight, and drawing together the Bodies of such as might be knowne, to the end hee might confirme this Opinion. But the Rhodiens with Dyonisodorus made him fone after confessing that it was not true, so as hee did not hold himselfe to haue had the Victory: For the next day the King being busied about these things, they set sayle against him, the one being aduertised of the other: and when (after they had put their ships in Front) no man durst present himselfe, they retorne to Chios.

But *Philip* who had never before at one time lost so many men, nor such, carried his misfortune impatiencely, and was in a manner desperate, although hee laboured by all meanes to hide his conceite, matters seeming vnsupportable: for besides many other occasions, the misfortunes which happened after the Battaile, had putt all those that were present in feare. Beleue mee, that after so great a slaughter of men, all the Countrey where the Combate was fought, was full of Carrakes, blood, Armes, and the wrackes of Ships. And the daies following you might haue seene the shoare full of all these things heaped together. So as it was not onely displeasing vnto him, but to all the Macedonians.

In regard of Theophilissons, having suruiued a day, and written into the Countrey of the successe of the Combate at Sea, and had appointed Cleonens to command the Army in his place, hee dyed of the wounds hee had receiued: who had shewed himselfe a valiant man in danger, and who by the prouidence of his Councell, was worthy to haue his Name preserued in memory. For if hee had not given aduice to follow Philip, all the rest had negleched the opportunity of the Victory, being amazed at his courage: so as in beginning of the fight hee forced his Citizens to follow the occasions of the time. Hee likewise perwized Attalus not to temporize, nor to wast time in the preparation of things concerning the Warre: But contrariwise to fight valiantly, and to vndergoe the present danger. Wherefore the Rhodiens haue with good reason, after his death done him such honours, as the living and those that were present were not onely incited to fight valiantly for their Countrey, but also the poftery.

What doe wee then see in this viglence? No other thing but Nature

The death of Theophilissons.

Nature. It oftentimes falls out that many vpon a bare shew of hope, desire impossible things, vahquishing every mans hope with their covetousnesse: and when they haue once begun, they cannot diuert their fancies: for that they haue their understanding blinded and deceiued with the impossibility of their attempts, and the discontente of the accidents. When as *Philip* had in vaine giuen some assaile to a small Towne, for that it was well fortifieth, bee retired, after he had ruined some places with the whole Country.

Being gone from thence, he planted his Campe about *Prinasse*, and *Prinasse* besieged it by myning. Where when he lost his time, for that the place ^{ged by Philip.} was stony, he vied this intencion: hee caueth a great noise to be made by day in the Mynes, as if he laboured to overthrow the Walls, cauifg in the night great store of earth to be brought and to be laid at the entry of the Mynes, to the end he might terrifie the Inhabitants by a view of so great a digging in the ground. It is true that at the first the *Prinassens* were constant and courageous: but when as *Philip* had signified vnto them that their Wall was vndermined the length of the third part of a Furlong, and had demanded of them if they would deliuer the City and fauour their liues, or perish with it, the foundations being burnt, then giuing credit vnto his words, they presently deliuered it.



A Parcell of the City of the Jaffeens.



He City of the *Jaffeens* is situate in *Asia* vpon the *Gulf* ^{The Gulf of Neptune,} loyng to *Neptune* of *Cilesia*, and called of the *Myndiens*. According to the aduice of many, it takes its name from the Cities of the *Virgilites*, which are built vpon the backe part. They lay that in the begining they were peopled by *Argines*: and that afterwards the *Mileseens* predecessors being brought in, and the Children of *Nelus*, they built the City of *Myletum*, after their defeat in the *Warrs of Carya*. This City hath ten Furlongs in circuite. The common bruite is, and they beleue it among the *Virgilites*, that although the statue of *Diana Cindiades* be vncouered, yet it endures no fogs nor raine, like vnto that of *Vesta* among the *Jaffeens*: the which some Historiographers haue auerred. For my part, I know not how I contradicted and blame boldy in all this treaty this aduice of Historiographers. In truth they seeme to qige wholy to fauour of their Childishnesse, who without

^{The City of Miletum built.}
^{The Image of Diana.}

without consideration comprehend not onlye idle and fottish things, but those which are impossible. For if any one shold say that some body may bee so illuminated and transparent, as he shall make no shadow, this would shew a transported judgement, as *Theopompos* hath done, saying that they which enter into the Temple of *Jupiter* in *Arcaidie*, make no shadow. Whereunto that is conformable which is now spoken. Wherfore wee must pardon some Historiographers in all things which preferre the devotion of the people towards the Gods, who relate monstrous things, but in that which exceeds this course, they are not to be pardoned. Peradventure in every thing there is a A different quality to describe them, yea, sometimes impossible: wherefore we must pardon if any one through ignorance doth stray a little from the truth: and according to my judgement reprove all that which exceeds reason.



B

A Parcell of Publius Scipio.

Publius Scipio being soone after returned from *Africa*, When as the expectation of the people was conformable to the greatness of his actions, it fel our that they con- ceived a great loue and affection towards him: The which was not without cause. For whereas they feared neues to chace *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, nor to free themselves nor their Allies from the eminent danger: they seemed then certainly not only to bee delievered from all feare and misery, but also to domineere over their Enemies: wherefore they were confounded with ioy. When he tri umphed; being moreover by the effects of things which were brought in, aduertised of the precedent dangers, they were toucht with an ex ceeding loue as well to the Gods, as to the Author of so great an alter nation.

Syphax King of the *Masafylins* was led in triumph through the Ci ty with the other Prisoners, who soone after died in Prison. These things thus performed, the *Romans* made continual Combats for ma ny Dayes, and celabrated Feasts in their assemblies, hauing where withall to satisfie it by the liberality and bounty of *Scipio*. Many at tempt great Warres brauely, and striue with a certaine vehemency to augment a Common-wealthe: But it is a rare thing to bring them to the propounded end, and to accomplish by reason and industry, if Fortune sometime opposeth that which wants courage and speedy action. Wherfore some may with reason blame the sloth of *Astalus* and of the

the *Rhodiens*, in commanding the royll courage of *Philip*, and his constancy in his enterprise: not that his conceite is alwayes worthy of Commendation but so farre as it concernes his present Enterprise and attempt. I propound this distinction to the end no man should suspect vs of contradiction: for that (as we haue heretofore) commended and blamed *Philip*, so now I doe the contrary. They must understand that in the beginning of this Worke I haue so made my distinction, saying that it was necessary sometimes to command and blame the same persons, for that moments and events of things doe many times change A the hearts of men, when they incline to better or worse. It happens likewise sometimes, that men by Nature indeauour things which are reasonable, and sometimes the contrary: whereof in my Opinion the one happened now to *Philip*. When hee was inflamed for the pre ce dient losses, shewing more choller and rage then reason, hee accom modated himselfe to the present occasions, with a constant and admirable courage, and hath by this course enuyed those things which fol lowed, in aduancing himselfe against the *Rhodiens* and *Astalus*. I thought good to deliver this, for that some give ouer their enter prizes in leaving their first heate, like unto bad and lazy runnes: Some likewise vanquish their Enemies in this onely, that they are constant in B their enterprizes.

*Of the Cities of Abydos and Sestes
Maritime and opposite.*

C

A hold it lost time to vse any long discourse of the commo di ties of the Cities of *Abydos* and *Sestes*: for that matters of small moment are knowne to all, by reason of the ordinary frequenting of the places: yet I doe not thinke for the present that a summary aduertisement to the Reader, would bee vniprofitable in regard of them. You must understand that the things which are now to be spoken of the syd Cities) are not so much drawne from their situtaion, as from their opposition and con ference. Whereas the Nauigation of the Sea, which some call by the name of *Ocean*, others *Atlaſtique*, is not paffable, but at the streights which are at the Pillars of *Hercules*: Neither can they in our Sea, in the *Propontis* and *Pomus*, vnfleſſe it be made by the streight betwixt *Abydos* and *Sestes*. As Fortune hath prepared two Gulfes with some rea son, it falls out that the streight of the Pillars of *Hercules* is broader then that of *Hellesponte*: For it is of three score Furlongs, and that of *Abydos* onely of two, The which wee may conjecture hath bee ne made

Of the proffe of
Abydos and
Sestes.

Aaa

A comparison
of the straignt
of *Abydos* with
that of *Gibel-*
tar.

The City of the
Abydeins.

made for a greater spaciousnesse of the exteriour Sea, then ours. That of *Abydos* is more commodious then that of the Pillars of *Hercules*. For the first is inhabited on either side, and in manner of a Port, for the mutual communication of Traffique, and hath in some place a Bridge for those which passe on foote from one firme land to another. They also faire continually on the other side. In regard of that of the Pillars of *Hercules*, it is little frequented, for that the people which inhabite some in *Africke*, some in *Europe*, haue little commerce together: and this exteriour Sea is little frequented and tryed. The City of the *Abydeins* is environed on either side with the farthest A bounds of *Europe*: hauing a Port from whence Sailors with what wind soever, may be seene. But it is not possible for any man to come vnto the City, being without this ingulfement of the Sea to the Port, by reason of the swiftnesse and vehemence of the current.



B

Another Parcell of *Philip* of *Macedon*.

The *Abydeins*
besieged by
Philip.

Et when as *Philip* had fortified one part with Pallia-
does, and cast a Ditch about the other, he besieged the
Abydeins by Sea and Land. In regard of the meanes of
their defence, it was not admirable, neither for the
greatnesse of the preparation, nor for the diversity of in-
ventions, which are declared in the same worke, by the
which the besieged, and besieged doe vniually practise, and surprize one
another by policies: But for the good directions and valour of the be-
sieged, it is worthy of memory, if ever any were, and which ought to
come vnto posterity. In the beginning the Inhabitants of *Abydos*, relying
in themselues, maintained the attempts of *Philip* valiantly: and
as for his Engines set vp at Sea, they brake some with casting of Stones,
and they burnt others: so as the Enemies could hardly save their Vef-
fels from this danger: In regard of those at Land, for time they made D
a valiant resistance, neuer despairing to obtaine the Victory against their
Enemies. But when as the Fort which stood without the Wall had
beene ouerthrown by *Mynes*, and that the *Macedonians* were after-
wards come vnto the Wall whick they had built within, in the end they
sent *Iphias* and *Panacnous* in Embassie, to yeld the City vnto *Philip*,
but vpon condition that hee should suffer the Souldiers of the *Rhodiens*
and *Attalus* to depart, and their Bodies free, to lase themselues
where they thought good with their Apparell. And when as
Philip

Philip had giuen them charge to submit themselves vnto his will, or to fight it out brauely, the Embassadors retired. This being ^{The course} heard, the *Abydeins* assemble the people, and consult in despaire of ^{which the Aby-}^{deins take in de-}^{spaire,} their necessities. First of all they decree to giue liberty to their Slaves, to the end they might willingly become Companions in the Combat: And consequently drawe all their Wives into *Diana's* Temple: and the Children with their Nurses into the Schooles, and finally their Gold and Siluer into the Market place, and the richest apparell into the *Rhodiens* Gally, and that of the *Cyriencis*.

A When they had decreed these things, and had with one accord ex-
ecuted the resolution, they make another assembly, choosing fifty
of the most ancient, and men of credite, being strong and able to ex-
ecute the decree, and make them sweare in the prefence of all the Ci-
tizens, that if they saw the Wall taken by the Enemy, they shold
then kill their Wives and Children, and set fire of the fayd Galleyes,
casting (according to their Oath) the Gold and Siluer into the
Sea. Finally, they call their Prelates, who coniure them all to van-
quish their Enemies, or to dye fighting for their Countrey. This
done, after they had sacrificed, they force their Prelates, and their
Wives to make execrations vpon the Sacrifices of the said things.
These things thus confirmed, they did not countermine aginst the E-
nemies Mynes, resoluing that if the Wall fell, they would stand vp
on the ruines, fighting to the death. Wherefore some one may with
reason say, that the folly of the *Phocenses* and the ioy of the *Acar-
nianis*, hath beene vanquished by the courage of the *Abydeins*. The
Phocenses seeme to haue decreed the like for their Kinsfolkes, although
they were not wholly in despaire of the Victory, for they were to
fight in field with the *Thebaliens*.

B The *Acaranians* fore-seeing the attempts of the *Esoltens*, resolued
the same in their eminent danger, whereof wee haue formerly spoken
In particular. The *Abydeins* being shut vp, and in manner despe-
rate of their safety, desired rather by a common consent to try this
Fortune with their Wives and Children, then living to deliuer them
into their Enemies hands. For which reason wee may blame For-
tune for the ruine of the *Abydeins*: Seeling that hauing compassion
of the calamities of the former, shee hath suddeinly relieved them;
yeelding vnto the desperat hope and safetey: whereas contrariwise
shee hath beene incensed against the *Abydeins*. The men were slaine
and the City taken: their Children with their Wives fell into their
Enemies hands: For after the fall of the Wall, planting them-
selves vpon the ruines, according to their Oath, they fought with
such great courage, as when as *Philip* had sent supplies vnto the
Macedonians at the assaile vntill Night, hee was in the end forced to
take breath, and to deseire of his attempt. The *Abydeins* did not
only fight with great confidence, standing vpon the dead bodies in
danger, and with resolution with their Swords and Iauelings: But ha-
ving no meanes to vse them, they cast themselues with fury vpon the *Mace-
donians*, ouerthrowing some with their armes, charging others alwaies
with

The prowell
of the Abydins.

with the stockes of their broken Iauelings : and repulsing them , thrusting directly at their Faces and other naked parts . Night being come , and the Combat ceasing , *Glaucides* and *Theognite* assembling some few of the ancient , changed (for the hope of their priuate safeties) that seueral and noble vow of the Citizens , in regard of the great number that had beene slaine at the Wall , and for that the rest were weakened with toile and wounds . Wherefore they refolued to abandon their Wives and Children to Captivity , and at the breake of day to send their Priests and Wives , with their Diadems and head-bands to *Philip* , A to the end that intreating him vpon their knees , they might deliuer him the City .

At the same time King *Athalus* being aduertised of the Siege of the *Abydins* , sailes by the *Egean* Sea to *Tenedos* . In like manner *Marcus Emilius* the younger a *Roman* , came by Sea to *Abydos* . For when the *Romans* had beeene truly aduertised of the Siege of *Abydos* , and would exposituate with *Philip* according to their charge ; and to understand the cause why hee assailed the Kings , they sent this *Emilius* vnto him . Who when he had audience of *Philip* in *Abydos* , he let him understand that the Senate admonished him , not to make Warre against any *Grecians* , nor to meddle with the affaires of *Ptolemy* : And whereas hee B had done outrage to the *Rhodiens* and *Athalus* , he shold make a promise to give them satisfaction : in doing which hee shold remaine in peace , but if he would not obey , he shold prepare to haue Warre with the *Romans* . When as *Philip* laboured to let him understand that the *Rhodiens* had beeene the first Assailants , *Marcus* interupting him said ; What haue the *Athenians* ? *Ciencians* , and *Abydeins* done ? which of them haue first assailed you ? The King studying what to answere to these three demands , told him that hee pardoned his arrogancy in words , for that first he was young and without experience : Secondly , that he was the best man amongst them , as in truth he was . The *Romans* (sayd he) haue no reaon to breake the Accords , nor to make Warre against mee : but if they did , he wold defend his owne valiantly and invocate the Gods for aide . This Speech being ended , they parted one from the other .

The braue an-
wers of philip
to Marcus Emi-
lius .

The cruelties
of the Abydins,
the culdeines,

Philip hauing gotten the City of the *Abydeins* , he presently tooke all the Goods which had beeene carried away by them . When he saw the people and their fury , who slew , burnt , and strangled themselves , their Wives , and Children , casting them into Wells , and hanging them in their houses , hee was amazed : And being discontented at that whish was done , he let them know that he gaue them three dayes respite that wold hang or kill themselves . But the *Abydeins* preuenting him (according to their first resolution) could not suffer any one of those to liue , which were not yet bound nor tied to this kind of necesity , holding themselves in not doing it , for Traytors towards those which had fought , and were dead for their Countrey . All the rest without delay dyed according to their Races . D

OF



A Of *Philopomene* and the deeds
of the *Acheins*.

 And when as *Philopomene* had considered the distances of all the Cities , and that they might come to *Tegee* by one way , hee wrote Letters to all the Cities , and sends them to those which were farthest off , and diuides them in such sort , as every City had not onely those which were directed vnto it , but also those for other Cities lying vpon the same way . Hee hath written to the Magistrates in these termes : When B you shall haue received these Letters , vse all diligence , that such as are able to beare Armes , may assemble in the Marke place , ebery man furnished with ffe Dayes victuals , and seueneteene Sous , and sixteene Deniers in Money . And when they shall be all assembled , lead them to the next City : where being arrived , deliver the Letters to the Magistrate , and performe the contents . In tha which was contained the charge which had bin giuen to the former , only the name was alred , but the place was not named whither the Voyage was intended .

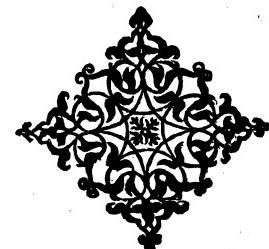
This course being continued , no man knew to what end nor why this preparation was made , nor whither they went out of the next City . All being vncertaine and receyving one another they march on . C But for that the Cities which were beyond , had not an equall distance from *Tegee* , hee did not send Letters to them all at the same time ; but particularly according to their order : so as unknowne to the Inhabitants , and to those which arrived , what should succeed , all the *Acheins* entred in Armes by all the Gates . Hee had without doubt resolued these things in his judgement , by a Military strategem , for the multitude of Scouts and Spies which the Tyrant had . The which the Tyrant had . The same day that the multitude of the *Acheins* shold assemble , hee sent chioce men , who in the Night shold passe the *Selasia* : and at the breake of day tunne into the D Countrey of *Lacedemon* . But if the Mercenaries by encounter did any way trouble them , he gives them charge to recover *Scotie* , obeying *Dida* *colone* the *Candor* in all things . For hee had giuen him the charge of all this enterprize . These men were relouely to the place appointed . And when as *Philopomene* had commanded the *Acheins* to suppe early , hee goes with his Army out of *Tegee* : and making good vse of the Night in his Voyage , hee leads his Army to the place appointed neare vnto *Scotie* , the mid-way betwixt *Tegee*

The forme of
Philopomene's
Letters to the
Cities .

Aaa 3

A sally out of Pelene upon the Tegee and Lacedemon. The Souldiers of Pelene the day following ran speedily as it is their custome, and assailed the Enemy suddenly, who were aduertised of their comming by their Scouts. And when the Achaeans (according to the Commandment they had receiuied) retired, they pursued them at their backes confidently and with courage. But suddenly they fell into the Ambush, where some of them were slaine by the Achaeans, and others taken.

A



B

C

D

A



A

A PARCELL OF the Seuenteenth Booke of

B the History of POLYBIUS:

Where they treate of the Peace betwixt Philip of Macedonia and the other Grecians, by the meanes of Titus a Roman.

C Hetime appointed being come, Philip attiues by Philip Com-
pany Sea from the Demeritade, to the Gule of Melica, accompanied with fve Foists and one Galley, wherein hee sayled. He was attended on by Apollodorus and Demosthenes Macedonians, his Chancellours. There was also Brachylles of Beotia, and Chilades the Achaein, a Fugitiue out of Morea for the cautes above mentioned. With the which were also King Saminandre and Dionisodorus sent by Attalus. And as for the Cities and people, Aristenetes and Xenophon were for the Achaeans: and Aesymnrotas and Xaurchus were for the Rhedens: and for the Etolians came Phenee Chiefe of the Army, with many other D Citizens.

D When they were approacht the Sea neare vnto Nicaea, Titus the Chiefe of the Romans, stayed at the shoare. Philip being almost at Land, stayed in his Vessell. And when as Titus perswaded him to Land, he sayd (standing upright in his ship) that hee would not. Being likewise demanded by Titus what he feared, he answered, No man but The wife and
of Philip, the Gods: but there were many there whom hee did not trust, namely, the Etolians. And when the Roman Commander wondred, saying,

Aaa 4

that

that the peril was quall vnto all, and that time common. *Philip* answering sayd, that he understood it not so: For an inconuenience happing to *Phene*, the *Etolians* had Commanders enough for the War: But if *Philip* dyed, there was no King of *Macedony* for the present. In the beginning of his Speech he seemed importune to them all. But *Tytus* aduised him to speake of the Affaires for which hee was come. *Philip* answered him, that it belonged to him and sor vnto himselfe: For this cause hee required him to let him know what there was to be done to enjoy a Peace.

The Roman Commaunder told him that hee must vse plaine and open words, and aduised him to leauue all *Greece*, restoring the Prisoners and Fugitives which were in his power: To yeild likewise vnto the Romans the places of *Sclavonia*, which he had feazed on after the Accord made in *Epirus*: That he shoulde restore vnto *Ptolemy*, all the Cities which he had taken fince the Death of *Ptolemy Philopater*. When *Tytus* had spoken this, he held his peace: But turning to the rest, hee killed every man to deliuere his charge:

The Articles
which *Dianophorus*
demanded
of *Philip*.

Affaymantes
demands
the Rhodiens.

The demands
of the actions
and *Etolians*.

Alexander
against *Philip*.

Dionisodorus being sent by *Attalus* begane first, saying that he shoulde restore the shippes taken by him in the Battaille at Sea, neare vnto *Chio*, and likewise the Prisoners: and re-edifie the Temple of *Venus*, and the Aſſenall of the triumphes of Victories which hee had ruined. After whom *Aſſembrotus* Chiefe of the Army at Sea for the *Rhodiens*, required that *Philip* shoulde leauue *Perea*; which hee had taken from them, and finally retire the Garriſons which hee had at *Laffe*, in the *Vargylies*, and in the City of the *Eromens*: And moreouer before the *Perinthians* to the coimminuty of the *Conſtantinopolitains*, and to abandon *Sestos*, *Abydos*, and the Paſers of *Aſia*. After the *Rhodiens* the *Acheans* demanded *Corinθ* and the City of the *Argives* whole and ſafe: After theſe the *Etolians* required firſt as the Romans had done, that hee ſhould abandon all *Greece*, and that afterwards hee ſhould restore the Cities whole and entire, which formerly had beeene of the ſame Burgeſſe with the *Etolians*.

When as *Phene* Chiefe of the *Etolians* had ſpoken thus, *Alexander* following after, whom they call *Iſte*, in ſhew a man of iudgement to manage affaires, and of great Eloquence, ſaid, that *Philip* did not demand a peace roundly, nor made Warre valiantly, if it were to be done at any time: and that in assemblies and treaties hee watche carefully, playing the part of an Enemy: and that in the Warre hee carried himſelfe wickedly, and not as a good man. For when hee ſhould affront the Enemy, it is manifeſt that hee ſiles the lift, and in the meane time burns and ruines Cities: and being thus vanquished by his will, hee corrupts the rewards of the Victors: althoſe the ancient Kings of *Macedony* were neuer of that minde, but quite contrary. They haue fought often Battailles in the open field, and haue ſeldome ruined any Cities. The which is manifeſt to all the World, as well by the *Asian* Warre of *Alexander* againſt *Darius*, as by the diſference of the Successors, by the which they haue all made Warre againſt *Antigonus* for the Empire of *Aſia*. And their posterity hath beeene of this humour vntill the

the time of *Pyrrhus*, to fight valiantly with an Enemy in open Battaille: Doing all that concerned a mutuall Combate of men furnished with Armes, yet pardoning the Citties: for that the Victors of them are vanquished, and blamed by thoſe which are subdued. It is the part of a mad man to ruine that for which the Warre is made, and then to leauue it: The which hee ſayd *Philip* did at that time, and that he had ruined more Citties in *Theſſaly*, being of the ſame friendship and League in Warre; when as hee parted ſpedily from the ſtreights of *Epirus*, then euer any of thoſe had done which made Warre againſt the *Theſſalians*.

A And when hee had ſed a long Speech, and deliuereſ other things of the ſame ſubiect. In the end hee demanded of *Philip*, why *Elys-machia* being aſſociated to the *Etolians*, and hauiing a Commaunder of the Warre from them, hee had chafed him away, putting a garrifon into the City? Why hee had ſpoiled the *Cyneins*, of the *Etolian* Burgoiſhip, being a friend to the *Etolians*? Moreouer vpon what colour hee detained *Eschaeins*, *Thebes*, *Pthbie*, *Pharſalia*, and *Larisse*? Hauiing ſpoken this, *Alexander* held his peace. When as *Philip* had approached nearer to Land then before, ſtanding vpright in his ſhip, ſayd, that *Alexanders* Speeche was *Etolique*: and that it was notorious to all the World, that no man ruined thoſe which were his compaions in Armes, and yet a Prince according to the occation of times, is many times forced to do things againſt his will. The King vſing this Speech: *Phene* hauiing a bad ſight, lookeſ oftentimes croſſe vpon *Philip*, ſaying that he told Fables: and that he ſhould eyther vanquish in fighting, or elſe ſubſcribe and obey the commandements of the Victors.

B And although that *Philip* were discontented, yet hee omitted not his kinde of ſpeech; but turning to *Phene*, a blind man ſayd he, would ſee it. He was in truthe apt to Choller, and it was a manner breed in him, to ieſt at the good Fortune of other men. Then turning towards *Alexander*, thou demaundest of me, ſayd he, for what reaſon I haue taken *Cymachia*. To the end that thorough your negligence and baseſſe, it might not be ruined by the *Thracians*, as then it happened, hauiing retired my Souldiers for the preſent, being there for the defence thereof, and not as thou ſayſt to take it. In regard of the *Cyreneins*, I made no Warre againſt them: But when as *Praſas* affaileſ them in giuing him ſuccours, I tooke the Cittie with him, whereof you haue beeene the cauſe. For when as the other Cities of *Greece* and my ſelue had required you often by Embaſſies, to abrogate the Law which allowes you to take ſpoile vpon ſpoile: You anſwered that wee muſt firſt take *Etolia* from *Etolia*, then ſayd Law. And when as *Tytus* wondred how that could be, the King laboured to make him understand it, ſaying that the *Etolians* had a Cufome not only to affaile thoſe and their Country, with whom they had Warre: But alſo it is lawfull for them, if their Allies be in Quarrell, to affaile both the one and the other with their Regions, and to hold them, without any common decree. And by this means the *Etolians* haue neither Lawes

A ſtrange Cuſome of the *Etolians*.

Lawes of Friendship nor Hatred, being ready to fall vpon those which are in controuersie for any Affaires. Whercon then doe these men ground an accusation against me? I was a friend to the *Etolians*, so was I allied to *Pruſia*, and I attempted againſt the *Grecians* to ſuccour my Allies.

But beholde a caſe of wonderfull diſcretion, that they which haue made themſelues Enemys to the *Romans*, command the *Macedonians* to depart out of *Greece*. Without doubt it is a very arrogant Speech. If the *Romans* ſpeak it, it is tollerable, if the *Etolians*, intollerable. But out of what *Greece* would you haue me depart? How do you limit A it? Are there not many *Etolians* in *Greece*? You ſhall ſee that the *Agracines*, *Apodates*, and *Amphioquines* are not of *Greece*, at the leaſt you leauē them to me. And when as *Titus* ſmiled, this ſayd he, ſhall ſuffice againſt the *Etolians*: And as for that which concerns the *Rhodiens* and *Attalus*, we may with more iuſtice and equity require, that they ſhould rather reſtore to vs our Priſoners and Veffells, then we to them. We haue not affailed the *Rhodiens* nor *Attalus* first, but they vs, it is without contradiction. Yet for thy ſake we will reſtore *Pera* to the *Rhodiens*, and to *Attalus* his ſhippes and men which are living. In regard of the ruine of the Triumphi of Victories, and of *Venus* B Temple, we cannot repair them: And for that which concerns the Trees and Gardens, I will ſend men to digge the ground, and will giue order that the Trees which are cut may grow againe. And when as *Titus* ſmiled againſt the ſcoffe of *Philip*, *Philip* addressing himſelfe to the *Achaeans*, hee put them in minde at the firſt of the benefits and fauours they had receiued from *Antigonus* and himſelfe. Moreouer he laid open the many Honors which the *Achaeans* had done vnto them. Finally, he hath read the Refolution of their reuolte in following the *Roman* party. Vpon which occation hee propounded many things againſt the puruication and ingratitude of the *Achaeans*: Yet promising C to reſtore them *Argos*. In regard of *Corinthe* hee would conuerfe with *Titus*.

After this Speech held to the rest, he ſayd to *Titus*; that hee was to ſpeak to him and to the *Romans*, whether he were of opinion that he ſhould abandon the Cities and places which he had Conquered among the *Grecians*, or elſe thofe which he had received from his Predeceſſors. And when as *Titus* held his peace, *Ariphenes* was ſuddainly ready to anſwere for the *Achaeans*, and *Phene* for the *Etolians*. But when the houre was paſt, the Time had cloſed vp their mouthes. *Philip* required that hee might haue men giuen him to write downe all that was to do for the peace. For when he was alone, he ſayd he had D no man with whom conſeruing, he might yeilde a reaſon of the Actions wherewith they charged him.

And althoſh that *Titus* heard *Philip* willingly in his iefte, yet being loath to be diſcovered by others, he gaue him a touch, ſaying: It is no wonder if thou beſt alone *Philip*, when thou haſt flaine all thoſe which gaue thee Councell. The *Macedonian* vſing a Counterfeite ſmile, held his peace. Then they all gaue in Writing what they had demanded,

demanded, appointing another assembly for the day following at *Nicaea*. To which place *Titus* came with his Company, where all the rest appeared, but *Philip* came not. And when as the day was farre spent, and that *Titus* expected his comming no longer, he armed at Sunne ſetting, accompanied with the ſame men, ſaying that he had ſpent the whole day in vexation and diſcontent, for the diſſiculty of the things wherewith they charg'd him, But according to the opinion of others he did it to frustrate by the ſhortneſſe of time, the accuſation of the *Achaeans* and *Etolians*. He had ſeen them the day before at his departure ready for their defence, and to complayne of

Wherfore at his arthal he intreated the Commander of the *Romans* to treat of this buſineſſe with him in priuate, to the end that in debating it, they might not fall to any outragious words, but draw it to ſome end. When he had often intreated this, *Titus* demanded of the Aſſiſtants their opinion what he ſhould doe: and when they all yeelded vnto it, and that he ſhould obſerve his words, he tooke *Appius Claudius* a Captain of a thouſand, and commanding the rest that retiring a little into the ſea, they ſhould stay there, bidding *Philip* to come to Land. The King accompanied with *Apolodorus* and *Demophenes* landed, and *Philip* landeſ.

B had a long diſcourſe with *Titus*. In regard of that which was ſpoken of eyther ſide, it is a difficult thing to judge. *Titus* then when as *Philip* was retired, related vnto the rest the things which hee had propounded, namely that hee would yeelde vnto the *Etolians*, *Larissa* and *Pharsalia*, but not *Thebes*: That to the *Rhodiens* hee would leauē *Pera*, but not *Iaffo* nor *Bargylia* to the *Achaeans* *Corinthe*, and the City of *Argives*: to the *Romans* that which hee held in *Sclanovia* with all the priſoners. That hee would reſtore to *Attalus* the veffels, and all the priſoners that were living ſince the nauall fight. But when as the whole Company diſliked of this accord, ſaying that they muſt generally decretē that he muſt depart out of all *Greece*: Otherwiſe all theſe articles would be vaine and ſtriuolous.

Philip ſeeing this contentiōn, fearing likewiſe the future accuſatiōns, he intreats *Titus* to deferre this assembly vntill the next day, for that it is now late, ſaying that hee would perſuade them, or ſuffer himſelfe to be perſuaded. And when as *Titus* had granted this, they reſolved to assemble againſt the Port of *Tyrone*, and fo they parted. The day following they all mette at the houre appoynted. *Philip* haſing made a ſhort ſpeech, requires them all, especially *Titus*, by another aſſeſſment, to breake the treaty of peace: for that there were many things which did conduic to the conuoluſion of an accord, unleſſe the fault were in them, that the composition was not made. Otherwise they muſt ſend Embaſſadours to the Senate to order their diſferences, to the which hee would obey, and doe all they ſhould command him.

These things thus propounded by *Philip*, the others ſaid that they muſt doe that which concerned the warre, and not truſt to his demands: But the *Roman* Commander ſaid, that hee was not ignorant

The Articles
agreed on by
Philip.

by no *Tyrone*.

rant that *Philip* would not doe any thing that was propounded vnto him : and yet their cause was nothing impaired, in yeelding him this fauour which hee demanded. For there could nothing be spoken there that could be confirmed without the *Roman* Senate : and that moreouer the approaching time would be very commodious to make tryall of their aduice. For as the Armies are vnprofitable in regard of the Winter, there could be no inconuenience, if in the meane time they refer'd themselues vnto the Senate, but a great commodity vnto them all.

Philip's cause sent to Rome.

When they were of this opinion seeing *Titus* to concurre, that the present differences should be transferid to the Senate, they resolued to suffer *Philip* to send an Embassie to *Rome*, and in like manner all in particular to make their causes knowne vnto the Senate, and to accuse *Philip*. When this resolution of the Assembly had succeeded according to the humour and aduice of *Titus* conceiued in the beginning, he presently purisht those things which were requisite for the Enterprize, hauing given order for his affaires. Finally, hee deales no more with *Philip*, but assignes him two Moneths onely, in the which hee should send an Embassie to *Rome*, and shoulde retire his Garrisons from *Phocis* and *Lo-*
cre. Hee gives him likewise charge, that hee should not make Warre against any of the *Roman* Allies, and shoulde give order that in the meane time the *Macedonians* shoulde doe them no outrage.

And when he had dealt with *Philip* vpon these Articles by Writing, he brought the rest of the things propounded to an end of himselfe. Hee fuddainly sends *Aminandre* to *Rome*, knowing his sufficiency in affaires, and to purchase Friends easily whereouer hee came : and that he would procure some good concerte and hope, in regard of the name of Royalty. After whom hee sends for Embassadors, *Quintus Fabius*, his Nephew in respect of his Wives Sister, and *Quintus Fulvius*, and with them *Caius Appius Claudius* whom they call *Nero*. The *Etolians* sent *Alexander Isten*, *Democrates*, *Calondrus*, *Dicearchus*, *a Trichonien*, *Polyarchus* an *Arsinoen*, *Lamia* an *Ambraciote*, and *Nicomachus* an *Acarianen* : and of those which were Fugitives from *Thurion*, and dwelt at *Ambracia*, *Theodates*, *Pheres* a Fugitive of *Thessaly*, and then remaining at *Strate*.

Emassadors sent to *Rome* by
Titus, the *Etolians*, *Achines*,
and *Acarnians*.

The *Achines* sent *Xenophon* an *Egian*: King *Attalus*, *Alexander* alone : The people of *Athens* *Cyphedorum*. All which come to *Rome* to the Senate, to deliver unto their iudgements the things which they had resolued that Yeare, before that the two Consuls (at the request of the others) were sent into *Gallacia* against *Philip*. When as *Titus* Friends conceiued that the two Consuls shoulde remaine in *Ita-*
ly for feare of the *Gales*, they enter all into the Senate, and accuse *Philip* roughly, deliuering the same which they had formerly obiected vnto the King : Yet they laboured carefully to possesse the Senate with an opinion, that they could not hope for any liberty, if *Cal-*
chis, *Gorinthe*, and the *Demetriad* continued in the hands of the *Macedonians*.

They sayd, that *Philip* had vsed that Speech, and had assured that the

the said places were the Bonds and shackles of *Greece* : the which he might well say with reason and truth. For they could not sayle safelie from *Moreato Corinthe*, there being a royll Garrison : neither durst the *Lacrimis*, *Bosians*, and *Phocenses* doe it, whilst that *Philip* holds *Calchis* and the rest of *Negropont* : Neither likewise the *Theffalians* and *Magnetics* could portayle freely, *Philip* and the *Macedonians* holding the *Demetriad*. Wherefore in that which *Philip* hath said, that hee would leue the other places, it is a fancy and a shifte to escape the present time : and when opportunity shoulde serue, hee woulde easilie subdue the *Grecians*, so as hee held the said places. For this cause they intreated the Senate, that *Philip* might leue those places ; or else continue in his Enterprize, and fight valiantly : And that the greatest part of the Warre was already decided, the *Macedonians* having lost two Battailles, and the greatest part of their forces at Land being consumed.

These Speeches ended, they intreated them with all affection not to suffer the *Grecians* to bee frustrated of the hope of their liberty, nor themselues depriued of an honourable Title. The Embassadors of *Greece* hauing debated these things or the like : those of *Philip* had prepared a Mountaine of words, but they were suddenly rejected. For when as they were demanded ifthey woulde leue *Calchis*, *Corinthe*, *Philip's Embas-*
sadors rejected
Warre against *Philip*,
Grecians affairs.

When as the newes came into *Greece*, all things succeeded to *Titus* according to his desire. For besides that Fortune fauoured him, whatsoeuer hee vndertooke hee brought to an end by his prouidence and care. Hee was in truth (Ifthere were any among the *Romans*) *The Common-
dation of Titus*. a witty and ingenuous man. Hee not onely vndertooke ordinary affaires, but those that were secret, and with such Dexterity and Courage, as hee surpast all others, although hee were yet but young : for hee scarce past the Age of Thirty years. Hee was the first which past into *Greece* with an Army.

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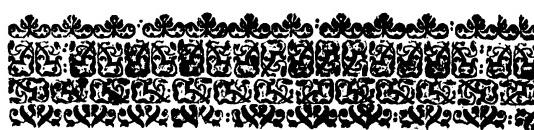
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A certaine Parcell.

Man-kind which seemes to bee the most cunching and malicious of all the Creatures, hath greater meane to be more vicious. The others seruing their corporall Desires, are onely decelued by them. But Mankind sinnes no leesse by a desire of glory through negligence and inconsideration then by Nature.



More of Titus and the Grecians Actions.

So Nd when as *Titus* could not learne where the Enemies Campe was seated, and being assured that they were come through *Thebaly*, he commands them all to cut stakes, and to carry them with them, to the end they may bee ready at necessity. This without doubt seemes (according to the custome of the *Grecians*) impossible, being easie to the *Romanis*. The *Grecians* in truth are no good Commanders of their Bodies in Marching, and doe hardly endure toile. But the *Romanis* hauing their Targets hanging at their backes in a Belt of Leather, and carrying their Head-peeces in their hands, beare the stakes. There was a great difference betwixt them. The *Grecians* held a stake that had many branches at the foote very commodious. But the *Romanis* vse stakes with two, or three, or fourre branches at the most, so as they are easie to carry, for a man carries two or three Faggots together. There is also this difference: For the *Grecians* stake planted before the Campe, may be easily pull'd vp. When that onely which is strong, is fixed in the ground, and hath many and great brauches, if two or three

The *Grecian*
dilection of
their Bodies.

A difference
betwixt the *Romani*
Stakes
and the *Grecian*
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three of them shew themselves, and draw the stake vnto them, it is easily pull'd vp. And whereas this happens, there is a breach easilly made, by reason of the greatnessse, and then the ioyning of them is vndone by the shortnesse and mutuall height of this kinde of Pallisado. The *Romanis* doe otherwise. They plant them right vp, and interlace them in such sort, as it is not easie for any one to discerne or know from which of the stakes stucks in the ground, the shoothes take their growth, nor from what stucks the branches come. Finally, it is not possible for him that seekes to pull them vp, to put

A to his hand, for that they are very thicks, and intermixt together: And if they bee carefully planted, he that shall lay hold on them, shall not be able to pull them vp easily, for that all their ioyns take their force from the Earth: Secondly, hee shall bee forced to transport many shoothes together, which shall lay hold of one branch, in regard of their mutuall interlacing: Neither is it likely that two or three will scaze vpon one stake. Yet if it happens that some one pulls vp one or two, yet the space cannot be discouered. Wherefore there is a great difference, for that this kinde of stakes is easie to finde, and easie to carry, and the vse is more safe and firme. So as it is apparent, that if the *Romanis* haue not any thing touching the manninge of the Wag B which is worthy of imitation, yet this kind of stakes (at the least in my judgement) deserves it.

When as *Titus* had prepared all things ready to serue him at neede, he marcheth a slow pace with his whole Army. And when he came within fifty Furlongs of the City of *Pheres*, hee camped there. The day following at the breake of day, hee sent forth Spies, to seeke if they could by any means discouer where the Enemies were, and what they did. But when as *Philip* had receiu'd aduertisement, that the *Romanis* were at that time Camped neare vnto *Thebes*, raising his Campe from *Larissa*, hee prepares his way towards *Pheress* C with his whole Army.

When he was within thirty Furlongs, planting his Campe there; hee commanded them to haue a care of their Victuals. At the breake of Day awaking his Army, hee sent forth those that were appoynted for Scouts, giving them charge to gaine the Hills aboue *Pheres*: Then at the Sunne-rising hee parts with all his forces. It hapened soone after, that the Scouts of both Armies met on the top of the Mountaines. Knowing one another in the Darke, they stayed a little distance off: and aduertised their Commanders of that which had happened. And when they required Directions what they should doe, they were called backe.

The day following either of them sent forth Horse-men; and about three hundred Souldiers to discouer: with whom *Titus* sent two Bands of *Etolians* for their experiance of the places: The which affailing one another neare vnto *Pheres* and *Larissa*, they fought valiantly. But when the *Etolians* of *Epoleme* fought with great courage, being also called the *Italiques*, it hapened that the *Macedonians* were prest. But after they had skirmished some time, they re- Bbb ^{of the fore-runners,} tired

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tired to their Campes. And when as the day following the Plaine was displeasing to either of them, for that it was full of Trees, Hedges, and Gardens, they raise their Campes. *Philip* tooke his way towards *Scotusse*, making haste, to the end hee might draw Victuals from the City, and lodge his Army with more aduantage. *Titus* conjecturing what would happen, parts with his Army at the same instant, making haste to spoile the *Scotusse* Corne before the comming of *Philip*. But for that in the marching of the two Armies, there was a great interposition of high Hills and Mountaines, the *Romans* nor the *Macedonians* could not discouer one another in A the direction of their way. Wherefore that dayes iourney being ended, *Titus* came vnto *Eretia*, and *Philip* to the Riuere of *Onchise*, and presently planted their Campes there unknoune to one another.

And when as the day following they had marched on, *Philip* stayes at *Melambie* of the *Scotusse*, and *Titus* about the *Betidia* of *Pheralia*: where they were againe unknoune one to another. And as there fell a Raine and the yearlye Thunder, it happened that the day following in the Morning there arise a great fogge, which falling they could not see what was before their feete. Yet *Philip* B making haste to dispatch that which was offred, *Camp* wondring with his Army: But being hindred by the troublesofmenesse and difficulty of the way in regard of the fogge, he aduanced little, and pallidoeed his Campe.

Finally, he sent *Pbedria*, and giues him charge to gaine the tops of the Hills interposed. *Titus* likewise being Camped about *Betidia*, and being doubtfull where the Enemies were, he made choice of tenne Bands, and about a thousand of the most valiant, fending them before to search diligently, and to enter the Countrey: who marching to the tops of the Hill, fell by indiscretion into an Ambush of the Enemies, by reason of the darkenesse of the day. Eynether of them at the first were somewhat troubled, but soone after they charge one another. They likewise send to informe their Commanders of this accident.

But when as the *Romans* in this Charge were prest, and in danger by the Ambush of the *Macedonians*, they sent unto their Campe for Succours. *Titus* commanding the *Etolians*, sends those which were vnder the charge of *Archidamus*, and of the *Eupolemus*, and two Tribunes with five hundred Horse, and two thousand Foote. At whose comming they which in the beginning did but skirmish, refuming courage, presently put on another kind of Combate. The D *Romans* relying vpon their Succours, double their forces for the fight. And although the *Macedonians* defended themselues brauely, yet they sent unto the King, being prest and annoyed by their Armes, and for their refuge recovered the tops of the Moutaines.

And when as *Philip* had no hope but that they shold be able that day to giue Battaille with all their Forces for the fore-layd Causes,

The Romans charged by the Macedonians.

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hee had sent many of his men to forrage. But when he was aduertised of that which happened by those which hee had sent, and that the mist was past, hee sent *Heraclides* the *Gyronien*, Chiefe of the *Thessalian* Horse, and *Leon* Commander of the *Macedonian* Caullery.

Hee likewise sent *Asbenagrus* with all the Mercenaries except the *Thracians*. Who being come to the Ambush, and the *Macedonians* much re-inforced, they made head against the Enemy, and repuls'd the *Romans* from the Hills. The Dexterity of the *Etolians* A Horse did much hinder the Enemies from turning head. They fought in truth with great courage and confidence. The *Etolians* in regard of the Foote-men, are faint both in their Armes and Ordinance for a Combat in Field: But their Horse-men are excellent above all the other *Grecians* in particular and separated Combats. Wherefore it happened, that for that they had stayed the violence and fury of the Enemy, they could not so soone recover the Plaine, but stayed for a time in Battaille.

The Nature of the *Etolians* as wilson Foote as Heslebecke,
Titus puts his Army in Battaille.

But when as *Titus* saw not onely the most valiant and his Horse-men retire but also his whole Troupes to bee dismayed, hee drawes B his whole Army to Field, and puts them in order vpon the Hills. At the same instant they which were in Guard, ran hasty one-acter another to *Philip*, crying out vnto him, Sir, the Enemies flye, loe not this occasion: The *Barbarians* seeke vs not: This day is yours, imbrace the time, and by this meanes they neare and sterte vp *Philip* to Battaille, although the scituacion of the place did not content and please him. For the sayd Hills (which they call *Dogs-head*) are rough, difficult of all sides, and high. Wherefore when as *Philip* had formerly fore-seene the vnequalnesse of the places, hee had not in the beginning made any preparation vnto Battaille: But beeing then prouoked by the great confidence of the C aduertisements, hee drawes his Army with all speede out of the Fort.

In regard of *Titus*, hee orders his Troupes and Bands for the Battaille, and followes them close which began the Skirmish, making remonstrances vnto the Battalions as hee turned. His Speech was short, plaine, and intelligible to the Hearers. Propounding then the cause, hee sayd vnto his Souldiers: Are not these O Companions, the same *Macedonians*, who formerly holding in *Macedony* the top of the Mountaines, towards *Herodia*, you haue forced with *Sulpicius*, and chased from thence with the deafeate of the greatest part of them? Are not these the same *Macedonians*, who being seazed vpon, the difficult places of *Epirus*, and leauing no hope of approach, you haue chased by your prowesse, and forced to flye into *Macedony*, abandoning their Armes? What reaon is there then that you shold feare the same men, with whom you are to enter into an equall Combate? Towhat end doe we propound vnto you precedent actions to consider on, but that in regard of them you shold fight more confidently? Wherefore Companions attend

attend the Battaille with resolution, giuing courage one to another. I hold for certaine, that with the good pleasure of the Gods, the end of this Battaille will saone bee the conclusion of the precedent.

When *Tiues* had vised these Speeches, hee commands the right Wing of his Army not to budge, setting the Elephants before them: And assailes the Enemy with great courage with the left Wing, being accompanied by the most valiant. They which among the *Romanes* had began the Fight, shewing their courage, prest the Enemies, having beeene relieved by some Troupes of Foot-men. And when as A at the same time *Philip* saw that the greatest part of his Army was in order of Battaille before the Palladiodie, hee marcheth, taking the Targetters and the Battalion of the right Wing, and accends the Hills with speede: giuing charge to *Nicanor* (whom hee called Elephant) to command the rest of the Army to follow close. As soone as the fift had recouered the top, hee defendis the Battalion, setting the Targets before, and seized vpon the higher Countrey. And when as the *Macedonians* prest the *Romanes* much, vpon the two flanks of the Hills, hee discovered the tops to bee abandoned. As he fortified the right Wing of his Army, it happened that the Soules B driers were much annoyed by the Enemy.

For when they which were bestaigned, were ioyned vnto the most valiant of the *Romanes*, and succoured them in this fight, they prest the Enemies much and slew many. As the King was there in the beginning, and saw the Combat of the valiant men not to be farre from the Camps, hee rejoiced: againe, when hee saw them decline, and to haue neede of Succours, hee was forced to send them, and at that instant to hazard a Battaille, although that many of the Troupes of his Army were yet vpon the way, and approuched to the Hills. And in taking the Souldiers hee rankes them all, C as well on foote as Horsebacke on the right Wing, commanding the bears of Burthers and the Battalions, to double the Front of their Ranks, and to stand close vpon the right hand.

This being done, when as the Enemies ioyned with them, hee commanded the Battalion that bending downe their Iauelings they should march in order, and mingle with the Strongest. At the same instant, when as *Tiues* had retired those which had begunne the Fight, to the spaces which were betwixt the Ensignes, hee chargeth the Enemy.

The Combat beginning on eyther side with great fury and clamour, all crying together, yet those which were without the fight crying vnto the rest, the Battaille was made very horrible and cruell, and it shewed the force of the Combat. *Philip*'s right Wing carried it selfe valiantly in this Battaille, charging the Enemy from aboue, haing an aduantage in their order: which finally for the present fight was much more commodious, in regard of the diversitie and severall sorts of Armes. In regard of the rest of the Army, some were ioyned vnto the Enemy fighting a faire off, others shewed

A Battaille be-
twixt the Ro-
manes and *Philip*
of Macedonia.

shewed themselves vpon the left hand haing gotten the topes of the Hills.

When as *Tiues* saw and did well perceiue that his men could not endure the force of the Enemies battallion, and those of the right wing to be repulsd; and some slaine, and others to retire by degrees, and that all his hope of safetie consisted in the right Wing, hee goes speedily vnto them, and considers the Enemies order. When hee saw some succeed in their places which had fought, and others to descend from the Hills, and some to stay vpon the tops, he marcheth against the Enemy with his Ensignes, putting the Elephants before. And when as the *Macedonians* had no aduertisement by Trumpets and Clarions, and that they could not make it good, nor receive any true order of a battallion, swell for the difficulty of the place, as for that the Combattans had the forme of goers, and not of an order of Battaille, and that there was no further meane to fight single, or hand to hand with the *Romanes*: Being also terrifid and much injured with the Elephants, and likewise separated one from another, they marcht prently away. Wherefore many *Romanes* pursued them continually and slew them.

B One of the Captaines Milleneirs being of this Troupe, haing but twenty Ensignes, considering at the very instant what was to be done, did great seruice for the obtaining of an absolute Victory. For when he saw those that accompanied *Philip*, assailed the others often, and grieuously to annoy the left Wing, hee turns to them that were in distresse, leaving those which vanquished on the right Wing, and charged the *Macedonians* in the Reare. When as they of the Battalion could not make resistance, fighting man to man, this other was at their backs, killing those they encountred, there beeing no man that could succour them, so as in the end they were forced to turne head, and to abandon their Armes. Although that *Philip* (as wee haue sayd C in the beginning) had a great hope in the Victory, making a conjecture in his owne conceite, yet seeing the *Macedonians* to abandon and leave their Armes sudainly, and the Enemies to charge in the Reare, hee parts speedily from the Battaille with some Horse and Foote, to consider fully of the Combate.

When as he imagined that the *Romanes* by their pursuite would approach to the right Wing on the tops of the Hills, hee feckes to draw together as many *Thessalians* and *Macedonians* as possibly hee could.

D When as *Tiues* pursued the Chase, and had discouered the left Wing of the *Macedonians* to assaile the topes of the Hills, hee stayed: For the signe which the Ma- cedonians give when they yield, D
that the Enemies held their Iauelings right vp: The which the *Macedonians* are accustomed to do when they yeild, or retire from the Enemy. When hee had knowne the cause of this accident, hee restrains his men, being willing to pardon those that were amazed with feare. But whilke that *Tiues* considered of these things, some of the foremost Charge them from aboue and kill many: few escaped abandoning their Armes. This Battaille being thus ended of all sides, and the *Romanes* haing the victory, *Philip* retires towards *Tempe*, and comming the first day

day to the Tower of *Alexander*, hee paſt the Night there. The day following paſting to *Ganner*, hee entred *Tempe*, ſtaying there for those which ſhould eſcape in the flight.

When as the *Romans* had purſued the Chase for a time, ſome ſtrip the dead, others draw the Prisoners together, and a great part goe to force the Enemies Campe. There they finde the *Eoliens*, who had forced it before for ſpoile, and imagining that they were frustrated of a booty which was due and did belong vnto them, they beganne to accuse the *Eoliens* before the Generall, and to complaine, that hee had imposed the danger and the burthen of the Battaille vpon them, giuing the profitte and benefit vnto others: yet being returned vnto their Campe, they were ſomewhaſt pacified. The day following they assemble and gather together the Prisoners, and the rest of the ſpoile and booty, and from thence they tooke their course towards *Larissa*.

Number of the dead on either side.
There dyed in this battaille about ſeven hundred *Romans*, and neare vpon eight thouſand *Macedonians*; the Prisoners were not leſſe then five Thouſand. Besides many that eſcaped by flight. Thus ended this Battaille giuen betwixt *Philip* and the *Romans* in *Thessaly* at the Doghead.

B



Of the difference of the Roman and Macedonian Armes.

C

SHAD promised in the ſixt Booke, to make a Comparison of the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Armes, and of the ordering of their Battailles, and wherein they differ eyther worse or better: Now I will indeauour to performe my promeſe. As in former times the *Macedonian* Armes haue giuen good proofs of their Valour, hauing Vanquished the *Aſiatiques* and *Grecians*, and that the *Romans* haue ſurmounted the *Aſſirians* as much, as all the Weſtern Nations of *Europe*, and that in our time D the confeſſion of theſe Armes and men is to be made, not for once but for many times, it will be comodious and profitable to ſeek out their diſference, and for what reaſon the *Romans* vanquish, hauing alwayes the upper hand in Martiall Combate: To the end that acknowledging it from Fortune, wee ſhould with reaſon call them happy Victors, as the ignorant vniually do: But knowing the true cauſe, wee ſhould commend and holde theſe Captaines for miraçulous.

In

In regard of the Battailles giuen betwixt *Hannibal* and the *Romans*, and their loſſe, it is not needfull to vſe any long Diſcourse. The *Romans* without doubt did not ſuffer thoſe loſſes, for want of Armes, and the order of their Battailles, but in regard of the good direction and pollicy of *Hannibal*.

We declared this when we related the Battailles themſelues. The end of the Warre conſirms our opinion. For when as the *Romans* had found a Commander like vnto *Hannibal*, they ſuddainely were Victors. So doth this, that when as *Hannibal* had vanquished the *Romans* firſt, he furnished the common Soulſiers better with the Roman Armes, reiecing their owne: Hauing vſurped them in the beginning, he afterwards made continual vſe of them. *Pyrhus* in like manner did not onely vſe the *Italians* Armes, but also their ordering of Armes, when as by change he ſets in the head of the *Romans* an Eſagie and Band of the Battalion. Yet hee could not ouer-come nor vanquish by this meaneſ, the end of the Combate beeing alwaies doubt to the one and the other. It ſhalbe therefore neceſſary and conuenient to Treate thereof firſt, to the end that nothing may ſeeme any way contrary vnto our opinion: but I will beginne our conuerſe.

It is an eaſe thing to know by many iuſtructions, that if a Battalion obſerves its proper order and forces, ſo nothing can annoy it, nor withstand it, for as an armed man hath three foote in his poſture in a cloſe Combate, and that the length of his Pike from one end to the other is of fourteene and twenty foote, and at the leaſt of one and twenty And that for the ſpace of his hands with the end which remains for to ſhake it, they abate ſix foote during the Combate, it is apparent that a Pike ſhall haue fifteen foote in length, beſides the body of every man that is armed, whe[n] with both hands hee presents it and chargeth the Enemy. Whereby it commonly happens that the other Pikes C paſſe three foote before the ſecond, third, and fourth rancke of the preceedent: The others before the fifth, if the Battallions be fitly ioyned and cloſe, according vnto the order of thoſe which are in the Rere and vpon the Flanckes: As *Homer* teacheth when hee ſayth, the Target affiures the Target, the Head-peſſe the Head-peſſe, and the Man the Man: The Head-peſſe adorned with Horſes haire, touch one another with their braue Crefts: tending, that they ſhould be ioyned together and cloſe.

As thoſe things are ſpoken with good reaſon and truthe, it is appa-rently neceſſary, that the Pikes ſhould be charged, according to thoſe D that go before, paſſing betwixt them the length of ten foot and a halfe. By this meaneſ they may viſibly know of what force the preparation and order of a Battallion is, hauing the length of fifteen Ranckes: Whereof they which exceed the fifth cannot fight with their Pikes. For this cauſe they cannot fight hand to hand, nor man to man: but they ſupport them at their backs vntill they take breath, to the end that the firſt ranke may hold a firme order, repulſing all manner of force with their Pikes, which (paſſing the fifth) might charge vpon the rere. For in

The *Romans* haue bin Vanquished by the policy of *Hannibal*.

in marching after this manner, they press the fore-most with the weight of their bodies, to make a more violent charge. For it is impossible for the fore-most to turne backe.

This being the order of a *Macedonian Battalion*, aswell in particular as in generall, wee must by way of comparisyon speake of the properties and differences of the *Roman Armes*, and of their ordering of a Battaille. The *Romans* haue three foote space with their Armes. The which in fighting they mooue from man to man, for that every man covers his body with his Target, the which they also vse when any occasion of Combate is offered. They commonly fight with the Sword by transport and apart: Wherefore it is manifest that these men haue betwixt them, a Retreate and space of three foote at the least, betwixt him that goes before, and the other which followes to fight more at ease, whereby it happens that a *Roman* standing still, contaynes the space of two *Macedonian* Souldiers, beeing in the first Ranke: So as he must offer himselfe and fight against ten Pikes: All which one cannot cut if hee would, holding them in his hands: Neyther can the following Forces any way assaile the first Ranks, neyther to assaile nor to manage their Armes. So as wee may easily conjecture, that it is impossible for any man living, to sustaine and defend the violence of a *Macedonian Battalion* in Front, (as wee haue formerly sayd) it retaynes its propriety and force, for what cause then doe the *Romans* Vanquish?

For what cause
the *Roman*
Vanquish.

Whence comes it that *Macedonian* Battallions, are frustrated of their Hope of Victory? It is for that the *Roman* Ordonance, hath in Battaille infinite places and times commodious for the Combate, and the *Macedonians* haue only place and time, when it may bee feruiciable and commodious. And therefore if vpon some necessity the Adversaries fall sudainly vpon the *Macedonian* Battallions, when they are to give Battaille, it is likely that they which make vse of it, would be alwayes the Masters. But if they can diuert or turne it, (which is an easie thing) of what amazement and great terror will this Ordinance be?

Moreover it is very playne and manifest that a *Macedonian Battalion* hath neede of Plaines and Euen ground without any let or incumbrance, as Ditches, Springs, Vallies, Hills, and Water-courses: for all these things may disturbe, breake, and make frustrate their deuise and intention. It is (as a man may say) in manner impossible, to finde a Countrey of twenty Furlongs (I speake of no more) where none of the afore-mentioned things are found. It is without any question or doubt a rare thing, and which no reasonable man will deny. Yet I will allow there are some found. If the Enemies do not direct and guide themselves therethen, but passing on ruine the Townes, Villages, Cities, and whole Regions of their Friends and Allies, what profiteth then will grow by this kinde of Ordonance? If it stayes in places of advantage, it cannot give succours to its friends, nor preserue it selfe. For Victuals, Munition, and succours, may bee very easily intercepted by an Enemy, if without any opposition hee be

be master of the field. If likewise in leauing places of aduantage, a *Macedonian* Battalion feekes to execute some enterprize, hee is in danger of the Enemy. For although that some one goes to field, and doth not at one time offer his Army to the fury of the *Macedonian* Battalion, diuerting himselfe for a time during the fight, wee may easily conjecture by that which the *Romans* doe at this day, what will happen. The conjecture of that which wee say, must not bee taken from the effect. They doe not present their Battalion in such an indifferent place, as they must suddenly fight with all their forces in front. One parte fights the other staires not.

Moreover if at any time the *Macedonians* preesse their Enemies easely, and are afterward repulst by them, the proper order of the Battalion is broken. For they leau the rest of the Army, whether they pursue those that are retired, or flye from those which charge them. The which being done, they leau vnto the Enemy the place which they had held, not to charge in front, but to serue them vpon the flanke or in the reare, to succour those of the Battalion. Why it is not probable, that it shoulde bee easie for a *Roman* Battalion, to obserue time and advantage, and not for a *Macedonian*, seeing the differences are great, according to the truth of the said things.

Moreover it is necessary for those which make vse of the *Macedonian* Ordonance, to passe through all sorts of Countries, and to plant their Campe, and finally to seaze vpon commodious places and to besieged and indure sieges, and to present himselfe against the Enemy. All these things are required in warre: Sometimes also the general moments which are great, serue much for the victory: all which are not easie for a *Macedonian* Ordonance, yea sometimes they are vaprofitaile, for that the souldier can neyther serue in rankes nor man to man: Whereas the *Roman* is fit and profitable for these C things. For every *Roman* comming to fight with his Armes, is active for all times and places and for all charges: and hath generally one Ordonance, whither hee be to fight in Toupe with the whole Army, or particularly Ensigne, or Man to Man. Wherefore as the commodity is most excelleni, so many times the end and conclusion of the Battaille is more prosperous and successfull vnto the *Romans*, then to others. I haue therefore thought it necessary and convenient to vse a long Discourse concerning these things; for that there are many *Grecians* at this day which hold it incredible, that the *Macedonians* shoulde be vanquished and ouercome, being ignorant of the cause and meane, whereby a *Macedonian* Ordonance is vanquished by the *Roman* Armes.

When as *Philip* had vied all possible meanees hee could in this Battaille, and yet was preuented of the Victory, hee forth-with made great hast (passing by *Tempo*) to recover *Macedony*, beeing accompanied with all those which had escaped from the Battaille. Hee presently sent vnto *Larissa* the second Night after the Battaille, one

*Philip's retreate
into Macedonia.*

one of the Archers of his Guard, giuing him charge to teare and burne the Royall Letters, doing therein an A^t worthy of a King, who in his aduers Fortune had not forgotten that which was to bee done. He knew and did well perceiue that if the *Romans* were once feased on his Commentaries, there might be many occasions offered vnto his Enemies against him and his Friends. It may bee it happened and fell out to him as to others, who not able to containe their power moderately in prosperous things, yet haue borne and suffered many Crosses and Disasters with patience: The which happened vnto *Philip*, as wilbe apparent by the following Discourse. So as ayming at that A which was conuenient, wee haue plainly shewed and declared his Attempts tending to reason, and againe his change to worse, and when, how, and wherefore these things were done, hauing plainly set foorth and exprest his Actions: Wee must by the same meanes declare his Repentance and diligence, whereby beeinge changed thorough his aduers Fortune, he carried and behayed himselfe at that time like a wise and discrete man. Finally, *Tytus* hauing gien good order after the Battaille, for those things which concerned the Prisoners and spoile, he went to *Larissa*.

B

*A Parcell of an imperfect fencē.*

C

 O define folly we cannot, for that they are deſirous of the ſame meaneſe. This kind of remiſneſe and dulneſe, is often found in many. Neither is it to be wondeſt at, if it hath place among others: But among thofe in whom this Spring of malicie is found, there is another cauſe, for the which that wife laying of *Epicarmes* doth not agree: Watch and remember that thou muſt diſtruct. This is the bond of hearts.

D

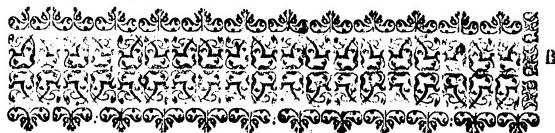
Of

A Of a certayne Accord betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*.

 T he ſame time came from the *Vargyles Publius Lentulus*, *Antiochus* with ten Legats: and from *Thaſe Lucius Terentius* and *Publius Villius*. When their coming was ſuddainly declared vnto the King, they assembled all within few daies at *Lysimachia*. After whom followed *Hegesippus*, and *Lisias* ſent at that time to *Thessalonica*. Finally, the conference in priuate betwixt the King and the *Romans* was gracious and courteous. But when the assembly met for affaires, they imbraced another diſpoſition. *Lucius Cornelius* required that *Antiochus* ſhould leauie all the Cities, the which being ſubiect to *Ptolemy*, hee had been in *Asia*. In regard of thofe which were ſubiect to *Philip*, hee conteineth much to haue him leauie them. For it was a mockery, that *Antiochus* coming he ſhould reape the frutes of the Warre which the *Romans* had made againſt *Philip*: He likewife aduised him not to meddle with the free Cities. He alſo ſayd, that it ſeemed ſtrange, that without reaſon he had paſt into *Europe* with an Army as well by ſea as Land: That no man could conceiue it to be to any other end, then to make Warre againſt the *Romans*. These things being propounded by the *Romans*, they held their peace. The King in anſweare ſaid, that he wondred for what cauſe they debated with him for the Cities of *Asia*, and that it was more fitting for any other then for the *Romans*. Finally, hee interreated them not to viurpe, nor to deale with the affaires of *Asia*: And that for his part hee would not meddle with any thing that was in *Italy*. In regard of *Europe*, he had entred with his Armies to recover the Cities of *Cherroneſe* and *Thrace*: For that the command of all thofe places belonged to him: this gouernment in the beginning being due to *Lysimachus*: But when as *Selencus* made Warre againſt him, and had ouerthrown him in Battaille, all the Kingdome of *Lysimachus* became ſubiect to *Selencus* by force. After the time of his predecessor, *Ptolemy* was the firſt who violently the ſayd places, viurped them: The like did *Philip*. And that for his part he recovered them, accommodatieng himſelfe to his owne times, and not to thofe of *Philip*. And as for the *Lysimachians*, ruined without reaſon by the *Thracians* he reduced them to himſelfe, no way wronging the *Romans*, and reforted them to their Countrey: The which he did to ſhew this mercy to the

ccc

the affaires of *Selucus*, and not to make Warre against the *Romans*. In regard of the Cities of *Asia*, they ought not to enioy liberty by the commandment of the *Romans*, but of grace. And for that which concerned *Ptolomy*, that with all his heart hee gaue him thankes; and that he understood that hee had not onely concluded Friendship with him, but made a League. When as *Lucus* was of opinion that the *Lampsaceneis*, and *Smyrneneis*, shoule be called, and audience giuen them, it was done accordingly. There *Parmenio* and *Pythodorus* presented themselves for the *Lampsaceneis*, and *Cerane* for the *Smyrneneis*. When A as these men dabbated freely, the King being incensed to yeeld an accorde of their debate before the *Romans*, interrupting the Speech of *Parmenio*, ceaseth hee, to plead so much, I am not well pleased to dispute with my Enemis before the *Romans*, but rather before the *Khodiers*, and then by this meanes they brake off the Assembly without any mutuell affection.



Another Parcell.

No men desire actions of courage and proweesse, but the experience is rare. *Scope* in truth and *Cleomenes* haue had great occasions for Combats and hardy Enterprizes. For C *Scope* was formerly taken, hee had resoluion in the same hope with his Seruants and Friends, but hee could not saue himselfe. Finally, his iust death (having led a wretched life) hath giuen testimony of his great weaknessse. And although that *Scope* was aided and assisted with great Forces, hauing the government of the King in his nonage, and was of his Councell, yet he was soone ruined.

For when as *Aristomenes* knew that hee had assembled his Friends in his house, holding a Councell with them, he sent vnto D him by his Guards to come vnto the assembly. But hee was so transported in his judgement, as hee did not that which hee ought to haue done, myther could hee (being called) be obedient vnto the King; which was the greatest folly in the World: vntill that *Aristomenes* knowing his baleynesse, lodg'd Souldiers and Elephants neare his House, and sent *Ptolomy* the Son of *Eumenes* with the Young men, to bring him with faine words, if he would come willingly; if not, to vse force.

When

When as *Ptolomy* was entred into his house, and signifying vnto him that the King demanded *Scope*, he did not at the first obserue his wo. ds. But casting his looks vpon *Ptolomy*, he was long in that estate, as it were threatening him, and wondering at his presumption. But when as *Ptolomy* approacht with assurance, and layd hold of his Cloake, then he required helpe of the Assistants. Being in this estate, and a great company of the young men comming about him; being also aduertised, that his house was enuironed with Souldiers, hee followed him obeying the times, being accompanied by his Friends. When as hee A was come to the Assembly and Councell, the King charged him a little: Then *Policrates* newly arrived from *Cyres*: and in the end *Aristomenes*. The accusation was according to that which had beeene spoken: but they added moreouer, that he had drawne his Friends together to confut, and that being called by the King, he would not obey. For which things all they which were in the Assembly, not onely condemned him, but likewise the forreine Embassadours there assyting. But when as *Aristomenes* came to accuse him, he tooke many notable persons, not onely of *Greece*, but also of the *Etolien* Embassadours, who were there for the accord: Among the which was *Dorimachus*, the B Sonne of *Nicostates*,

And when as these men had spoken, *Scope* laboured to alledge some excuses: but when as no man gaue care vnto him for the foulenesse of his Crimes, hee was sudainly carryed to Prison with his Friends. The Night following, *Aristomenes* caused him to dye of poyson with all his Friends and Kinsfolkes. In regard of *Dicearchus*, hee put him to death, hauing suffered great Torments: having endured fit punishments for all the *Grecians*. This was that *Dicearchus* whom *Philip* (preferring to break the accords with the Islands of *Cyclades*, and the Cities of *Hellestant*, had made him Commander of all his Army at Sea, and superintendant of the sayd busynesse. And when he was sent to a manifeest execration, hee did not hold it an vnreasonable and wicked act, thinking he shold be able to terrifie both Men and Gods by his rage. Making haste to recover the ships, hee set vp two Altars, the one to cruelty, and the other to inquiry: Vpon the which he sacrificed and prayed as vnto the Gods. Wherefore it seemes hee was punished by a iust Death, as well in the presence of Gods as Men. For as he led a life of a strange Nature, so he ended by a strange Death. Finally, when as the other *Etoliens* were desirous to retire home, the King suffered them to goe with all their Goods. *Scope* in his life time had a wonderfull desire of riches: Hee exceeded all other in auaricie. And after his D death his houses were found abounding with Gold and rich mouables. Whereas he had for assitant the ingratitude and drunkennesse of *Chari* morthe, he had wholy corrupted the Realme.

When as the Priuy Councell had taken order for the *Etoliens* affaires, they all inclined to giue power to the King to command: Not in regard of the maturity of his age, but for that they thought thereby, that the estate of the Crown would further the affaires: and that if the King took vpon him a free power of the Realme, it would be a beginning

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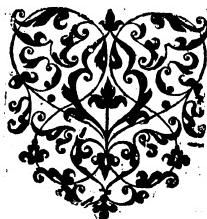
Scope set vp
by *Dicearchus*
to cruelty and
inquiry.

and

and aduancement to the better. Making then a stately preparation, they put it in execution with royll Magnificence. *Ptolomay* seemed to haue affissted them much in this Enterprize. For as this man was deare vnto his Father, being yet young, there was not a better Courier in all the whole Court, neither for that which concern'd his fidelity, nor the affaires, nor yet in more fauour with the King. When as *Cyprus* with the reuenewes were deliuern vnto him vpon his faith and trust, in that dangerous time subiect to many hazards, he not only kept this Iland for the Infant, but also gathered together great store A of Treasure, the which he then brought vnto the King, deliuering the government of *Cyprus* to *Ptolomy the Megalopolitaine*. And when vpon this occasion, he had purchased a great power for the future, in time he strayed and fell into a rash and wicked course of life. *Ptolomy Ag-sandre* by the force of his Age fell into the like infamy. Wherefore when opportunity shall serue, it shall bee no great trouble to declare what great igno-miny and reproach followed their governments.

To God onely be all Honour and Glory.

B



C

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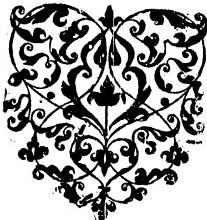
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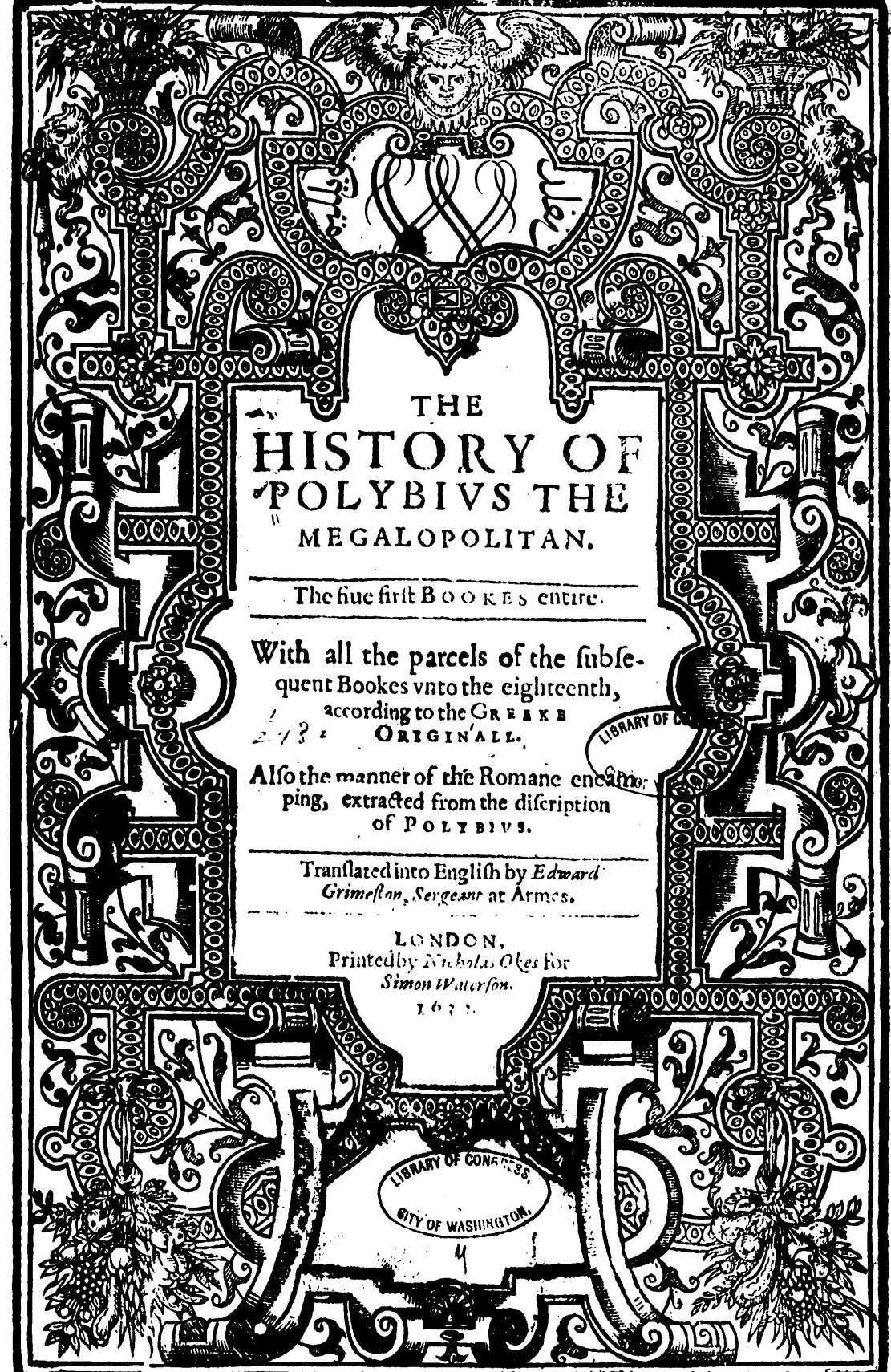
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THE
HISTORY OF
POLYBIUS THE
MEGALOPOLITAN.

The ffe first BOOKEs entire.

With all the parcels of the subse-
quent Bookes vnto the eighteenth,
according to the GREEKE
243. ORIGINALL.

Also the manner of the Romane enclo-
ping, extracted from the discription
of POLYBIUS.

Translated into English by Edward
Grimston, Sergeant at Armes.

LONDON.
Printed by NICHOLAS OKE for
Simon Waterston.
1611.

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TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE
WILLIAM LORD CRAVEN,
BARON OF HAMSTEED,
MARSHALL, &c.

MOST WORTHY LORD,



B Ardon I beseech you, if (being a
stranger and unknowne vnto you) I
have presumed to inscribe your title
on the Frontespiece of this Booke,
and to publish it to the world, vnder
your Lordshippable protection. I
confesse my怠itability might well
haue deterred me : But the reason
which induced me to this presumption, wa
C your noble and
generous inclination to Armes (being the subiect of this His-
tory) wherein you haue carried your selfe so worthily in
many great and dangerous exploits, in forraigne parts, vnder
two of the greatest Commanders of Christendome, as you
haue done great honour to your Country, and won vnto
your selfe perpetuall fame and reputation. This Considera-
tion hath made me confident, that during your vacancy
from Military actions, your Lordship will vouchsafe to
D cast your eye vpon this History written by *Polybius*, who
(in the opinion of most men of judgement) hath beeene
held to be very sincere, and free from malice, affection or
passion. And to iustifie the truth thereof, he protestes that
he was present at many of the actions, and received the rest
from confident persons who were eye-witnesses. It is a
generall History of his time, of all the warrs which past

The Epistle Dedicatory.

in the *Grecs*, and the *Romane State*, against the *Gauls*,
and *Carthaginians*, which two Cities contended for the
Empiry of the world: which warre was of longer conti-
nuance, and had more cruell and variable encounters and
battailes than any that hath beeene written of: For the first
Punique warre (where they sought for the Con-
quest of *Sicily*) lasted four and twenty yeeres; and the
second in *Italy* vnder *Hannibal*, Generall for the *Carthaginians*. A
ans, continued seuentene yeeres, to the subiection of the *Romanes*.
This worke I present vnto your Lordships fauourable
Censure, humbly praying that you will be pleased to beare
with my harsh and vnpolished stile, and to pardon the
errors committed at the presse during my absence: for
which fauour I shall hold my selfe much bound vnto your
Lordship, and will alwaies remaine

Your Lord: most humbly deduced
to doe you seruice,

EDVV. GRIMESTON.

Levves Maigret a Lionnois to the FRENCH Nobility.

B
 Gentlemen, wee are all borne by nature to so much po-
vertie, and innol'd in so many miseries, as there is
no worke of Man, born /small souer, which giuing
order to his meanest actions, doth not minister occa-
sion of some Esteeme. So as where as his diligence
guided by reason, shall finde it selfe croft, I know not by what power,
which commonly surprest over the iudgement and considera-
tion of Man, mee may (as we thinke) iustly blame it, in excusing
with compassion the workman and his misfortune. And if on the
other side, soþher her great magnificence and bountie, she imparts
her favours and graces to some one, who without keeping any or-
der or faire course, seekes to bring some Enterprize to an end, so as
that notwithstanding his over-wraing and folly she makes it per-
fect: Then we hold her prodigall, detesting her unreasonable and
inconsiderate bountie, grieving at her benefits so ill employed.
Behold now, (I know not by what law received among men) wee
commender blame every one in his profession and workes, so farre
forth as they see his industrie and diligence employed or defetitive.
If wee haue reason then in so great Esteeme, as wee seeke it in all
our actions, and in matters of the smalles consequnce, blaming
him that neglects it: How infamous wee hold the carelessness and
neglect of a man in the order and conduct of affaires, wherein not
D only the rulre of his estate, life and honour, but also that of his
Countrey, Parents, and Friends, and finally of his Prince and
Souveraigne, is many times brought into great danger? But if there
be no Enterprize among those which Men pursue, wherin such things
ought to bee drawne into Consideration, as proper and ordinary vni-
tum, and without the danger whereof bee can reap no benefit, I
am of opinion that that of warre ought in reason to bee preferred be-
fore

fore all others, and in the end of his life he was always brought to a good end without the help of any man, whose which he had them. He had also a great experience of warres, in which he had beene in divers, and finally so difficult to manage, as never man could carry himselfe so discreetly, nor with so great fortune, nor recovered such richi pollis, nor obtained such Pompous rewards; but alwaies haue purchased him now causes of Care and feare, not only of A great Enemie, and of new Enemies, but also losse and ruine. I will not speake of the irreparable losse of the bravest Men in an Armie, which a Gallantours by renowne requireth, as it were by aduance, when as the Enemie performe the Duties of good soldiery. The Carthaginians shewing an Army like Sicily, as their first entry obtained some Conquestes, so soon after they provided, barred of the Romanes, which was but the beginning and preface of a future ruine. But when as the fortune of the warres beganne to smile upon Hannibal, and to give him a full Gale,
B so as his exploits were so great in Spaine, as afterwards hee presumed to force Nations, Mountaines, and rivers, and in the end to fight with the Excessiuit of the weather, for the Conquest of Italy: Then, as it were, fearing her owne power, to bee in a manner vanquished, shee beginnes to prouide and forge meane, not only to ruine her, so much sauoured Hannibal, but the whole Cartaginian Empire. And therefore it is crediblē,
C that (I know not by what inconstancy, or rather extravagante and sauge Nature) shee makes friends of Enemie, and enemies of her owne friends, so much (shee feares (as I imagine) the safe and rest of those whome shee fauours. It is true that traffique by Sea is not without great duryor, amazement, and hazard, forsooth, danger of the waues, Tempests and stormes, with a thousand other accidents. But if warre once set up her sailes, being accompanied with rage, fury, and many other disasters, which D the malice of God bewrayed to make use of, because mee that these other suries, whiche the winds procure at Sea and in the Aire, which many times are more fearefull than mortall, wile not seeme in regard of shew of warre, but a light amazement, and, as it were, a falso ullarum. What torment at Sea, or violence of the winds hath ever beeene so foddaine, which the long

long experiance of a wise Pilot, could not by a thousand signes and tokenes foresee, dawing sufficiencie remedies to avoid it? But when a warre is managed by judgement and discretion, as it is requisite, the shewes are commonly contrarie to that whiche they pursue. Wherefore the more an Enterprize is dissembled and kept secret, the more easie it is to put in execution. Finally, if we will confess the truth, it is a profisson whiche among all others, requires the greatest vigilancie; a continuall Care, with an incredible diligence: whereof a good Judgement must haue the conduct, that by conjecture drawne from things formerly practized, or from a probability of that whiche bee sees, bee may soone after judge of the Enemys resolution, and finally attenpe and hope for a victory:

And althoough it bath beeene alwaies held, that Doney is the
B sinnes of Warre; yet I hold its force without Conduite, like unto that of a strong, able Adam, opprest with a deepe sleepe, whose sinnes haue made their retreate for his rest. So there is nothing so strong, nor so quicke in this world as the sinne of man: Nor any thing so powerfull and terrible, which the understanding doth not meane, and subdue. And therefore wee say commonly in France, that wit is better than force. Yet I know that Courage is a great advantage; and necessary for a soldier, but especially for a Generall: But I fear that for want of Judgement and a good consideration, it makes them not sometimes over-meening and carelesse of danger. So as many times it giues occasion to a weake and cowardlie Enemie, to undertake a Victory, and to performe the Act of a valiant man. Wherefore courage without condicione, and vigilancie, is alwaies subject to ambyses and shamefull flights: which are inconueniences,
C wherof a Coward is alwaies varie, for that feare makes a Man vigeant and carofull. But was there ever Nation more bardie, nor more warre-like; nor that more carefully observed the ordinances of warre than the Romanes? How then did Hannibal, deafe them so often, not onely in Encounters, but in perte Bassaies, and in the open field,

field, by his great Indemnity, and his subtil policies ? In what soeare, and with what admiration hath the fury of the Gaules, beene held in old time by all Nations, who parting from their owne Country and Townes, to seek new habitations, have conquerred land in divers Countries by Armes, building Townes not onely in Italy their Neighbour, but also in Germany, and in the end in Greece, and Asia? Who hath defeated and quite ruined them in a short time, but A their owne Confederation, and an over-reaching confidence in their force and courage ? I bold for certaintie, which you know well, that it is not sufficient for a Prince or Generall to haue his armes compleat with foot and horsemen, how resolute soever, ana with all necessary premissions for a warre : No more than for a Souldier to haue youth, strong and active Members, a daring courage, and compleat furniture. Hee must haue to vanquish (the which many times the vanquished impropriely call misfortune) that piece of harnessse so well steeled, which we call Iudgement, or a good condicione. Believe me that like unto a horse, when hee hath taken the bit betwixt his teeth, forcing his Master, flies without feare thorow Woods, Rocks, and Precipices, with the danger of his life, bee bee never so nimble and courageous ; so a hardie and resolute souldier doth easly his owne ruine, if bee man's conduct and Iudgement. You must understand that as the body requires Exercise to preferre in health, and to make it active, and hardened to endure labour and paine ; to the understanding in like manner desires to bee exercised and employed, either by the consideration of things past, or by those which are vissible.

It is true, that those which are seene by the eye, haue a greater vivacitie, and a stronger impression, than those which are past : For that living things are of greater force than dead. Yet, if we shall duly consider the length of time, which the experience of a thouand kind of policies, which warre requires before that a wise Man will dare to aduenture himselfe in a bold and hardie Enterprize, wee shall finde that the knowledge of the antient warres, which haue beeне left

left vs in writing, will bee of no small consequence unto him. For besides the assurance of danger, hee may in a short time see by Historiographers, the great and wonderfull exploits of the Antient in a manner since the Creation of the world, to pleasure and contentment from them, with some Encouragement to doe aswell or better hereafter. You know well that the warre which is seene by the eye, is not alwaies made betwixt warre-like people, nor under resolute Commanders, that are skilfull in their profession : so as it is a difficult thing wnder such to see any valiant exploits, nor Enterprizes attempted with good iuention, nor well executed. Wee say commonly in France, that the Combate is dangerous, when as courage fights against courage. So is it credible, that when an Army consisting of warre-like men, is under the leading of a wise and resolute Commander, hausing in front an Enemy equall unto him in all degrees, there must needs bee valiant exploits performed, with hardy Enterprizes wisely managed.

If there haue beeene any warres, attempted by fierce and warlike Nations, and governed by wise and famous Captaines, believe me this present Historiographer hath vied great diligence to set them downe in writing : Labouring only to mention the deedes and valour that was most worthy of Relation, that with the pleasure and contentment which they may reap in reading them, they may draw some instructions and meanes, not to fall into the inconueniences of warre, into the danger whereof many times both Captainne and souldiers may bee engag'd, through want of experience, good aduise and counsell. So as among others, you shall see Enterprizes of the Romanes against the Carthaginians for the conquest of Sicily. D During the which there were many Encounters and cruell batailes, as well by Sea and land. You shall likewise reade the furious Combat of the Gaules against the Romanes : And moreover the warre betwix Cleomenes and Antigonus, for Morea, the which Philip the Sonne of Demetrius tooke afterwards. And besides many other notable exploits, (which at this present I will forbearre)

The Epistle to the Reader.

you shall see the Conquests which Hannibal made in Spaine, with his incredible voyage into Italie, performed in his younger yeeres, and his victories gotten of the Romanes with such policie and wisdome, as it is a difficult thing (if wee shall consider the people and number of his Armie, having regard to courage and power of shote with whom hee had to deale) to judge truely, whether there were euer Capteine in the memory of man, that may with reason bee compared unto him. Finally my Masters, I doe not promise you in this History, those miraculous Battailles, which exceed the apprehension of man, performed in the Kingome of Logres, nor I know not what Quest of that barking Beast. Make your accoupt that you shall not finde any Tract or marks of a Beast, nor finally any thing that holds of it. Believe mee in times past, Men did not feede their understandings with dreames, nor fables invented in barbers-shops, without any colour of Trust. It is impossible an ignorant Master should make a learned disciple. Finally they are discourses fit for old womens tongues to entertaine little children, whilst that for weakenesse of their Age, their understanding hath no apprehension, nor sufficient judgement of reason. Wherefore wee may with reason say, that such as consume their peers, and grow old in such dreames, haue a will to continue still children. And although they commonly say, that warre is managed by the eye: So as it seemes they will therby inferrre, that wee must not shunke of it, but wher necessity doth force vs: And that peace should procure no benefit to a Souldier, but idlenesse; yet he must forsee long before, part of that which afterwards he must gouverne by the eye. And as a horse which is pampered and not ridden, growes restle; and proues unprofitable to his Master for traualise: so the understanding of a souldier, idle during peace, or fed with dreames and foolish inventions, will faille him as neede; and in the end purchase him disfavour and shame: Yet do not imagine my Masters, that I haue rymed this speech as blazoning you, and holding you for men of poore an Enterprize, whose principall

study

The Epistle to the Reader.

study and affections is the reading of such Bookes, rather then in some worthy recreation and exercise. My meaning was onely to aduise you, that Histories, from whence with pleasure you may draw great profit, as these are which this Historiographer imparts unto you ought to bee in greater recommendation then thole Fables, which haue no grace, but when they are most without reason or any shew of A truth.

Finally, I hope you shall finde such sufficiencie in our Polybius, as you will make no question to preferre him as the paragon before all others, aswell Greekes as Latines, which are come to the knowledge of men. Of whom I haue presumed to translate in the best sorte I could, those five first Bookes, which of Fourty which bee hath written, haue bene preferred halfe ruined by the negligence of time: B Hoping you will receive them as willingly, as I offer them with a good heart.

Wher as after the Printing of those five first Bookes, I had recovered some Latine Translations, of three parcels of the sixt, whereof the first and the third had not any GREEKE Copie, And therwras afterwards another of the sixteenth, both in Latine and Greeke, I employed my selfe to put them into French, adding thereunto the forme of the Romanes Campe, as I could conjecture it, by the description which Polybius maker, in the parcel of the sixt Booke. And when as the Printers successor had a desire afterwards to print the whole, and increased mee to spend some time in the Remaundre of that which was newly published of Polybius his works, which are certaine parcels, and as it were Reliques (besides the aboue named) of the seuenth and eighth, and of all the subsequent Bookes unto the seuententh inclusive, it was not in my power to deliuere him any other but thole of the seuenth and eighth, being afflicted with a quareane Ague, besides his obstinacy in ryming a small character, for the sparing of Paper distasted mee: Expelling that which afterwards followed, that few men would rebe satisfied, for that all things

The Epistle to the Reader.

how good and excellent sooner, are thereby found without grace, dull and unpleasing. For this cause desiring that so excellent a writer, should not remaine disdained and without grace for want of an honourable Impression, and that the studious of Historie should bee the more encouraged, I refouled to adde the remainder of that, which at this day is come to our knowledge, assuring my selfe that the Printer for his part will haue a care that for the sauing of his money hee will not doe wrong to his honour, nor loose his charges instead of gaine.

To G O D alone be all honour and glory.



The Printer to the R E A D E R .

Courteous Reader, I desire your charitable censure in that there bee some littell faults escaped, to the griefe of the Author being not able to attend the Preffe, and likewise being absent at that time from London, and having but a yong Corrector which took too much upon him.

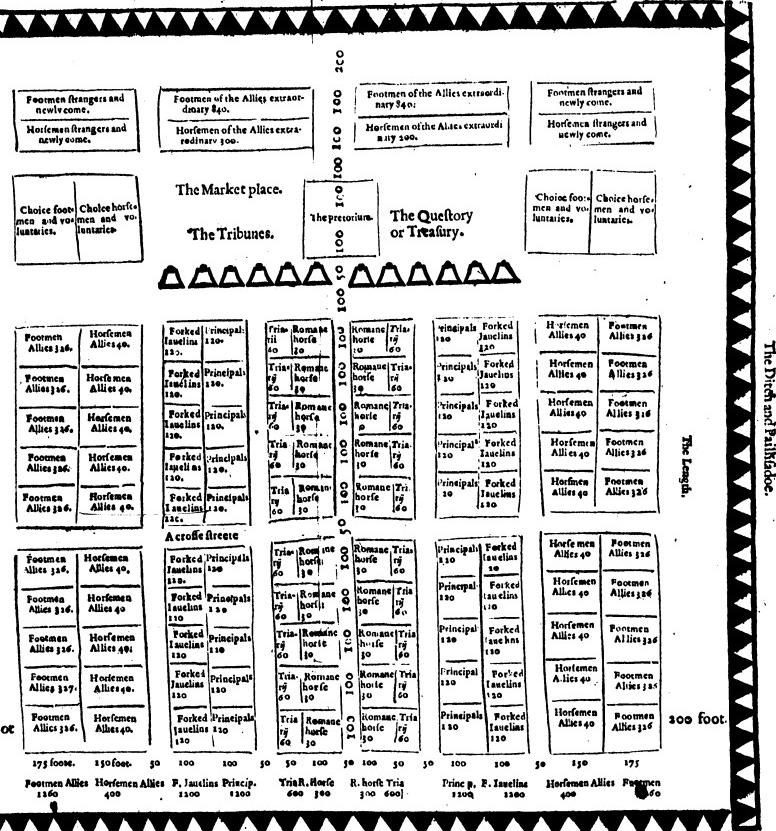
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l. 3. r. as bl. p. 266. l. 46. r. arrived, p. 267. l. 28. r. which Praying wch, p. 274. l. 34. l. of the Tabernacle,



The Plot of the Romanes CAMP E.

Every side of the Canpe hath 210 foot in the Ditch.



The Romans Campe containes in its square, equall of ali sides, 92. Acres and abont 12. Rod : after 22. foot to the Rod, and 100 Rod to the Acre.

In regard of the Gates of the Camps, I have purposely omitted them, for that Polybius makes no mention of them. Although the manner of the Romans was to have four according to the four Corners of the world: And it is placed in the width of every side of the Ditch.

As for the light Iauelins, or Darts, they are divided among other Bands: And as for the streets I have not seen them aowne, for that they may be easly imagined.

FIRST THE
BOOKE
of the History of
POLYBIUS.



the meanes and manner of Government, by the which the *Romans* have subdued and brought under their Obedience in a manner, all the Nations of the World, within the space of fifty and three years: the which in former times was never heard of. Or what is he so much gauen and desirous to know other things worthy of admiration and rather Disciplines, but will conceive that there is not any thing in this world worthy to be preferred to this knowledge? I hope they will see how great and excellent our Worke is. If wee make comparison of other Principalities with the excellency of the *Romane Empire*, and namely of those which haue beeene in great honour and glory, whereof A Historiographers haue written much. Behold those which are most worthy to be compared.

The Persians.

The Empire and power of the *Persians* for a time hath beeene great, but whenas they did adventure to passe the bounds and limits of *Asia*, they were in danger to lose not onely their Empire, but their liues. The *Lacedemonians* made a long warre for the Empire and command of *Greece*, but they could hardly keepe it twelue yeeres quiet after their Conquest.

The Lacedemonians.

The Macedonians.

The Romans.

The beginning of the History.

It is true, the *Lacedemonians* haue domineerd and ruled in *Europe*, from *Aria* to the *Danowe*, which is but a small portion thereof. And since they haue held the Empire of *Asia*, after they had ruined the Monarchy of the *Persians*. And although that these haue shew beeene great Lords, and enjoyed large and spacious Countries, yet they neuer toucht the greatest part of the World. As for *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Affricke*, they never made them to challenge any thing. In regard of other Nations, the most Martialis of *Europe*, and the most Warlike, they hardly in my opinion did ever know them: But the *Romans* haue not onely conquered a part of the World, but in a manner all. They may also know by our sequel, how great the profit will be to such as affect the knowledg of History.

Finally, the beginning of our Worke shall be according to the time, since the hundred and eight and forty *Olympiades*: As for the Actions, and first of the *Grecians*, wee will begin with the so call warre, the which *Philip* (who was Sonne to *Demetrius*, and Father to *Perseus*) attempted first with the *Aetolians*, against the *Acrians*, and in regard of those which inhabite *Asia*, the beginning shall be at the Warre which was in the Valley of *Syria*, betwixt *Antiochus*, and *Ptolomeus*, *Philopater*.

But as for *Italy* and *Affricke*, wee will begin with that betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, which many call the warre of *Hasanibar*. The History shall begin at the end of that which *Sicionius* hath left in writing. Before these times the affaires of the world were without Civillity. Since it hath happened that the History is in a manner drawne all into one, and that the actions of *Italy*, and of *Affricke*, are mingled with those of *Greece* and *Asia*, and that all tended to one and the same end. And therefore wee haue begun our worke in those times, when the *Romans* had vanquished the *Carthaginians* in this war, thinking they had performed their greatest taske, and to be able to assaile the whole world, they presumed presently after to fall vpon the rest,

rest, and to passe into *Greece* and *Asia* with great forces.

But if we haue seene and knowne the manner of living, and the Lawes of Common-weales contending for the Monarchy, happily it would not be needfull to make any great search, to what end, nor vpon what power relying, they haue entred into such great actions. But for that the manner of living, the precedent forces, and the actions of the people of *Rome* and *Carthage* are unknouen to the greatest part of the *Grecians*, I haue hold it necessary to make these two first Bookes, before I enter into the History, to the end they shoud haue no occasion A to wonder nor inquire in reading our Worke, what Councill, what Forces, and what Treasure and Wealth the people of *Rome* had to vnderrake the warre and conquest of the whole Earth, and of all our Sea: Considering that they which shall require it, shall see plainly by these first Bookes of our Preparation, that the *Romans* had reasonable cause to undertake the Empire and Souerainty of all things, and to attaine vnto their ends. Beleeue that the proper object of our Worke, and the excellency of the Actions of our time, consists principally in this, that as Fortune hath in a manner reduced all the affaires of the world into one, and hath forced them to draw to one and the same B end: So the force which shee hath vied for the perfection of all publicke government, must be reduced and propounded to the Reader in one briefe History.

This hath chieffly incited and vrged mee to the enterprise thereof, especially for that none of our time hath vndertaken to write a generall History: neither would wee haue attempted it: But seeing that many had written some particular Warres, and their private Actions, and that no Man (to my knowledge) hath hitherto made an vniuersall and general commemoration of things past, neither whea nor how they began, nor how they were executed and performed, nor what issue C they had: I conceiued it wold be well done, if by our meaneas our Country-men might read a worke of Fortune excellently good, and profitable: For although shee had done excellent things and worthy of admiration among man: yet shee hath not done any thing vnto this day, nor purchased the glory of victory comparable to our times: The which they that haue written the particular Histories cannot make knowne, but that some one who peraduenture for that hee had liuid in some renowned Towne, or for that they had seen them in picture, imagine presently they know them: and consequently the situation, the forme, and the order of the World, the which is not probable, nor likely.

They which are of Opinion that a particular History is sufficient for the understanding of the general, in my Opinion stay no lesse from the truth, then if some one considering the parts separated of a living Body, thinke by this meaneas to haue the knowledge of all the perfections and graces of the Creature. There is no doubt; but if any one takes these distinct and separated parts, and doth presently ioyn them together, and make a perfect Creature, giuing it forme and life, and then presents it vnto him, hee will soone confess that hee hath become de- D ceived,

*Timurus an Historiogra-
pher.*

Denis.

ceued, like vnto them that dreame. It is true, we may haue some apprehension of the whole by the parts : But it is not possible to haue a true and certayne Science and Knowledge. And therefore you must imagine that a particular History is of small vse for the knowledge of the generall : And that by the connexion, comparison and similitude of actions, there will be no Man found, who in reading, will not reape singular profit and pleasure by History. Wee will therefore make the beginning of this Booke at the fift Voyage which the Romans made by Sea, which is subsequent to those things which *Timurus* hath last written : which was in the hundred and nine and twentie Olimpiade. We A must therefore relate how, and what time they ended their Quarrels in Italy, and what meanes they had to passe into Sicily : For this is the first voyage theyeuer made out of their Territories, whereof wee must set downe the reason simply and without disguising ; to the end that by the search from one cause to another, the beginning and consideration of the whole may not prove doubtful. The beginning also must bee agreeable to the Time and Subiects, and that it be knowne to all : the which they may consider by themselves, yea, in seeking out those things which were past long before, and in the meane time relate the Actions summarilie : For it is certaine that the beginning being vnknowne or obscure, its continuance cannot perswade, nor purchase beliefe : But if the Opinion of the beginning be true, then all the subsequent Narration doth easilie content the Auditors eare.

Nineteene yeeres after the battell wone vpon the Riuere *Egos*, and sixteene yeeres before the Warre of *Leltra*, where the *Lacedemonians* treated a peace with *Antalcides* King of *Perisia*, when as *Denis* the old held the City of *Rhegium* in *Calabria* besieged, after that hee had defeated the *Grecians* inhabiting vpon the limis of *Italy*, neare vnto the Riuere of *Ellepori* : and that the *Gauls* hauing wholly ruined *Rome*, held it, except the Capital : During which time the Romans hauing made C an accord with them, which they found good and profitable, and had recovered their liberty contrary to their hope and expestante, and had in manner taken a beginning of their increase, they declared Warre against their Neighbours. As soone as the *Latins* had beeane vanquisht, awell by their prowesse as by the fortune of the Warre, they turned their Armes against the *Tuscanes*, then to the *Celtes* which are in *Italy*, and finally vpon the *Sannites* which confine the Region of the *Latins*, towards the East and North. Sometime after, the *Tarentines* seeing the outrage which they had committed against the Romane Embassadours, not relying much vpon their owne forces: they called in King D *Pyrrhus* the yeere before the Descent of the *Gauls* into *Italy* : and before the Rotreate of those which were defeated in Battell neete vnto *Delphos*. Then the Romans after they had vanquisht the *Tuscanes* and *Sannites*, and beaten the *Celtes* often, began to make warre against the rest of *Italy*, not as contending for another man's Lands, but as for their owne, and formerly belonging vnto them, being now growne warlike by the Warres which they had had against the *Celtes* and *Sannites*.

The

The Romans then after that *Pyrrhus* and his forces had beeene chased out of *Italy*, taking this Warre to heart, they pursued such as had followed his party. Being sudainly become Maisters of all according to their desires, and that all *Italy* was wholly subdued, except the *Celtes*, they presently besieged some of theirs which held *Rhegium*. One and *Rhegium be-
sieged by the Romans.*

A like fortune befell two Cities situated vpon the Strait of that Sea, that is, *Messina* and *Rhegium*. Some *Campanois* hauing beeene lately in pay with *Agathocles* in *Sicily*, wondering at the beauty and wealth of *Messina*, they sudainly when they found an opportunity, assailed it, breaking their Faith, they hauing beeene received into it by Friendship : where they expell'd some of the Cittizens, and slew others. After which wicked act they shared their Wives and Children among them, as their fortunes fell out during the Combate : Then they diuided their goods and lands. But after this sudain and easie Conquest of so goodly a Countrey and City, they soone found others that did imitate their villanies.

The yef *Rhegium* amazed with the descent of *Pyrrhus* at such time as he past into *Italy*, and fearing in like manner the *Carthaginians*, be- B ing then Maisters of the Sea, they craued a Garrison and men from the *Romans*. Those which they sent vnto them, were to the number of 4000. vnder the command of *Decius* the *Campanois*, they kept the Towne for a time, and their faith in like manner with the Cittizens, in defending them ; but in the end moued by the example of the *Mamer-
tines*, who solicited them to commit this base act, they falsified their faith, being awell incited by the opportunity of the deed, as by the wealth of *Rhegium*, and chased away some Cittizens and slew others, finally, The taking of *Rhegium* by some *Cam-
panois* being there in Garrison.

C they seased vpon the City as the *Mamertines* had done. And al- though the *Romans* were discontented at the misfortune of the *Rhegians*, yet they could not relieue them, for that they must settle an order for their precedent VVarrs. But after they had ended them, they besieged them of *Rhegium*, and afterward they entred it by force, where- as many were slaine : who being certaine of the punishments they were to endure, defended themselves valiantly to death. About three hundred were taken alive, who presently after their comming to *Rome*, the Commanders of the VVarrs commanded them to be brought into the Market-place, where they were whipt, and in the end their heads stroake off, after the manner of the Countrey. They did vse this pu- nishment to the end that their Faith (as much as might be possible) might be confirmed towards their confederates. Presently after they D caused the Towne and Countrey to be delivered to the *Rhegians*.

But whilst that the *Mamertines* (youmfull understand that the *Cam-
panis* caused themselves to be so called after the taking of *Messina*) were relieved by the *Romans* which held *Rhegium* by force, they not only enjoyed the Countrey and Towne peaceably, but they commit- ted great spolies vpon many other Townes their Neighbours, awell of the *Carthaginians* as of *Saragossa* (otherwise *Siracusa*). The greatest part of *Sicily* was tributary vnto them. But soone after when they were deprived of those succours, and that they which held *Rhegium* were

The taking of *Rhegium* by some *Cam-
panois* being there in Garrison.

The taking of *Rhegium* by the *Romans*.

The puni-
shment of Tray-
tors.

The *Campanis* holding *Messina* are called *Mam-
ertines*.

Hieron chosen
King of the
Saragofsis.

were besieged, they were in like manner by them of Saragofse, for the causes which follow: As a little before the men of warre of Saragofse camping neare vnto Mergane, being in dissencion with the Gouvernours of the Common-weale, they chose for their Captaines Artemidore and Hieron, who afterwards was their King, being yet very young: But finally so well endowed with all the graces of Nature and Minde, as hee wanted no Royal conditions but the Crowne. Hauing accepted the Magistracy, and made his entry into the Towne very well accompanied by his Friends, where hauing vanquished the Burgeses of the contrary faction, hee vised the Victory with so great clemency and modesty, as by a common consent of all in generall he was chosen their Commander, although they did not allow of the Election made by the Souldiers.

It is true that Hieron made knowne to men of iudgement and vnderstanding, that he had conceiued greater desigines in his minde then to be their Leader. First knowing well that the Saragofsis were mutinous and desirous of innovation, whensoever they sent their Souldiers and Commanders out of the Countrey, and that Lepine was a man of great reputation, and of more credit then any other of the Citizens, and that he was very pleasing vnto the Multitude, he held it fit to make an alliance with him, to the end he might leue some report in the City for him, whensoever he shold goe to the VVarte, and lead an Army out of the Countrey. Hauing therefore taken the Daughter of Lepine to VVife, knowing well that the old band of forraigne Souldiers were changeable and subiect to mutinies, he led his Army of let purpose against the Barbarians, who held the City of Messina: And hauing scared his Campe neare to Centoripe, and put his men in battell close vpon the Riuere of Ciamosse, he stayed in a place apart all the Horse and Foote of his owne Nation, as if he meant to charge the Enemy on the other side: suffering the forraigne Souldiers to be defeated by the Barbarians, and whilst the others fled, he makes his retreate safely with all the Saragofsis to the City. When he had by this policy brought his designe vnto an end, and had freed his Army of all the Mutines, hee makes a great levy of Souldiers. Soone after when as all things were settled in good order, Hieron seeing that the Barbarians were growne too audacious and proud of their late Victory, he pits from the City with an Army of his Countrey souldiers, well trained and disciplined, and making diligentie, he came to Myk, where along the Bankes of the Riuere of Longane, he fought with them with all his forces. Hauing vanquished them and taken their Captaines, seeing their pride much abated by this Victory, he returnes to Saragofse with his Army, and was by the generall fauour and consent of all the Citizens saluted King by the Allies.

The Mamertins
debout their
Towne and
Fort vnto the
Carthaginians.
Succours re-
quired from

The Mamertins as we haue sayd, being deprived of the succours of the Romaie Legion, and hauing lost so great a Battell, their hearts being broken, they retire for the most part vnto the Carthaginians, and yeld themselves and their Fort: The rest sent vnto the Romans, deliuering their Towne vnto them, and requiring succours as

as to those that were of the same Nation. The Romans were long in suspense what to doe: For they found it strange, hauing lately punished their Citizans so severely, for violating their faith with the Rhegins, to send succours now vnto the Mamertins whowere guilty of the like crime. They were not ignorant of al these things: Yet considering that the Carthaginians had not onely drawne Africke vnder their obedience by force of Armes, but also many places in Spaine, and moreover all the Islands of the Sea of Sardinia and Italy; they doubted that their Neighbour-hood would be dangerous, if they made themselves Lords of the rest of Sicily. They likewise understood, that it would be easie to effect, if the Mamertins were not relieved: And there was no doubt, that if Messina had beene deliuered vnto them, they would presently haue recovered Saragofse, for that they held all the rest of Sicily. And as the Romans considered these things, they were of opinion that it was necessary nor to abandon Messina, nor to suffer the Carthaginians to make vnto themselves as it were a Bridge, to passe into Italy, at their pleasure.

This was long in debate, yet it was not concluded in that assembly: for it seemed vnto them as unreasonable as profitable to relieve the Mamertins. But as the Commons much weakened with their former Warries, seemed to haue need of rest, so the Captaines shewing the great profit that might ensue, they resolued to succour the Mamertins. This Opinion being confirmed by the Commons, presently they appointed Appius Claudius, one of the Consuls, to passe the Army into Sicily, and to relieve the Mamertins, who had put out of their Towne, alwell by threats as policy the Capitaine of the Carthaginians which (as we haue sayd) held the Fort. And they called vnto them Appius Claudius, deliuering the City into his hands. The Carthaginians hung him on a Croffe which had the Guard, supposing that he had yeldeid it basely for feare and want of Courage. Then suddenly they drew their Sea-army neare vnto Pelloro, and that at land about the Countrey called Seno, holding by this meanes Messina streightly besieged.

In the meantime Hieron thinking to haue found a good opportunity to chafe the Barbarians which held Messina out of Sicily, followed the Carthaginians party. And going from Saragofse, he takes his way to the Towne, and layes his Siege on the other side neare vnto Mount Calbidique: By this meanes he tooke from the Townsmen all meanes to fally forth on that side. But the Consfull passing the Sea by night with great danger, in the end hearrived at Messina: where seeing the Enemy round about it, and that this Siege was as dishonourable vnto him as dangerous, for that the Enemies were the stronger both by Land and Sea, he desired first to try by Embassies sent to both Camps, if it migh be possible to pacifie things, so as the Mamertins migh be freed. But the Enemies not vouchsafing to heare them, he was in the end forced to undergoe the hazard, and resolued first to give battell to the Saragofsis. He therefore caufeth his Army to march, and put it in battell: to the which the King likewise came speedily. But after that

Appius

The Romans
reliefe to Luca,
courtesy to the
Mamertins by Ap-
pius Claudius

The Mamertins
recover the
Fort from the
Capitaine of the
Carthaginians.

Hieron follows
the Carthagini-
an party.